

BISHOP HAY

A Sketch of his Life and Times

BY

CECIL KERR

With a Preface by

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BISHOP HAY

(From a portrait at Blairs College)

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31 Paternoster Row

London, E.C.4

PREFACE

In the present year of grace, when English and Scottish Catholics alike are rejoicing at the act of the Legislature—tardy but not less welcome—which has swept away almost the last of the penal laws against Catholics which have so long disfigured the statute book, nothing could be better timed than the appearance of a popular life of one of the greatest figures in the history of the slow dawn of religious freedom in the northern kingdom. George Hay was born exactly a hundred years before Catholic Emancipation, in a fuller sense than could ever have been anticipated by Scottish Catholics during the dark days of persecution, brought liberty and peace to the faithful—reduced, alas! to a little more than a remnant—scattered throughout the remotest parts of the country. Educated by a pious Protestant mother, whose early lessons of religion he never forgot, the boy grew out of childhood probably in entire ignorance of the tenets of Catholicism, though he may have known that the Jacobite party in Scotland, of which his father was a zealous supporter (having, indeed, suffered severely for his opinions), counted many members of the old faith among its members.

It was in the second Jacobite rising, the famous days of the Forty-five, that George Hay, as a boy of sixteen, was thrown into the very welter of the Great Adventure that may be said to have begun triumphantly at Holyrood and Prestonpans, and ended disastrously on the bloody field of Culloden.

The following pages tell in detail the stirring and

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romantic story of the boy's initiation into the horrors and sufferings of war, the enthusiasm with which he followed Prince Charles into England, and accompanied him on his melancholy retreat back to Scotland; then his imprisonment first in Scotland, then in England; the circumstances that led to his conversion; the unseen Providence that led him to the feet of the great Bishop Challoner, and first inspired him with the thought of his vocation to the priesthood, and finally his entrance into the Scots College and definite adoption of an ecclesiastical career.

It is a story deeply interesting—even thrilling—in its mere outline, and still more in the particulars as they are given in the pages of this book; and a wonderful prelude to the wonderful life which was to be entirely spent in the devoted service of the Scottish Church. What must strike every thoughtful reader in its perusal is the unmistakable evidence of how the finger of God was leading His young servant, by most unusual paths, and quite unknown to himself, to the career which, even after his conversion to the Catholic faith, he seemed to have no idea whatever that he was predestined to embrace. It was to Challoner, of course, under God, that he owed the discovery of his true vocation; and there is no more touching episode in his life than that of the pious contract made between the aged prelate and the young convert that, should the latter attain to the priesthood, they should mutually remember one another at the altar so long as they both should live.

George Hay's life as a missionary priest in Scotland during the eleven years that elapsed between

his ordination and his episcopal consecration is a salutary reminder to us all of the difficulties and dangers with which Catholics, and especially priests, were environed in the discharge of their religious duties, even in days when the more rigorous of the penal laws had fallen into practical desuetude. We see from the details of his life how Hay endured the hardships and sacrifices incidental to his sacred profession not only with patience but with cheerfulness, and how he was sustained by the fervour of his unostentatious piety and the unswerving regularity with which he practised his devotional duties. And when in 1768 he was consecrated as coadjutor to the venerable Bishop Grant, and ten years later became vicar-apostolic of the Lowlands, we find him carrying out the arduous obligations of his high office and standing up against the storm of bigotry and persecution which broke out in connection with the proposed repeal of some of the penal laws, with the same Christian courage and manly intrepidity which had long won the respect of all who knew him, opponents as well as friends. If there was a defect in the great bishop's character, it consisted, perhaps, of a seeming harshness of temperament, a want of sympathy with characters weaker than his own, and a certain impatience of mediocrity, whether spiritual or intellectual, in those who were called to labour under him in the missionary field. We have said "seeming harshness," because the good prelate's austerity of manner was really on the surface, underneath which there lay a very real warmth and tenderness of heart well known to those who knew how to penetrate beneath the Scottish reserve of his character, and the apparent chilliness of demeanour

which sometimes marked his intercourse with those among whom he lived and laboured. No one loved him more, or understood him better, than the little seminarists whom in his old age he gathered round him in the rude and remote college of Scalán, among the Banfishire hills, and afterwards in the more civilised and commodious seminary of Aquhorties, on Donside. The concluding chapters of this book give a touching picture of the saintly old man, his active labours at an end, spending the evening of his long life among these young candidates for the sacred ministry, the hope of the renascent Scottish Church; sharing in all respects their simple self-denying life, imparting to them from his own well-stored mind and soul the elements of learning and religion, and preparing them by example and precept for the high and arduous labours of their holy vocation.

Ecce sacerdos magnus! The words come naturally to one's lips as one reviews the long, laborious and self-sacrificing life of this great priest and bishop. The author of this book has done a real service to religion by bringing together, from sources not now easily accessible, the successive steps of a career so noble in its entire self-abnegation, and so fraught with blessings to the down-trodden Church of his beloved country. The biography of George Hay is one full of interest and of edification, and will, it may be hoped, find many readers—not only among those who aspire to follow directly in his saintly footsteps, but among all who know how to value a faithful presentment of a very noble life.

— D. OSWALD HUNTER BLAIR,
Abbot, O.S.B.

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The following pages are taken chiefly from the account of Bishop Hay in the "Scotchchronicon." All extracts from letters, unless otherwise stated, are from those quoted in that work.

BISHOP HAY

CHAPTER I

THE YEARS OF PREPARATION

GEORGE HAY was born in Edinburgh on August 24th, 1729. He was descended from Duguld Hay of Limplum, whose second son, George, was a friend of John Knox and one of the leading reformers. He appears to have been also a zealous controversialist; for Knox relates how, when the Abbot of Crossraguel once presented himself in Maybole to discuss about the Mass, "the voice of Maister George Hay so effrayed him that efter ones he wearied of that exercise."

In the course of time the family must have fallen sadly away from grace, for the father of the younger George, a "Writer in Dalrymple's office," was a non-juring episcopalian and a staunch Jacobite, whose devotion to the cause of the fallen Stuarts led to his being put in irons and banished after the rising of 1715.

All that is told of Mary Morrison, George's mother, is that she was a simple, pious woman who taught her son to be faithful to his morning and evening prayers, a lesson for which he was ever grateful to her and to the practice of which he used later to

ascribe, in part at least, his conversion to the Faith. His godmother at his baptism was the little Lady Clementina Fleming, the ten year old daughter of the Jacobite Earl of Wigan.

When old enough he was sent to school in Edinburgh. There is no record of his youthful days, but whatever other influences his school life may have had upon his future career, one memory of it he carried to the grave—a deep scar over the right eye, where he was struck by a stone in one of the "bickers" or miniature battles so beloved by the Edinburgh boy of the time.

His father intended him for the medical profession, and at fifteen he was apprenticed to a surgeon named George Lauder. The famous Edinburgh school of medicine was then coming into prominence, the Royal Infirmary having been opened a few years previously, but to judge by some remarks made by George Hay many years later, the moral tone among the students must have been deplorably low.

"I was born and educated in this city," he says, "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."*

* All quotations from letters are taken, unless otherwise noted, from those given in the "Scotichronicon."

George's own studies, however, were soon cut short by the dramatic tide of public events. In 1745 all Scotland was set on fire by the tidings of the landing of Prince Charlie on the western coast, and news soon came that he was marching with his army on the capital. Volunteers were hastily enrolled and the ancient walls restored and fortified, but the Stuarts had many secret sympathisers in the city and "it was said that of the train band captains 12 of 15 were Jacobite and the Commandant a Jacobite." Even the provost himself was not above suspicion, and his "conduct cast a damp upon all, he was so slow in his deliberations, backward in executing things arranged. He fixed upon a dismal signall—the ringing of the fyre bell—to call the volunteers or burghers, and this was a public intimation to the rebell friends within, and without the city. . . . All was confusion, and they were not knitt by discipline or authority and were raw men."* The result being that the all-conquering Prince Charlie was soon holding high court in Holyrood itself. Shortly afterwards he set out on his march once more and inflicted a great defeat on Sir John Cope at Prestonpans. Riding over the field of battle and seeing so many wounded and dying, he sent back in haste to Edinburgh for medical assistance. Among those who obeyed the summons was George Lauder, who started off at once with his medicine chest and his students, George Hay among the number. The boy was at first quite overcome by the terrible sights, but he soon gained command of himself and took his full share of the work. The wounded of both armies were carried into Colonel

* "The Forty Five," Sandford Terry, p. 43.

Gardiner's house, near Tranent, and the business of tending them continued far into the night.

The next few months were full of novelty and adventure for the young student, for he and his master accompanied Prince Charlie on his dramatic march into England and its melancholy return. But the strain and hardship proved too much for the growing lad—he was but sixteen—and he fell violently ill with ague and had to be sent back to Edinburgh. When the sun of the Jacobite hopes finally set on the tragic field of Culloden, George Hay was advised to hand himself over to the authorities in the hopes that, his connection with the rising having been confined to the care of the wounded, he would be dealt with leniently. But this plea availed him little, and he was imprisoned for three months in Edinburgh Castle and then sent with a number of other captives to London, where he was retained for a year. His confinement was not strict, and he and his fellow prisoners were allowed to have visitors, one of whom was a certain Mr. Meighan, a Catholic publisher. George, always of a serious turn of mind, had often pondered deeply on religious matters and was ready to accept with toleration every creed, with the one exception of Catholicism, which he regarded as totally opposed to true Christianity. He had even gone so far as to bind himself by oath to do all in his power for its suppression! He had no doubt come across many Catholics in Prince Charlie's army, but it was with great surprise that he first heard any serious attempt at a defence of their doctrines from the lips of Mr. Meighan.

In June, 1847, an act of indemnity was passed, and George returned to Edinburgh. Finding that

he was likely to be called as a witness against his former companions, he retired to the house of a relation, Sir Walter Montgomery, near Kilbride. Much of his time was spent in the library, where, among the other books, he found a copy of Goethe's "Papist misrepresented and represented." His attention having been attracted to the Catholic Church, he took up the volume with some interest. As he read on his surprise deepened, until he began to ask himself if, after all, this despised religion might not indeed be the true one. He passed through a time of terrible distress as his perplexity and doubts increased, and he spent many hours of anguish on his knees, begging Almighty God with tears to show him where the truth lay. He returned to Edinburgh determined to seek out some Catholic who could give him further information. It happened that he was attending a school of fencing conducted by Mr. John Gordon, of Braes, who took a great liking to him. As their friendship deepened, George confided to him his troubles and told him of his longing to make acquaintance with a Catholic. "Thank God!" exclaimed Mr. Gordon. "I am one myself." He took George to Fr. John Seton, who was then in Edinburgh, and after being duly instructed, the young man was received into the Church on December 21, 1748.

He was now nineteen years of age, and his mind being at peace, his thoughts again reverted to the carrying on of his medical studies. The famous Dr. John Rutherford was at that time lecturing in the Royal Infirmary, and he soon came to regard George as one of his most promising pupils. A close friendship sprang up between them, which con-

tinued throughout life, widely as their paths were afterwards to differ.

On October 14th, 1749, George was elected to the Royal Medical Society of students, but he found that the Penal Laws, still in force against the Catholics debarred him from graduating at the University or obtaining his diploma at the Royal College of Surgeons. The only opening available to him was to start a chemist's shop, but this could not satisfy him for long. He longed for the fuller practice of the religion for which he had sacrificed his worldly prospects, and at the end of a year he sold up his business and determined to go abroad. He accepted a post as surgeon in a ship sailing for the Mediterranean, but before joining the vessel he went to London. Here he was introduced to Bishop Challoner, then in the full tide of his active career. The Bishop, like so many others, quickly fell a victim to the charm of the earnest young Scottish convert who was so diligently seeking the Kingdom of God. On closer acquaintance he formed a high opinion of the young man's mental powers, his solid judgment, and his strength of character, and at length he told him that he was convinced Almighty God was calling him to the priesthood. The words fell on fruitful soil, and George pondered them deeply in his mind as he proceeded on his voyage to the Mediterranean in fulfilment of his contract. It was certainly not the pomp and splendour of the Church of Rome which had attracted him to the fold, for the Catholics in Scotland, even more than their brethren in England, still lay hidden in the catacombs. Prayer and study had brought him to the Faith, but in all probability he had never dreamed that the

sublime dignity of the priesthood ever could be his. He was greatly helped by a holy Irish Augustinian friar whom he met at Cadiz, where his vessel put in and where he was able for some time to go ashore for daily Mass.

Meanwhile Bishop Challoner had communicated with Dr. Smith, the Vicar Apostolic of the Lowland district in Scotland, strongly recommending to him this promising candidate to the priesthood, and Dr. Smith immediately wrote to Mr. Hay, offering him a vacancy in the Scots College at Rome, at the same time urging upon him the pressing needs of the Scottish mission. The correspondence was carried on through Mr. Innes, the Principal of the Scots College in Paris, who wrote to a friend: "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 cannot say but I had much rather have got him to this house." And he wrote again: "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. . . . 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."

And so, in September, 1751, at twenty-one years of age, George Hay arrived in the Holy City and presented himself at the doors of the Scots College. His after career more than justified the golden opinions with which he entered on his new life, and

his long and strenuous labours were destined to open a fresh epoch in the history of the Church in Scotland.

The Scottish people, like every other Christian nation, had very early established a refuge for their pilgrims to the throne of Peter, and the well-known church of Sant Andrea delle Fratte now marks the site of the ancient Hospitium of the Scots. Great as was the distance and difficult the journey, close intercourse was maintained throughout the Middle Ages between Scotland and the Holy See. During the Great Schism, when England gave allegiance to the anti-pope, Scotland remained loyal to the true Vicar of Christ. Many a legate braved the rough seas and landed on her troubled shores, chief among them, the famous Piccolomini who was later on himself to be elected pope, under the well-known title of Pius II. Despite the ceaseless turmoil of baronial feuds and border raids, great abbeys and fair churches arose in every corner of the land, to the glory of God and for the good of man. Then came the Reformation, when all was swept away, and it was soon seen that if the flickering spark of the Faith were to be kept alive, some new provision must be made abroad for the training of men who would be ready to risk their lives by labouring as priests in the desolate Scottish mission. In 1600 Pope Clement VIII laid the foundation of the now venerable Scots College. Four years later it was moved to its present site and placed under the direction of the Jesuits, who were still in charge when young Hay arrived there in 1751. The rector at that time was Fr. Lorenzo Alticozzi, one of the best superiors the college ever had. There were nine

students, with two of whom—also recent arrivals—George soon formed a close intimacy. These were William Guthrie, a convert like himself, and John Geddes, who became his dearest friend and later on his coadjutor. It is interesting to note that among the little band were numbered three future bishops—George Hay himself, John Geddes, and John Macdonald, besides Charles Erskine, who later on became a cardinal.

We have no contemporary description of George Hay at this period of his life, but it is clear from the impression he made upon all he met that he was gifted with great personal attraction. He possessed marked strength of character and pursued his high ideals with unswerving purpose and no care or thought of self. He was a tremendous worker, never slackening in his application to his studies, despite the severe headaches from which he suffered throughout life. Yet withal he was no bookworm. We learn from details of his later years that he was blessed with a keen sense of appreciation and enjoyment, and was very musical and a famous story teller. He excelled, too, as a horseman, was a great walker, and very fond of bathing.

We may well imagine how he revelled in his first experience of the full and varied life of Catholic Rome. Benedict XIV, who then occupied the Chair of Peter, was one of the greatest of the popes, and many famous men were attracted to his court. Doubtless, in every age, the unsuspecting pilgrim has jostled in the crowded streets of the Eternal City against some unknown man or woman whose name was later to be enrolled amongst the saints of God. And so George Hay, as he walked with his

fellow students to and from his lectures, may often have seen the great St. Alphonsus, or St. Paul of the Cross, the founder of the Passionists, in whose heart burnt such flaming zeal for the conversion of our far-off isles. Here, too, the loyal Jacobite would often meet Prince Charlie, the hero of his youthful days, for the fallen Stuarts, like so many other royal exiles, had found shelter in the city of the popes, where Henry, Duke of York, had but recently been made a cardinal.

But the more the young convert rejoiced to see The Bride of Christ adorned in all her splendour, the more did he mourn over the desolate altars of his own land, and the more earnestly did he pray and study, that he might one day be counted worthy to carry back the light of faith to the people who had for so long sat in darkness.

The students at the Scots College led a strenuous life. The day began at half-past five. At six they assembled for morning prayers and meditation in the little chapel so well known and loved by pilgrims to this day. Mass was at six-thirty, and after breakfast they set out for the Roman College, where the Jesuits held their schools. At ten-thirty the morning lectures closed, and the student returned home to carry on their private studies until noon, when they assembled in the chapel to recite the Litany of the Saints before dinner, and afterwards had recreation in the garden until two. A short siesta followed, and they once more went to the Roman College for afternoon schools. On the way home they usually visited one of the many places of interest, or stopped to say their prayers in some church which was celebrating the festa of its saint.

Private study and the rosary occupied them till supper, when, after a short visit to the Blessed Sacrament, they again met for recreation, and night prayers and meditation closed their busy day.

The academical year commenced on All Saints, and the summer vacation was spent then, as now, in the country house amid the vineyards at Marino.

Each of the students was allowed five shillings a year for pocket money! Their joy may well be imagined when Mr. Hay arrived "with a few guineas in his pocket, which he divided among them, and with which they purchased combs, penknives, beads, pictures, and above all, books—such as De Ponte's *Meditations*, and many others of a similar kind; and with which Mr. Hay himself bought fiddlestrings."

Bishop Smith took a keen interest in the progress of his students, especially Mr. Hay and his two friends, and enquired continually after them, sending messages through Abate Grant, the Scottish agent in Rome. The reports were most satisfactory. Mr. Grant wrote on one occasion: "Mr. Guthrie never saw your sealed line; George Hay got what you wrote 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."

The poor Bishop, distracted for the want of priests, urged the Abate to do all he could to get their time of study shortened, so as to allow of their returning home. The correspondence is of interest as showing that many words of the secret code adopted in the days of persecution were still in use.

"When will Mr. Hay come to assist Mr. Sinitin?"

(his recently appointed coadjutor), wrote Bishop Grant. "Pray hasten him, as also W. Guthrie. Where Jo Geddes and Jo Reid? I daily mind them all, pray mind us. Adieu."

A friend, who sympathised with the good bishop's anxiety for the return of his priests, wrote: "I 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."

But Cardinal Spinelli, the Protector of the Scottish mission, would hear of no such course. He considered that the more thorough their training, the more useful would the young priests prove in their future work, and Dr. Smith could but submit. "The delay you tell of Mr. Hay's coming home grieves me much, though we dare not at present complain." In December, 1757, Abate Grant informed the bishop 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."

At last, in April, 1758, came the happy day when Mr. Hay and Mr. Guthrie were raised to the priesthood by Cardinal Spinelli in his private chapel. Mr. Geddes being unwell at the time, was not ordained until the following March. Mr. Hay now consecrated his former medical training in an especial way to the glory of God, binding himself by

vow never to accept remuneration for any service he might be enabled to render by this means in his future labours.

In this same year the Holy See fell vacant by the death of Pope Benedict XIV, and our three students had the good fortune to be still in Rome for the interesting ceremony of the Conclave, and to witness the election of the new pope, Clement XIII. Doubtless they were among the vast crowd which assembled in the Piazza of St. Peter's on Easter Sunday when, for the first time, he gave his blessing "Urbi et Orbi" (to Rome and the world). It was a happy augury, indeed, and must have filled them with hope and courage to face the many hardships which lay before them on their return to their own country. On the following Friday they bade farewell to Rome and to the beloved College whence so many zealous missionaries had preceded them. As they disappeared from view, one of the superiors said to the remaining students: "I should not be surprised if these three young men were to raise the dead in Scotland." And Abate Grant, in announcing their departure to Bishop Smith, wrote: "For these many years three better disposed and more accomplished young men have not gone from this place."

Time was to prove that these high hopes were fully justified.

The journey across Europe was a serious business in those days. It was no matter of a through carriage in a train de luxe, and the travellers were exactly four months on the road, a great part of which they covered on foot, so as to economise their very slender means. Apart from the usual risks

and dangers involved in such an undertaking, there were special anxieties in their case, both from the fact that, as Englishmen, they were liable to imprisonment in France (the two countries being then at war), and that, on landing in Scotland the penal laws exposed them to the penalty of arrest and banishment if they were discovered to be "Romish priests." However, a special Providence seemed to watch over them and they had a prosperous, if somewhat adventurous, journey, which as they were young and full of hope and courage, they no doubt thoroughly enjoyed. They went by sea to Marseilles, being detained by storms at Civita Vecchia and at Elba, in both of which places they were able to land daily and say Mass. They met with much kindness. In Elba, their dress (they still wore the purple cassock of the Scots College) attracted the attention of one of the harbour officials, who introduced them to the Governor, a Spanish marchese, who insisted on their dining with him every day. The various consuls and the officers of the garrison vied with one another in their cordiality, and their piety and devotion astonished the young Scotsmen so much that they wrote to Abate Grant: "We cannot omit observing to you the extraordinary satisfaction and singular edification we received from the conversation of several of the 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 twenty-four o'clock (the *Ave Maria*, half-an-hour after sunset), they meet together in church with their chaplain, and make three-quarters of an hour of mental prayer in common."

They parted from their kind friends with great mutual regret and sailed on to Leghorn and Nice. On the way they were held up by an English privateer on suspicion of carrying French goods, but after four days were allowed to proceed—only to be condemned to five weeks' quarantine. However, this was reduced to sixteen days by the kind offices of General Paterson, the Governor of Nice, and on June 7th they set off in a chaise for Avignon. The Jesuits here received them kindly and they decided to proceed on foot to Lyons, a march of nine days. They rested on the diligence boat up the Soane as far as Chalons, and their funds being now alarmingly low, they resumed their walk and pushed on as fast as possible to Paris, where the warmest welcome awaited them in the Scots College. They spent two happy weeks in the gay city, providing themselves with suitable clothing (they had hitherto worn their college dress) and in visiting some of the principal sights—St. Denis and all its treasures; Versailles, whither they were escorted by an officer of the Scottish Guard, who showed them the 6,000 horses in the royal stables. Louis XV was then on the throne of France, and they saw his Queen at Mass and watched the little Duc de Berry (afterwards the ill-fated Louis XVI) as he dined. They stood by while the Dauphiness and the other princesses amused themselves by fishing in a pond, and were present at a display of the famous fountains.

When they finally left Paris, the professors and

students escorted them on the first stage of their journey, and having toasted each other in true Scottish style at a wayside inn, they made for Douai. Here was another Scots College with twelve students, and they were once more gladly welcomed by the rector and the prefect of studies, Mr. Farquharson, "One of the most sincere, honest, affectionate, homely men" they had ever met. After four days they proceeded on foot to Lille and Ghent, and then by coach to Antwerp and Rotterdam. And now the final and most difficult stage of their journey awaited them. They had no passports, and under the Penal Laws it was forbidden to land in Great Britain. Their danger was still further increased by the strict examination of all travellers resulting from the war. A letter from a friend in Aberdeen to Bishop Smith shows how anxiously news was looked for of their arrival:

"You'll easily conceive the joy the good news of the three travellers gave me. Their danger now is in their landing in Br., 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. York 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."

Providence was clearly watching over them. They embarked at Rotterdam on August 9th, and on the Feast of the Assumption entered the Forth.

A kindly wind drove them ashore at the little village of Buckhaven, in Fife, where the inhabitants, taking them for smugglers, treated them with the greatest civility. They thus escaped the examination which would assuredly have awaited them at Leith, and were able to reach Edinburgh by the ferry that same night.

Smith lay hidden for the most part in Edinburgh, whence he continued as far as possible to support the heroic missionaries, who still endeavoured to supply the needs of their scattered little flocks. In 1747, under cover of a passport in the name of Browne, he was able himself to visit the missions in the North and return in safety to Edinburgh.

John Geddes was then a boy of about twelve years old, living in the Enzie of Banff, one of the most Catholic parts of the country, and he later wrote an account of the straits to which they were reduced.

"To give an idea of the state of the Catholic religion in Scotland about this time, I shall briefly describe what I myself observed in the Enzie where I then was. Mr. John Godsman, who was missionary in the parish of Bellay, said Mass in various places, commonly in barns, and always in the night-time. Towards the end of the week, he bespoken some barn that happened to be empty, in a place proper for the meeting of the people in the night between the approaching Saturday and Sunday; and some trusty persons were sent to acquaint the heads of the Catholic families of this determination. On Saturday, when it was late at night, the Catholics convened at the appointed place; after midnight a sermon was made, Mass was said, and all endeavoured to get home by daybreak. These meetings were often very inconvenient, from the badness of the weather and of the roads, and from the people being crowded together without seats; but all was born with great alacrity and cheerfulness. They seemed to be glad to have something to suffer for their God and for the profession of His holy religion.

CHAPTER II

THE HARVEST FIELD

BEFORE entering on the story of the labours of George Hay on the Scottish mission, it will be as well to give some account of the state of the country as he found it on his return.

The Church in Scotland was at that time ruled by two vicars apostolic, the boundary between their respective districts running, roughly, from just east of Inverness to the island of Bute. The vicar apostolic of the Lowland district was Bishop Smith (with Dr. Grant as his newly-appointed coadjutor); the Highland district was in the hands of Bishop Hugh Macdonald.

The ill-fated expedition of Prince Charlie in 1745 had wrought havoc to the Catholic cause. Two thousand of his followers fell on the bloody field of Culloden; great numbers were hanged or shot as spies and rebels; hundreds were transported to America, and many others sought voluntary exile on the Continent. It was the Catholics who everywhere, and especially in the Highlands, had chiefly felt the full brunt of the cruel measures of repression. Priests and lay-folk were hunted out and apprehended, the few poor chapels and the one tiny seminary at Scalán were plundered and destroyed. Bishop Macdonald was driven into exile and Dr.

Mr. Godsman was always in motion, discharging all the duties of a good pastor, and that often in the night-time; and he was clothed like a decent farmer. For several months he did not think it prudent to make a very long stay at his own house in Auchenhairig, and scarcely ever slept there, but in the houses of some of his friends in the neighbourhood of the hills. Rumours were spread that all the Catholics were to be banished to America, and that the goods of all who should not go to the Kirk would be confiscated. However, I did not hear of one in the Enzie who abandoned the Catholic religion. Two or three, indeed, went to the Kirk once or twice, but they very soon repented and returned to their duty. On the contrary, great fervour appeared among the Catholics, with great love to one another, and they seemed to be happy at being reduced to a state something like that of the first Christians. To their having these good dispositions, the example and exhortations of Mr. Godsman greatly contributed; and I was witness of his receiving into the Church several persons immediately after the battle of Culloden.

"In Glenlivet, Strathavon, Braemar, the Western Highlands, and the Isle of Uist the exercise of the Catholic religion was more disturbed by frequent searches made by troops for the missionary priests. Fr. William Harrison distinguished himself at this time by his courage and zeal. He presented himself to the sheriff of Argyllshire, told him frankly that he was a Catholic priest, but had neither done nor meant harm to anybody, and begged protection. The sheriff was well pleased with his confidence and gave him a paper, signed by himself, requiring of

everybody to allow him to go about his lawful business unmolested. In consequence of this, Mr. Harrison, in 1746 and 1747, visited almost all the Catholics in the Highlands, administering the sacraments, and exhorting the people to patience and perseverance in the Faith. The missionaries continued to be much harassed and kept in constant alarm in many parts of the Highlands. Fr. Alexander Gordon was apprehended, thrown into the prison of Inverness, and put in irons, where he died in a short time of pleurisy. Fr. Peter Gordon, superior of the Jesuits, being missionary in Braemar, was apprehended in 1746 and brought to Aberdeen. Here Mr. Menzies, of Pitfodels, gave bail for him, upon which he at once returned to his former mission, and was in Braemar before the soldiers who seized him got back to their castle in that country."*

Bishop Macdonald ventured to return to Scotland in 1749 and continued his labours until 1755, when he was apprehended and imprisoned, as was reported in the *Scots Magazine*: "On the 1st March, 1756, Hugh Macdonald, brother of Macdonald of Morar, was tried at Edinburgh before the High Court of Justiciary, at the instance of the Lord Advocate for refusing to purge himself of popery. He was found guilty and sentenced to be banished the kingdom, never to return under pain of death." None the less, the good bishop remained faithful at his post, ministering as best he could to the needs of his flock, until he died at an advanced age, in 1773.

Meantime Bishop Smith was finding the administration of the entire Lowland district a heavy burden for the shoulders of one man of delicate health and

* "History of the Catholic Church in Scotland," Walsh, p. 508.

advancing years, more especially as many of his priests were still in banishment or detained in ships of war. His earnest appeals for help from Rome having remained unanswered, he wrote again as follows, to Propaganda, on December 13th, 1747 :

“ Most eminent and most reverend Lords,
 “ We had already written at length to the S. congregation ; but learning that our letter could not be transmitted (which is now a much more difficult matter than before), it is necessary to write again more shortly. Soon after our letter of last year, the Bishop of Misinopolis (himself set out for the North, against the wish of many persons who thought that the danger was too great. However, considering the urgent needs of the mission, he deemed it his duty at all events to make the attempt, and by God's help he carried out his plan successfully, and visited with as little delay as possible the districts destitute of pastors, administered the Sacraments to the faithful, and endeavoured to revive, sustain and console their flagging spirits. Many of the priests had been driven away ; those, however, who had remained at their posts still continued to minister to their people, and he found them all, notwithstanding so many privations and dangers, quite ready to perform their accustomed duties. . . .

“ In the course of this visitation, what he had already heard of with sorrow he was now still more grieved to see—namely not only demolished and burnt-down houses where religious assemblies were formerly held, and the seminary of Scalán in the same condition, but also—still more melan-

choly spectacle—the ruin of spiritual edifices. To this latter evil, however, a more prompt and efficacious remedy seems to be forthcoming, by the divine goodness, than to the external loss ; for the Bishop has already himself recovered some of the wanderers and has learnt that others are returning, and has taken counsel with his clergy for the bringing back of the remainder. . . .

“ Easter being past, and certain business matters transacted, he visited the northern districts, and did his best to complete the work begun in the previous visitation, and to carry through a little more fully what he had been unable to do before. But though the violence of the storm was now over, tranquillity did not at once follow ; nay, the exterior wounds, there being no one to heal them, even grew worse, but our internal losses, by God's goodness, are in many cases being repaired, for many who through fear or fraud had fallen away are now returning. Some, indeed, persist in their errors, but this loss is to a certain extent compensated by others who, in spite of dangers, flock to the church of their own accord ; and these, if not equally numerous, are at all events greatly superior in merit to the former.

“ With reference to the priests of the same vicariate, Mr. Campbell has died from the effects of his wounds (received at Culloden), and Fr. A. Cameron, S.J., has succumbed to the fatigues occasioned by his voyages. Mr. A. Macdonald and Mr. A. Forrester and Frs. John and Charles Farquharson, S.J., after a lengthened imprisonment on board ship, have finally been banished.

Mr. James Grant, infirm before, and still more so now after long imprisonment, is not yet able to return to the Highlands. These having been taken from us, and Fr. Colgan, an Irish friar, being also absent, the only ones now left are Mr. Angus MacLaughlan, who, though worn out with labours, old age, and sickness, still ministers to certain of the faithful . . . also Mr. William Harrison and Mr. Angus MacGillis, who travel alone with great zeal, through the western districts, and penetrate as far as the distant islands. All these the Bishop as soon as he was able, and thereafter as often as occasion offered, has consoled and exhorted by letters. Lastly he saw in Braemar Fr. Gordon, S. J., diligently labouring, and thence he returned to Edinburgh by way of the mountains of Atholl."

The Bishop then complains of the want of support on the part of Rome, and continues :

"It is certain that in all former times this mission was in such esteem and favour with the Holy See that it never implored help in its necessities or troubles. Nor are we now conscious of any crime on account of which we deserve to be repulsed. But if we have haply sinned in ignorance, we beg that it may be made known to us, that we may be justly punished unless we amend. If, however, the Bishop of Misinopolis is in any way the cause or the occasion of this disturbance, why should he not be cast into the sea so that the storm may cease? Happy if by this, or any other means, nay, even by his death, he may restore tranquillity to the Church. If he be guilty, why should he be borne? If innocent, why punished?"

For hardly could a greater punishment be inflicted than to be abandoned by our most eminent Protectors. . . .

"Moreover, it is necessary, as our former letters have stated, that a coadjutor should be granted to this vicariate by the Holy See. It is certain that when the late Bishop of Nicopolis obtained this favour, he was some years younger than the Bishop of Misinopolis now is, and much stronger both in mind and in body: besides, in our present most serious troubles, there is a more serious necessity for such a measure. Lastly, it is needful that the proper remedies should be applied without delay to the evils under which clergy and people have been, and still are, suffering, for our little bark, albeit much tossed about by the waves, is by the singular goodness of God not yet overturned. If, however, it be abandoned by the Holy See, needs must that it perish. Therefore we again and again entreat our most gracious Protectors, with all possible humility, to raise up the bishops and clergy who have so long lain prostrate at their feet, and to deign speedily to take pity on and assist this long afflicted church, lest the remedy, if further delayed, chance to be applied too late. That Almighty God may long preserve your Eminences in safety to this mission and to the whole Christian world, is the most fervent prayer of your Eminences' most humble and obedient servant,

Alexander, Bishop of Minisopolis,
Vicar Apostolic in the Lowlands of Scotland."*

* Quoted in the "History of the Catholic Church of Scotland," Bellesheim, Vol. iv. p. 399.

The Catholics of Scotland were indeed "sitting in darkness and the shadow of death." As surely as the clouds seemed about to break, a fresh storm was aroused, not by the government, who were in reality inclined to clemency, but by the fanatical zeal and hatred of the ministers, who never ceased to feed the fire of prejudice against the unhappy Papists. Bands of soldiers patrolled the districts where Catholics were most numerous, and the priests scarcely dared to appear in public. In 1751, Mr. Maitland was brought before the High Court of Justiciary, in Edinburgh, for the crime of being by "habit and repute a Jesuit priest, or trafficking papist," and was banished from the realm, never to return, under pain of death. Mr. Patrick Gordon, afterwards superior of the Jesuits, was similarly treated in Aberdeen. Mr. John Gordon wrote from Aberdeen to Mr. Godsman in 1751: "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 ch(urchman) 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."

The patience and constancy of the missionaries under their many trials were unwavering. One,

Mr. John Seton, wrote to Dr. Smith: "We have ere now withstood 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."

Principal Innes, of the Scots College in Paris, writing to Abate Grant in Rome of the persecutions in Scotland, said: "Our poor distressed people are as hard put to it at home just now, as they were immediately after the fatal battle of Culloden."

The Abate approached the cardinals once more and succeeded through them in getting the Pope to make an appeal to the Catholic powers to use their influence at the English Court in favour of the unhappy sufferers. The Imperial, Sardinian, and Bavarian ambassadors warmly took up the cause, and Bishop Challoner, with his usual large-hearted charity, did all he could in support of their efforts. The result was that orders were sent from London to Scotland to stop all persecution on account of religion, and to ensure the good behaviour of the soldiers. Although these orders were by no means exactly carried out, the poor Catholics did, for a time, enjoy a certain measure of peace. Dr. Challoner went to thank the ambassadors for their kind offices, and wrote to the Scottish bishops:

"Messieurs,

"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 call 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 or 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 Deboren."

Meanwhile, Rome had still not complied with Bishop Smith's urgent request to be allowed a coadjutor, and, in 1753, both vicars apostolic wrote another moving appeal: "Some months ago the Bishop of Diana (Bishop Macdonald) weighed down by cares, fell sick and was very near death; nor does he yet enjoy sufficiently good health to be equal to his most heavy burden. As for the Bishop of Misinopolis, worn out by labour, anxiety and age, he has been suffering from a sickness more prolonged than ever before, and now, after a brief interval, he feels that it has returned and is daily increasing; nor can an old man of seventy look for much relief, nor for the strength needful for discharging duties so manifold and so important. We both humbly entreat therefore, that, for the good of religion, another bishop may be granted as speedily as possible."*

* "History of the Catholic Church of Scotland," Bellesheim, Vol. iv, p. 407.

Their petition was at last granted, but it was not until two years later that Mr. James Grant was, after much reluctance on his own part, consecrated Bishop of Sinita by Dr. Smith in Edinburgh.

James Grant was born in 1726 in the Enzie, the nursery of so many worthy priests, and was educated in Rome. He was stationed in the island of Barra at the time of Prince Charlie's expedition in 1745. In the following year a man-of-war landed a party of soldiers who threatened the islanders with destruction unless they delivered up their priest. Mr. Grant, hearing of this, at once gave himself into their hands, and was carried off and thrown into the common prison at Inverness, where he shared a room with forty other prisoners. For several weeks he was chained by the leg to an Irish Jacobite officer of the name of MacMahon. So closely were they fastened that, if in the night one wished to turn round, he could only do so by rolling over the body of the other. Some friends brought them each a bottle, which they used to hang out of the window to be filled with water by any kindly passer-by. One day, however, the guards confiscated these bottles, on the trumpety excuse that the prisoners were planning to hit them over the head with them. Mr. Grant used afterwards to say that the loss of his beloved bottle grieved him more than any of his other trials. At last, his brother, backed by the minister and other protestants of Barra, managed to obtain his release, and he returned to the Enzie to try and recruit his shattered health, which, however, never really recovered the hardships of his imprisonment. As soon as he had regained sufficient strength, he took charge of the parish of

Rathven, where he remained until he was elected bishop.

Such was the religious state of the country when George Hay and his two companions landed once again on the shores of Scotland. It is easy to imagine how eagerly their coming was expected and how warm a welcome was extended to the three young labourers, so full of zeal and promise, who now entered upon the harvest.

CHAPTER III

THE LABOURER IN THE HARVEST

GEORGE HAY was a man of striking appearance and commanding presence. He was tall and thin, with bold features, his nose large and aquiline, his eyes brown and very piercing; but his somewhat stern expression was belied by the wonderful sweetness of his mouth and smile. Both his parents had died during his absence in Rome, but, knowing so little about his relations with his family, it is pleasant to learn that his conversion had not led to any estrangement between them, and that he had obtained his father's consent to his becoming a priest. On his return to Edinburgh, his sister and other relations had begged that he might be allowed to remain some little time with them before entering on his new duties. He wrote to Abate Grant, in Rome, to tell him of his safe arrival: "Without the least trouble or molestation anywhere. 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 on that account."

It was no doubt of the greatest importance to use every means to break down the insane prejudice which still existed against the Catholic Church, and a better instrument could hardly have been

found than this young man, so universally admired and liked, who was newly come from the very hotbed of Rome itself. Accordingly, he remained for a short time in Edinburgh, while his two friends proceeded on their way to see Bishop Smith, then on visitation in the North. Mr. Guthrie was at once appointed to the vacant mission at Glenlivet, and Mr. Geddes sent to the Cabrach, a wild and desolate district, known as the "Siberia of Scotland," where he had five stations under his care, which he visited in turn on successive Sundays. His headquarters were at Shenval, a remote village in which Bishop Macdonald was living disguised under the name of Scot, and after spending some time here he was made Superior of the little seminary at Scalan, a post which he filled with eminent success.

Since the appointment of his coadjutor, Bishop Smith had taken up his residence for the most part in Edinburgh, while Dr. Grant remained in the North, living chiefly at Preshome. Owing to the shortage of priests, the latter had hitherto added to his episcopal duties those of parish priest of Rathven, and it was now arranged that Mr. Hay should live with him and relieve him of this extra charge. St. Peter's, Rathven, is one of the two parishes comprising the Enzie of Banff, so justly known as one of the strongholds of the Faith, the nursery of many a heroic priest, and no fewer than seven bishops. Preshome, in the centre of the district, had long ago been chosen by Bishop Nicholson, the first Vicar Apostolic, as his residence, and the little band of Catholics had formerly gathered in a tiny chapel called the Chapel of the Craigs, hidden away in a wooded ravine; but this had been destroyed

by the English soldiers in the forty-five, and all the books and vestments burnt. Since then Mass had been said in secret in a room in the priest's house itself. Adjoining St. Peter's was the parish of Bellie, at that time in charge of Mr. John Godzman, one of the most zealous and devoted of all the Scottish missionaries. Born in the district, he was drawn to the Church from his earliest childhood, and was received when only eleven years of age. He was educated in Rome and returned to the mission in 1730. In 1745 he was imprisoned, but nothing could be proved against him and he was soon released. He then served both parishes of the Enzie, going about disguised as a farmer. He hardly ever slept in his own house, but used to wander from cottage to cottage among the hills, saying Mass and preaching, usually at midnight, in the barns. Such was his reputation for sanctity that at last the officers agreed among themselves that he should no longer be molested. They arranged to meet him in the house of a Catholic, and one of them asked what he was doing that made him so obnoxious to the Government. "I say my prayers and endeavour to make my neighbours good Christians," he replied. "But you pray against the king," objected 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." He was thereafter allowed to gather his congregation in a large cottage, though for some time Mass was still celebrated at midnight.

Mr. Hay arrived at Preshome in November, 1759, and the following letter to Bishop Smith, whom he had only been able to see for a short time

before leaving Edinburgh, shows the impression made upon him by his new surroundings :

“ 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 con-
venience, 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, by His infinite goodness, that He will not fail, perform what He requires at my hands....

“ 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 these pamphlets which I saw with you, such as

‘ The Grounds of the Catholic Religion,’ and ‘ 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 me as many as you can of these pieces. I am extremely concerned for the people of Stroyla ; we have daily laments and complaints from that country.

“ Mr. Geddes’ 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 respect and veneration, much honoured Sir, your most obedient servant and son.”

It was partly on account of Rathven being considered one of the most eligible of the missions that

Mr. Hay had been appointed there, "Because his being in all his younger days accustomed to a more convenient way of living, would make some districts harder to him than others." This being so, Mr. Godsman's remarks throw a vivid light on the conditions prevailing in other districts:

"I heard from Mr. Hay two days ago; for, as the sickness is not ceased we cannot 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, is so cold in winter that it will impair his health. The flooring, ceiling, and casement of the windows are so much worn, that the wind and cold comes in every way. I really think he is never warm this weather but when in bed."

Yet such was the state of public feeling that he preferred to endure this discomfort rather than attract outside attention. "I am very sensible of the danger of making great reparations," he wrote, "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."

Cardinal Spinelli, the Cardinal Protector, continued to take a keen interest in his young Scottish priests, and wrote encouragingly to Mr. Hay: "You have a good return for your labour; do not spare yourself; and assure yourself always, more and more, of my goodwill. I take leave of you,

in the Lord, with my paternal benediction. Yours, most affectionately, G. Card. Spinelli."

Life on the mission was certainly no life of luxury. Mr. Hay received forty shillings a quarter for his board, sharing the same room with Bishop Grant in order to save fire and candle. He kept a pony, for his work extended many miles over hill and dale, by night and day, and often through deep drifts of snow. In his old age the boys at the seminary loved nothing so much as to lead him on to describe some of his adventures (he would usually try to disguise the fact that he himself was the hero of the stories). One of his anecdotes was as follows: One night when everyone else had gone to bed and he was finishing his prayers, there came a loud knocking at the door, as though someone were rapping with a heavy whip handle. The servants, too, were roused, and went to see what was the matter. But when the door was opened no one was to be seen, although they searched in all directions round the house. They all retired to rest, but Mr. Hay could not sleep, and about two o'clock the same rapping was renewed. He at once thought it must be a sick call and, dressing hastily, he went downstairs. This time he found a man awaiting him with two saddle horses to lead him to a dying woman, twenty miles away.

Besides the care of his own parish, he was often called on to supply the needs of neighbouring congregations, left desolate by the sickness or death of their own pastors. Often on a Sunday he would be so exhausted as to be almost incapable of getting home. His skill in medicine was a godsend to the scattered country folk, and his readiness to attend

all his neighbours, Catholic and Protestant alike, won him the esteem and respect of the whole countryside. His first ambition was to restore the little chapel of Our Lady of the Craigs. By the exercise of great tact and prudence, he succeeded in obtaining possession of the ruin, which he re-roofed, and cautiously opened occasionally for Sunday school—"nows and thens, and as they found encouragement oftener," as he wrote; and finally he was able to announce in triumph 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, 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 charge, which, however, will be above thirteen guineas." An amusing incident occurred not long after the new chapel was opened. Mr. Hay was standing vested at the altar one Sunday, waiting to begin Mass, when the man who, as usual, had been set to keep watch outside, ran in to say a soldier was seen approaching. Mr. Hay at once disappeared into the neighbouring wood. But the alarm proved to be a false one—the supposed soldier turning out to be a pious member of the congregation whose bright scarlet waistcoat had been mistaken for a uniform.

Meanwhile, Mr. Hay's zeal and undoubted ability soon attracted the attention of his superiors, who made increasing use of him in many important and delicate affairs. This involved several journeys to Edinburgh and a large correspondence, which he carried on with great exactness and ability. So

invaluable were his services, that when a suggestion was made of sending him to take charge of the College in Douai, one of the senior missionaries wrote in protest to Bishop Smith: "As to Mr. Hay, I think him much better fitted for being 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 everyone, 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 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 inadvisable to let him go out of the country, or from the place wherein he is settled."

It is interesting to find the secret code still in use. Rome was commonly spoken of as "Hilltown," Propaganda as "Exchange," and Communicants as "Customers." Mr. Hay reports twenty-nine new "Customers," or converts, during his first five years at Rathven. But the fires of persecution were slowly dying down and the Catholics were beginning to breathe more freely, especially in the

Lowland district. In the Highlands they were more closely watched and their chief enemies were still the ministers, who, it was said, having hardly any congregations of their own, found occupation in spying out the papists. Bishop Hugh Macdonald was growing aged and infirm, but though a coadjutor had been appointed to help him (his nephew, John Macdonald, a fellow student with Mr. Hay in Rome), the shortage of priests was so serious that the old bishop was obliged to take upon himself the active charge of some of the most desolate parts of his vicariate.

In 1763 the Scottish mission sustained a sad loss in the death of Cardinal Spinelli, for ten years its devoted Protector. The first act of his successor, Cardinal Albani, was to ask for a full report of the religious conditions, both in Scotland and the seminaries abroad. This was a matter of no small difficulty, in view of the scattered and oppressed state of the Catholics, more especially in the Highlands, where there were at the time only seven priests. However, the bishops did their best, and the report contains many items of interest. They state that the number of Catholics in Scotland had been reduced by at least a thousand owing to the rising of the Forty-five, while not fewer than six thousand had been drafted out of the country for foreign service, in the war then being waged with France. The total number of communicants was reckoned at about eighteen thousand, two-thirds of whom were in the Highlands. There were four bishops, sixteen seculars, thirteen Jesuits, and one Benedictine. A letter written a little later by Mr. Hay to Bishop Smith may be quoted here as giving

an interesting account of the financial state of the mission at this time.

“ By state of funds last meeting: the whole amounted to about £340, and out of this must be paid: 1st—The clothing apprentices. 2nd—Their viatic [the expenses of the students to and from the colleges]. 3rd—Their extraordinary expenses by accidents on their journey, which sometimes runs very high. 4th—When young labrs. come home, being perfectly destitute, they would need some extraordinary supply. 5th—Extraordinary expenses, when any labourer 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—Postage 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

* Prince Charlie.

occasional and necessary expenses (and some of them happen almost every year), Padrons [the cardinals] 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; if the number Padrons proposed was complete, all our funds would scarce keep up that to us. £10 or 40 crowns itself would 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. Goddard's opinion, that £15 was the most moderate demand could be made for those in the country, and £20 for those in the towns."*

Busy people often console themselves with the saying that work is prayer, but Mr. Hay, though doubtless carrying out this statement to the full in his own case, never for a moment allowed his many arduous and distracting cares to interfere with his spiritual life. His day was carefully mapped out—indeed, but for this precision it would

* *Scottichronicon*, p. 49.

have been impossible for him to overtake the half of his labours. He rose very early and made an hour's meditation and recited the little Hours of his office, before beginning his preparation for his Mass. He liked, if possible, to hear a second Mass by way of thanksgiving, and then spent some time in spiritual reading from extracts he himself had taken from the ascetic writers. The morning he devoted to business until his dinner hour at noon. After this he returned to business and finished his Office. At eight o'clock he returned to the chapel or to his room and spent another hour in prayer. After supper he said night prayers with his household, and then devoted himself to study and devotion until after midnight. His bed consisted of a mattress and two blankets, without sheets. He always did the work of his own room himself. He wore no linen, but was scrupulously neat and clean in his dress. He ate very little—his digestion was always weak—and for the greater part of his life he lived on milk and vegetables and drank nothing but water.

If possible, he went to confession every fortnight. He was an impressive preacher and at first he found the preparation of his sermons a terrible effort, as he describes in a letter: "When I first began to speak in public, 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 extra-

ordinarily 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."

Later on he made more copious use of notes, dividing his sermons into headings. "In following this method the composing a sermon will cost me three and sometimes four hours reading, studying, noting, etc., 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, if time will allow."

Stoother, in his life of Bishop Hay, gives the following quaint description of his preaching:

"His manner in preaching is described by living persons who have heard him as peculiarly animated, impressive, and forcible. He occasionally resorted to the 'percutio furoris' and the stamping of the right foot, but neither noisily nor violently; and he gesticulated with his hands a good deal, in the Italian manner. When warned 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 the Scriptures. 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 anyone 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 the 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 anywhere else.'"

Mr. Hay's favourite virtue throughout life was conformity to the Will of God. For sixty years this formed the basis of his meditation, and he constantly inculcated it to those under his spiritual care. He even made a collection of the passages of Scripture relating to it. Come what might, the expression most often on his lips and in his letters was that of Judas Macchabeus: "Sic fuerit voluntas in coelo, sic fiat." It was no doubt from this practice that he gained that unassailable peace and serenity which was the constant wonder of his

* *Scottichronicon*, p. 56.

friends. On one occasion only did he show signs of outward agitation, and that was on receipt of the news of the capture of Pope Pius VI by the revolutionaries. He at once retired to his little chapel and soon returned with his wonted calm. Nothing in his life is more striking than his absolute submission to his superiors—a virtue not always easily acquired by those endowed with special strength of character. It may be noted that in after life he required the same ready obedience to himself from those under his authority. He was by nature stern and somewhat uncompromising, and his own high power of work and intensity of purpose may have led him to fix a standard which, to weaker men, appeared a little too exacting. But he could be gentle, too. Children are shrewd judges, and young people always loved him. One of his students in later years wrote of him :

“ Although a kind of severity might, at first sight, appear in his exterior, particularly in the expression of his countenance ; yet if anyone 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.”

Neither did he by any means despise the lighter arts of life. His company was much sought after, for he was an excellent conversationalist and an eminent story teller, and he never failed if possible to carry with him his beloved violin. He was once asked to perform at an evening party in Edinburgh, and he sang a song he had himself composed. One of the company, Mr. Alexander Wood, an old medical friend, was affected to tears, and exclaimed : “ Eh,

Geordie, mon, I didna' think ye had sae mickle pow'r ower me.”

This same Mr. Wood was a well-known character in his day. He is reported to have been the first citizen of Edinburgh who carried an umbrella. “ Lang Sandy Wood,” as he was affectionately known, rose to the top of his profession, and was universally beloved. Mr. Hay used to relate with much delight how his friend had greeted him on their first meeting in Edinburgh, after his return as a Catholic priest. “ Weel, Geordie,” said he, “ ye're a d—fule for yer pains in becoming a Popish priest ; ye would hae made a d—guid doctor if ye had staid wi' us.”

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 could 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 fireplace, be fitted to a room to the missr. in this place; let Physician (the bishop) have Mr. Smith's room and the servant be in the kitchen; let the outer garret be the library, and, if that be not large enough, 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. . . . 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. . . .

The above scheme was duly carried out, and at the following Whitsuntide Mr. Hay began to date his letters from "Robinson's Land, near the middle of Blackfriar's Wynd."

On the death of Bishop Smith, Dr. Grant had succeeded him as Vicar Apostolic of the Lowland district and had at once applied to Rome to have Mr. Hay appointed his coadjutor. This was approved, and the briefs for his consecration as Bishop

CHAPTER IV

COADJUTOR BISHOP

IN the year 1767 Bishop Smith died at the advanced age of eighty-three. Dr. Grant and Mr. Hay at once hastened to Edinburgh, and, when the former returned north, Mr. Hay remained behind to discharge the double duties of pastor to the Edinburgh congregation and Agent to the Scottish mission. His address is given as "The second turnpike down Chalmer's Close." His correspondence was of course enormously increased, covering all the affairs of the missions at home and the seminaries abroad. But it in no way interfered with his duties to his own flock. He undertook the Sunday school for the children, and at once set about completing a scheme of Bishop Smith's for the establishment of a new chapel in Edinburgh. A house had been bought in Blackfriars Wynd, and he wrote to Bishop Grant describing how he proposed to make it serve both as chapel and dwelling house.

"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 in 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 on occasions. I

of Daulis "in partibus" reached Scotland at the end of the following year. Mr. Hay's own feeling on the matter are clearly shown in the beautiful letter he wrote to Cardinal Caselli:

January 2, 1769.

"My mind was not a little disturbed when I learned from a very courteous letter lately received from your Eminence that I was to be promoted, by the decree of the Holy Congregation of the 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 proposed to the Holy Congregation for this honour, but I continued 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 turned out contrary to my hopes (and I am very well aware of my own infirmities) I am of necessity greatly troubled. One thing, indeed, I observe which ought to console me, and it is this, that the unanimous consent of all concerned, with which the matter has been accomplished, 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 law. 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. . . ."

Of all the congratulations he received, none were more heartfelt than those of his devoted friend, Mr. Geddes, who had succeeded him at Rathven, and who wrote:

"My dear friend,—I remember you was once kindly displeased 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. Sinitin 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 sighed for, not so much, I assure you, on my own 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 concerned. 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 shall be known to be His Holy Will. You have certainly all the reason in the world to persuade yourself that what has been determined concerning you, is what Heaven requires of you. Without an express revelation, I do not see how you could have more certain indication 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 concerned, expected and wished for what has happened. **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 consecration took place on Trinity Sunday, 1769. Even with the improving conditions of the Catholics it was necessary to keep such an event as secret as possible, and the bishops therefore met at the obscure little seminary of Scalán, where the ceremony was performed by Bishop Grant, assisted by both the other Scottish bishops, the aged Vicar Apostolic of the Highland district and his coadjutor. A shadow must have been cast on the assembled clergy by the death, only a few weeks earlier, of Mr. Hay's former associate in the Enzie, the saintly Mr. Godsmán. He was taken ill on Easter Sunday while saying Mass, and passed peacefully away a few days later at the age of seventy-one. "Devout men carried him to his burial and made great lamentation over him." He was laid to rest amid general mourning in the little churchyard of St. Níman's in the Enzie, where he lies with Bishop Nicholson and twenty-five other faithful labourers of the Scottish mission. "He had nothing at heart but the glory of God and the salvation of his neighbour," wrote one of his fellow priests. "His whole time was consumed either in prayer or in labouring for the salvation of others."

It was arranged that Bishop Grant should continue to reside in the northern part of the vicariate

(supplying for the time the vacancy left by the death of Mr. Godsmann), and that the new bishop should return and make his headquarters in Edinburgh. His first efforts were directed towards a matter which had long been troubling him—the sad lack of vestments and altar requisites, and books, especially catechisms, throughout the country. He drew up a memorandum describing in simple terms the utter destitution of the priests. Hardly three of them were in good health; many had no home, but lived as they could, going from one cottage to another; the bishops were scarcely in better case. They had not wherewithal to meet their own expenses, far less to supply those of others. He sent a copy of this statement to Bishop Challoner, his old friend, who had always shown so keen an interest in the affairs of his Scottish brethren. The Bishop replied very kindly, and a few days later wrote again as follows:

“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 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 missionaries 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 intention, which they take much to heart. They do not expect any number propor-

tionate 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 obedient servant in Christ. R.C.”

(The generous donor was probably the young Lord Peter, who desired the prayers for his father, lately dead.)

At their next meeting the Scottish bishops wrote a joint letter to Bishop Challoner to thank him for his many kindnesses: “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 directions. 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 immediate concerns to provide for, and we return you our most grateful thanks for this favour...”

The letter concluded with a further call upon him for advice and assistance in another matter. “While, through your charity and friendship, divine Providence has been pleased to bestow so

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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 an evil."

They enclosed a memorial, setting forth the subject of anxiety.

For some time the people of South Uist had been subjected to a violent persecution on the part of their laird, Macdonald of Boisdale, himself an apostate. He first attacked the children, insisting on their attending a school where they heard little but abuse of their religion. In Lent flesh meat was forced into their mouths, and when the parents indignantly withdrew them from the school, he issued an ultimatum declaring that they must either renounce their religion or be evicted from their homes. Poor as they were, and faced with utter ruin, they one and all, to their eternal credit, announced that they would rather starve than deny their Faith.

The evil soon spread to other districts as well, but the poor sufferers found a generous supporter in Macdonald of Glenaladale, who formulated a scheme for emigrating them to America. This, however, involved considerable expense, for on enquiry it was

found that £2,000 would be required to purchase a sufficient tract of land for their settlement. "Worthy Macdonald affirms that he will sell all he has for that end and go with them," wrote Bishop Hay. But even this would not suffice, and the bishops' memorial closed with a moving appeal for funds.

The generous-hearted Dr. Challoner took up the cause warmly, and forgetful of his own many needs, he had the memorial printed at his own expense and distributed far and wide. It had the desired effect; public collections were made at the ambassador's chapels, and a considerable sum of money raised. Before the end of 1771, Glenaladale was able to purchase a large estate on St. John's Island, and in the following Spring two hundred emigrants set sail, accompanied by a priest and taking with them a whole year's supply of meal. The good Macdonald did actually find himself so embarrassed by his generosity as to be obliged to sell his estates and follow them. Within a few years he was able to report that "the Uist people are doing extremely well in St. John's Island, coming fast on, and living already far better than at home."

This was the beginning of the Highland emigration to America, and much as the emigrants themselves profited by the change, it was a sad day for Scotland, for the homes to which they bade farewell with such aching hearts were left desolate indeed. Dr. Johnston, on his famous tour to the Hebrides a few years later, describes the result.

"It is not only here (at Raasay) that the chapel is unroofed and useless—through the few islands that we visited we neither saw nor heard of any

house of prayer except in Skye that was not in ruins. The malignant influence of Calvinism has blasted ceremony and decency together. It has been for many years popular to talk of the lazy devotion of the Catholic clergy, over the sleepy laziness of the men who erected churches; we may indulge our superiority with a new triumph by comparing it with the fervid activity of those who suffer them to fail."

CHAPTER V

THE SCOTS COLLEGE IN SPAIN AND AT DOUAI

Of all the crying needs of the struggling Scottish Mission, none was more urgent than that of "Labourers" themselves. Ever since the Reformers had driven out the priests by fire and sword, every effort had been made to maintain the supply of missionaries, who alone could keep alight the flickering fire of the Faith, but always the great problem was their education. It was a capital offence to bring up children in the ancient Faith at home, and it was equally forbidden to send them to be educated abroad. None the less, this latter was the one alternative, and a steady stream of boys and young men found their way, by one means or another, to happier lands overseas—to return in due time as "Massing priests," eager to lay down life itself in their labours for the stricken harvest field. Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, Vincentians, Seculars, all were represented—in hiding among their scattered flocks, harried from place to place, in full likelihood of eventual capture and imprisonment—a prospect hard enough for the religious, but dark indeed for the secular missionaries who had no sheltering order to whose arms they could return when age or sickness at last drove them from the mission field. What does not Scotland owe to

there heroic men, for, despite all difficulties and dangers, the supply never failed; and nothing is more striking than the number of converts whose names appear upon the lists even in the darkest days, proving the irresistible appeal the Church has ever made to those who come within her reach.

There were already three Scottish colleges abroad, at Douai, Paris, and in Rome, when, in 1627, a pious Scotsman, Colonel William Semple, made a similar foundation at Madrid. He had been for long in service at the Spanish Court, and, being childless, he left his money to "endow a seminary for Scotch secular collegians"—"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." The college, like most other similar establishments at that time, was to be under the direction of the Jesuits.

For one reason or another the Scottish mission had benefitted very little from this generous gift. But few students had been entered there, and of these the most promising had joined the order of the Jesuits. In the year 1767 the Society was driven out of Spain, and the question of the Scottish property came under consideration. Negotiations were carried on with the help of Bishop Challoner, and it finally became clear that the only satisfactory solution would be to send out a priest and re-open the

college under secular direction. All eyes turned to Mr. Geddes, who had already proved so successful in the administration of the seminary at Scalan. Little as he courted the post, he wrote to Bishop Hay: "As for me myself, if I should be thought on for that purpose, from our old principles, and from what I wrote 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 so unacquainted with the language and manners of that country, etc. But one *Go* from superiors should make all easy."

To Bishop Hay, too, it was a hard trial to think of being thus parted from his friend. "The thought of parting with John Geddes is terrible," he wrote to Dr. Grant, and in a letter to Mr. Geddes himself he says: "You will by this time know Mr. Sinitin'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 *sic fuerit voluntas in coelo, sic fiat.*"

Shortly afterwards Mr. Geddes set out. On his way through London he saw Bishop Challoner and wrote that he was charmed with the "easy, agreeable, and edifying behaviour" of the great man of whom he had heard so much. He carried on the negotiations in Spain so successfully that he succeeded in recovering all the property of the Scots College, and arranged for its transference to Valladolid, as being both more suitable in climate and more easy of access

for the students. In December, 1770, fifteen boys set out from London, some sailing from Leith and others from Aberdeen to avoid arousing suspicion. They waited on Bishop Challoner to receive his blessing, and then proceeded to Valladolid, where they were hospitably welcomed at the English College until their own was ready for them. It was not until May that Mr. Geddes was able to announce the opening of the new house. "After supping at St. Alban's (the English College) all the English and we came together to this College of St. 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, twenty-seven or twenty-eight good rooms, five of them are excellent, and all of them have closets, called alcoves, for the bed; we have also two granaries, a pigeon house, two courts, three draw-wells, and a little garden."

For ten years Mr. Geddes remained in charge of the new college, and under his wise and sympathetic rule it soon rose to a state of great efficiency. During this time the two friends kept in close touch with one another, and their correspondence is of the greatest value in estimating the true character of Bishop Hay, for in the intimacy of these letters, the veil is for a moment drawn aside, and we catch a glimpse of the tenderness of feeling and depth of piety which lay hidden beneath his somewhat stern and austere exterior.

"My dear Sir," he wrote in May, 1770. "You will, I daresay, be longing to hear from your native country, and to know how things are going on here."

And he proceeds to give him a long and detailed account of the affairs of the Mission, concluding: "The above is all the news I have to communicate to you. And now, my dear Sir, as you are likely to be fixed for some time in these 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 diei et aestu*; 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."

He confided to Mr. Geddes the great strain he was feeling from the pressure of his work: "For my part, I may say it to you, my friend, where you are at present, though I would not be so rash saying it here, the continual close application of mind, which I am here exposed to daily, is so wasting and so exhausts my spirit, 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 no end, but only have alarmed people to no purpose; but this you may make use of where you see if you think it can be of any service. And you see there is no help for me; I expected, indeed, Mr. Patterson would have been allowed to stay here, which would have made me very happy; but, alas, poor Mr. Godsmann's death renders that impracticable, and, therefore I rest most content 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."

In another letter he sympathises with the difficulties and disappointments his friend was meeting with in his work: "God Almighty, as you well know, my dear 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 dear 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 the touch of the pen."

In accordance with a custom of the day, they assumed imaginary names. Dr. Hay signed himself Staurophilus, and Mr. Geddes, Philalethes, in their private letters: "In such," wrote Dr. Hay, you may depend upon it, the appellation of Friend will always be the most agreeable address from Philalethes to Staurophilus."

Before long, Dr. Hay was himself called upon to intervene on behalf of another of the Scots Colleges abroad—the most ancient of them all, at Douai. Founded originally in 1576 by Dr. Cheyne, the priest at Aboyne, after many vicissitudes, it was finally established at Douai and placed under the Jesuits. Although in reality intended for the education of secular clergy for the Scottish mission, the Jesuits had, in course of time, come to look upon the college and its income as their own, with the result that when the society was expelled from France, in 1765, the whole property was confiscated to the crown. Long and complicated negotiations ensued, and at length, chiefly through the efforts of the Principal of the Scots College in Paris, arrangements were made for the continuance of the Douai seminary under a Scotch rector, and Mr. Grant, brother of the Agent in Rome, was appointed to the post. But

fresh difficulties arose with the former superiors regarding the funds of the College, and finally Dr. Hay decided to go out himself and investigate matters on the spot.

Accordingly, he set out in January, 1772, travelling in the old stage coach, the "Fly." He visited the Bar Convent in York, where he "spent the day very agreeably among the good religious and the young folks." On his arrival in London, he of course went to see his old friend, Bishop Challoner, now eighty years of age. This meeting cemented still more closely the bond of friendship they had formed twenty years ago, and it was probably on this occasion that they made a solemn contract that, when either of them died, the other would offer Mass three times a week for the repose of his soul. There was more than forty years difference in age between them, and it fell to Bishop Hay to fulfil his promise for nearly a quarter of a century.

He reached Douai in the middle of February, and a few days later went on to Paris, where he found a warm welcome at the College. He had hopes of obtaining the grant of a French benefice of which the funds should be devoted to the maintenance of Scottish priests, but the scheme came to nothing. He wrote an account of the proceedings to Abate Grant in Rome, concluding with 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 in that to be resigned to His holy Will, but I am sorry for your brother [Mr. 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 Mui's conduct; and the only thing we can conjecture is that, as he is greatly attached to the Jesuits and their adherents, 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 connection 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 now turned his face northward, being anxious to return home. He stayed a day or two in London, where it is amusing to find him engaged in a little deliberate matchmaking.

"I long to be home to my dear people. I do assure you I would rather be home 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 luck there. By all I hear about her, she would be a good wife to him."

CHAPTER VI

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS— MISSION CARES

THE year 1773 saw the formal suppression of the Society of Jesus by Pope Clement XIV. The order had grown very strong and powerful, and already its members had been expelled by the civil governments of most of the countries of western Europe; in fact, as Bishop Geddes wrote from Spain: "Here I may tell you in short that 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*." Nothing in their history redounds more to their credit than the prompt submission with which they obeyed the decision of the Holy See. There is no need here to enter into the history of this much-discussed affair, further than to note its effect with regard to the Scottish mission.

Scotland must ever be grateful to the Jesuits for the many devoted labourers they provided for the harvest during the long, dark days of persecution. It was they who had the direction of three out of the four colleges abroad, though here, alas, dissensions had arisen which prevented these establishments from exercising their full capacity in the supply of priests. In earlier days, the Jesuit missionaries usually lived as chaplains with one or other of the great families which still retained the Faith, and

from these centres they evangelised the country round. They owed obedience to their own superiors alone, but as the affairs of the Scottish church gradually became more organised, it was found advisable to bring them under the jurisdiction of the Vicars Apostolic. The unhappy misunderstanding which so often arose between the Order and the Bishops related chiefly, as has been said, to the seminaries, but it is curious to note as one cause of offence the title of "Secular," first used by the Jesuits in speaking of the other clergy. This was much resented by the latter as implying a certain inferiority on their part to the members of the religious orders. Dr. Hay, while always friendly and considerate in his dealings with the individual Jesuits under his jurisdiction, appears to have had no special love for the order itself. During his visit to Douai, Mr. Grant found him "not a bit more attached to the Etiamites than the rules of the Gospel oblige every Christian." (Etiamite was one of the secret titles by which the Jesuits were known. It was derived from "etiam," usually the first word in Bulls relating to the order. Another of their aliases was "Birlies," of which the origin is unknown.)

At the time of the suppression of the Society, there were twelve of its members in Scotland. Bishop Hay himself received the submission of Mr. Johnstone (the Provincial) and Mr. Duguid, who were in Edinburgh. "They were both most willing to comply," he wrote to Bishop Grant, "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 obedient and submissive; and I assured them they should never have reason to complain or regret the change of superiors on our part." There then followed a discussion on details of the business. "This being all finished, we drank tea together and were very frank."

Prolonged negotiations ensued with regard to the funds of the Society and the support of the secularised missionaries, but eventually a compromise was arrived at. The seminaries in Rome which had hitherto been under their care were taken out of their hands, the Scots College being placed temporarily under the administration of a body of five cardinals. Mr. Geddes wrote from Spain: "I am fully persuaded, and I think it evidently appears from the very tenure 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 removing 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; 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."

Meanwhile, Dr. Hay had his hands more full than ever, for Bishop Grant was in failing health and the whole administration of the Lowland district fell on the shoulders of his coadjutor. On his return from Douai he found the shortage of priests more grievous than ever before, as he wrote to Mr. Geddes, November, 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 worse and worse. Mr. Dian (B. Hugh Macdonald) quite *ab agendo*. Mr. Tiberiop (B. John Macdonald) of late quite spent with fatigue, and seized with severe faintings, loss of appetite, etc.; Mr. McGillis afflicted with the gravel, and much decayed; Mr. McLeod, 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 Wurzburg, 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? (He had had an accident which had resulted in the amputation of his leg.) By this you see, dear Sir, how great need there is for all the helps we can think of as soon as possible."

It was indeed a sorry state of affairs. The bishops themselves travelled incessantly up and down the

country supplying as best they could the spiritual wants of the people. Bishop Grant wrote an account of his visitation to the northern part of the district: "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 (the Pope), I even ventured without scruple, to say Mass."

In one of Bishop Hay's letters to his friend he describes how: "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 every now and then to Alloa and sometimes to Glasgow, which, indeed, is now more easy for me, as I have Mr. Strachen in Edinburgh, but still, you see, this takes up a good deal of time."

When we consider the very inadequate means of communication which existed in those days, we may well wonder how mortal man accomplished all he did, for he was continually on the move. A letter to one of his priests throws a curious little sidelight on the customs of the day. "I intended this forenoon to have wrote you an answer, but it was not in my power until now, that I am in Clochin to take leave of my 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 to-night." Tea was apparently a regular institution, and was called Four-hours, being usually taken mid-way between one o'clock dinner and supper at eight or nine.

Bishop Hay had one great consolation to counter-balance all his troubles—his sister's conversion to the Faith. He at once wrote to share the glad tidings with his friend. "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 exceedingly happy on the occasion, only regretting she has so long been influenced by the insinuations of her relations against it." At the end of his letter he tells of the death of the venerable Bishop Macdonald: "Our good, worthy friend, Mr. Dion, 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 seventysixth year of his age, without any pain or agony, having received all helps."

Despite his own many preoccupations, Dr. Hay was ever ready to pour out his sympathy to his friend. When Mr. Geddes wrote in great distress on account of the failure of some of his students, he hastened to console him.

"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 cobwebs. When we consider that 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 further; 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 cum 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 dederit mihi Pater meus caelestis 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."

Dr. Hay did not allow the daily pressure of work to blind him to the wider needs of the mission which he watched over with jealous care. The persecutions in the North had driven many of the Highlanders to the towns, and a census taken in 1777 showed an increase of four hundred in the Edinburgh congregation alone. The one existing chapel in Blackfriars Wynd was too small to meet these further needs, and with the approval of Bishop Grant a new site was found in Leith Wynd, consisting of half-an-acre of ground enclosed within a good wall. The purchase money was £320 and the cost of pulling down the old house and erecting a chapel and dwelling house was estimated at £1,100. The Bishop had little or nothing in hand wherewith to meet this formidable bill, but, relying on Providence, he applied to Rome (hoping that "Mr. Pius" himself might be able to contribute), to Valladolid, and to the Scottish monastery at Ratisbon, with the result that the building was soon in full swing.

Another undertaking was the restoration of the

chapel at Stobhill, in Perthshire, where he was able to renew the lease of the farm which had been for some time the centre of a mission. He describes a surprising scene at a meeting where he was finally awarded the lease, showing that in some parts of the country, at least, feeling was becoming more favourable to the Catholics.

"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, etc. 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 Judgement.' 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." But with his usual prudence, he would not allow himself to be unduly elated, and writing again of the same matter later on, he says: "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, praesto sum; fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum; quod placitum est coram se faciat,' and to say it with the heart and all the affections of the soul."

It was well for him that he could thus calmly abide events, and so prepare himself to meet with fortitude the mighty storm which was so soon to sweep down upon the country.

Under these penal laws all priests—all who received or harboured them—all who said Mass or attended it—were liable to death and confiscation of their goods, or to immediate banishment. Children could be taken from their parents and brought up as Protestants. No Catholic could legally succeed to estates or property. In the case of Catholics purchasing house or land, the deed of sale was null and void, and the seller might retain the purchase price and keep the property as well. These were but a few of the disabilities under which the Catholics lay; and, though in practice the laws had largely been allowed to lapse, they were liable at any time to be evoked, since they still held force; and, moreover, the "informer" against his Catholic neighbour could always claim his £100 reward.

The story of the first Catholic Relief Bill is told by Bishop Hay himself in a letter to the Roman Agent. It is dated from Scalán, July 24, 1778.*

"Dear Sir,—By what you wrote me in answer to mine from London, I see the information you have got of our public affairs was but imperfect, and as none can give you a more exact account of them than I, I shall here give you one you can depend upon. Sir John Dalrymple, Baron of the Exchequer, some years ago, being in Paris, contracted a friendship with our present Principal, which was renewed since Mr. Gordon came home to the Mission.

"Sir John is a man of an exceedingly good heart, and friendly, lately made one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and a great favourite at Court. He was the first who suggested to the Ministry the plan of

* Quoted in "Memoirs of Scottish Catholics," Forbes Leith, Vol. II, p. 368.

CHAPTER VII

THE PENAL LAWS—FIRST RELIEF BILL

THIRTY years had passed since the expedition of Prince Charlie in 1745, and the restoration of the Stuarts was now enrolled among the lost causes of history, for Prince Charles himself was childless, and his brother, Henry, was a Cardinal of the Church. The house of Hanover sat securely on the British throne, and the fires of hate and prejudice against the Papists were beginning to burn low. Other and wider interests occupied the minds of men, for Britain was engaged in world-wide war. More tolerant opinions, too, were gaining ground, and the broader-minded were ashamed of the barbarous code of laws which still held force against the Catholics, for no other reason than their loyalty to their faith—laws that were denounced by Principal Robertson as cruel and sanguinary and a disgrace to the age; and of which Cunningham wrote: "There is no more humiliating chapter in our history and legislation than these penal statutes against the downtrodden Romanists. . . . They were to be a proscribed and outcast race, denied not only the rights of fellow citizens, but the charity which is generally extended to the most worthless of our fellow creatures."*

* "Church History of Scotland," Cunningham, Vol. II, p. 543.

raising some Catholic regiments in Ireland. He also was the author of that other plan of restoring the forfeited estates to their ancient owners, in which great progress would have been made by this time, had not the American War put a stop to it.

"Encouraged by the success of these plans, he wished something could be done for the Roman Catholics of his own country. With this view, after Burgoyne's defeat, and the fear of a French war, which made it necessary that all parties should unite in the common cause of their country, he wrote to his friend, the Principal, and to Lord Linton,* to know the disposition of the Catholics in Scotland, and giving them hopes of something being done in their favour. They both wrote to me in the affair; and soon after the Principal came to town and made Sir John and me acquainted. We had several conversations on the matter, the result of which Sir John desired me to write in a letter to himself.

"The chief points were how the Catholics of Scotland stood affected towards the American rebellion. How far would they be willing to engage in government service, if required, and what terms they would expect by doing so. My answers were such as truth required; but withal I told him that our numbers and property being so small, little could be done on purpose by us, unless our brethren in England were joined in the business.

"Soon after this Sir John went to London, from whence he wrote me that my letter had given great satisfaction to the Ministry; that he was encouraged to go on, and wanted a letter from me to introduce

* Eldest son of the sixth Earl of Traquair.

him to Bishop Challoner's acquaintance for his advice and concurrence in the affair."

Bishop Hay declined to give letters of introduction to any but his old friend Dr. Challoner and his coadjutor, Bishop Talbot, "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 who know him on account of his great merit; the other, besides his own personal merit, is brother to the Earl of Shrewsbury."

To return to Dr. Hay's letter to Mr. Grant:

"Sir John was made acquainted with some of the English nobility and gentry then in London. They all received his project with joy and approbation, and constituted a committee of their number to transact the affair in the name of all the rest with the Ministry.

"The first step judged necessary was to present the address to the King, which you saw and which gave His Majesty very great satisfaction. Circular letters were sent by the Committee to all the nobility and gentry in England, who either came up themselves on the day appointed, and signed the address, or did it by proxy. But as there was not time to get all advised in Scotland, Lord Linton went up express in the name of all the rest, and took me with him.

"At first the great fear was of meeting with opposition from the Ministry; but that fear was soon dispelled, and several circumstances providentially occurred that made them our best friends. Many of that party had great estates and connections in Ireland, and from motives of humanity wished to see the miseries of the poor Irish alleviated, but which could not be done without giving an example in Britain.

"The Congress had given an intimation to all Catholics to go and settle in America; which made it necessary to encourage them to stay at home, by alleviating their miseries. The fear of a French (invasion) added to an American war, required that every step should be taken to suit all parties at home for the common good. Finally, the dissenters in England, who have been long struggling for more liberty, took it strongly into their heads that if they would support the Catholics on this occasion, the Catholics would support them again; and the liberty they wished for, if the Catholics succeeded, could with less propriety be denied them.

"From the above motives the whole ministry to a man became friends to our cause; and some of the principal men amongst them undertook the conduct of it, and as we were sure of the Ministry whose affair it was, it was carried in both Houses without a dissenting voice. The address met with universal approbation and applause from all ranks of people, and the next step judged necessary to be taken was to bring in a Bill to Parliament for the indulgences we wished to have; and we were admonished to be moderate in our demands for fear of what might happen, with the full assurance that if the first favour

was easily secured, and went down with the nation, it would be a prelude to grant all the rest in due time.

"Till this period the Committee had shown the greatest friendship and regard for Sir John and Lord Linton. But seeing the address so well received, they became shy and cold and uncommunicative of their affairs; so that it was with great difficulty we could get out at last what demand they were resolved to make; which was a repeal of an Act of the English Parliament under King William, which chiefly affected the property of Roman Catholics, and encouraged the persecution of the clergy, by assigning a reward to the informer. As there is just such another act of the Scottish Parliament under the same reign, we thought we could not do better than ask a repeal of it; and being desirous of going hand in hand with the English in every step, we proposed that both repeals should go on together in the same Bill.

"Thus the Committee absolutely refused, and, assigning apparent reasons for their refusal, which we afterwards found to be insufficient and false, they resolved to carry on their own Bill alone, and left us to shift for ourselves. This, you may be sure, was not agreeable; especially as Lord Linton and I had few or none to adjoin with there; and our good friend Sir John was under the necessity of leaving London about that time. However, by his advice Lord Linton applied to the Lord Advocate of Scotland, who most cheerfully and readily undertook to carry through our Bill, looking upon it as a national cause.

"The Sessions were now drawing to a close and it was feared that in case of opposition there would

not be time to finish the affair. The General Assembly was then sitting down, and if that body should take it into their heads to remonstrate against us, it would occasion difficulties. It was therefore thought advisable to defer the Scots Bill till next session of Parliament, and let the English one go on alone; and the Lord Advocate pledged his honour to us that whatever favour should be granted to the English, he should take care that the same should afterwards be granted to us. The English have accordingly got the repeal they wanted, with the unanimous consent of both Houses, and the general approbation of the whole nation, and we will get the same next Winter."

That the English Relief Bill should have passed so easily and so quickly was a source of astonishment and congratulation to all concerned. Bishop Hay alludes to it as an "amazing affair." Its practical results were, indeed, very limited. Catholics could now legally inherit and purchase property without fear of dispossession by the nearest Protestant heir; priests were no longer liable to imprisonment for life, or deportation; and, more important still perhaps, the "Informer" could no longer claim the £100 reward which had hitherto made the enforcement of the Penal Laws no mere idle threat. But as Charles Butler pointed out, the real benefit was on the social side: "It smote the general prejudice against them (the Catholics) to its centre; it disposed their neighbours to think of them with kindness; it led the public to view their pretensions to further relief with a favourable eye, and it restored to them a thousand indescribable charities in the ordinary course of social life which they had seldom

experienced. No Catholic who recollects the passing of the Bill will ever forget the general anxiety of the body while it was in its progress through the Parliament, or the smile and friendly greeting with which his protestant neighbour met him the day after it had passed into a law." (*Hist. Mem. of English Catholics*, II, 83.)

Bishop Hay had remained in London throughout the negotiations, "paying and receiving many visits, some of business and others of courtesy, I thank God I find my health much better for this jaunt," he wrote to Bishop Grant. Much of his time was spent with Dr. Challoner, who had now reached the advanced age of eighty-seven. The old man had lost nothing of the clearness of his vision, as is shown by an incident related by Bishop Douglas. During the passage of the Relief Bill the first note had been sounded of the sad and edifying struggle between the English Catholic laity and their bishops, which later on worked such detriment to their cause. "Bishop Hay dining with Bishop Challoner, told him of the affront he had received from the noblemen, as above related," writes Dr. Douglas. "B. Challoner paused and then spoke of the disregard for their clergy, and that many of them would fall off from their religion. B. Hay lamented this because, as many of them supported priests and chapels, religion would suffer by the apostasy. On which the Bishop again paused, then said, 'There will be a new people.' This was considered by Bishop Hay as a prediction of what would take place in a few years."

Dr. Burton, who quotes this passage in his *Life of Bishop Challoner*, p. 213, adds: "What vision

of the future passed before the old man's soul we know not, only that his prophecy has in both particulars been fulfilled. Some of the old families have fallen from the Faith, while the Church, though never forgetting the loyal service of those that are left, no longer rests exclusively on their support. And there is a new people."

Although the Scottish Catholics, who had in no small measure helped to win the battle for their English brethren, were themselves left unrelieved, Bishop Hay returned to Edinburgh full of thankfulness and hope, confident that in a few months Scotland would share an equal benefit. But delay resulted in disaster! At the meeting of the General Assembly of the Kirk, the proposed Relief Bill became the subject of heated discussion, and one by one, the various Synods took up the cry. The Synod of Glasgow and Ayr proclaimed a solemn fast to avert the divine displeasure aroused by the encouragement given to popery, adding that "the astonishing progress of this detestable, cruel, and unjust superstition, is so much the more alarming, as it appears not only in remote and uncultivated corners, but in the most populous and improved parts of the land." (*Scots Magazine*, 1778, p. 565.)

Every effort was made to inflame the passions of the people by a band of enthusiasts styling themselves "Friends of the Protestant Interest," who, as Bishop Hay pointed out, drew their supporters almost entirely from the most ignorant and uneducated of the people. For it was noted that feeling ran most high in those districts where Catholicism was least known, while the county gentlemen

and better class of tradesmen held aloof from the agitation.

The storm first broke out in Glasgow, then a very different place from the mighty city into which it has since developed. The Catholics—hardly more than twenty souls—had no regular place of worship, but used to meet on Sundays at the house of one, Macdonald, a combmaker, where they said their prayers together, and where once in a while, a priest would come and say Mass for them. On Sunday, 18th October, Mr. Menzies was just finishing his Mass when a mob burst into the house. While they smashed the windows and tore down the doors, the altar and vestments were hastily hidden away, and the priest adroitly made his escape by mixing with the crowd and joining in the general cry of "Where is the priest?" "The mob not only insulted but terrified the poor people to the highest degree. The only person like a gentleman among the Papists escaped in a chair amidst the curses and imprecations of the multitudes. Some poor Highland women had their cloaks and caps torn off them and were pelted with dirt and stones. In short, the rabble continued their outrages until night, when they broke all the windows of the house, breathing blood and slaughter to all Papists and in every respect profaning the Lord's Day in a grosser manner than ever was known to be done in Britain." (*Scots Magazine*, 1878.)

When the wretched Catholics sought redress they were indeed kindly received by the authorities, but advised to waive their rights for fear of arousing still worse trouble!

However, the bishops and others interested in

the cause were by no means willing to give up hope. The Irish Relief Bill had by now been passed; was Scotland, who had taken the first step, alone to remain in servitude? Accordingly, in January, 1779, Bishop Hay and Lord Linton returned to London to watch the progress of their Bill. But the knowledge that the obnoxious measure was actually under consideration merely added fresh fuel to the flame of agitation in Scotland. Petitions were drawn up and schoolboys hired to sign them; handbills were printed of the most violent description, one bearing the grandiloquent but somewhat obscure title: "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," while Stohert thus describes another, entitled: "Sawney's defence against the Beast, Whore, Pope and Devil." "On the left hand of the picture and 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, etc., 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 group, 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. 12. The most inflammatory scrolls issue from the mouths of all the figures."*

It is hardly surprising that when a Catholic was recognised in the street he was greeted with the cry: "There's a Papist. Knock him down. Shoot him." Incendiary and threatening letters were sent by post or dropped about the streets. One such read as follows: "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. Jan. 29, 1779. P.S.—Please to read this carefully, keep it clean and drop it somewhere else. For King and country. Unity."†

Principal Robertson, who was known to favour the Relief Bill, was ferociously attacked, as he himself related in a speech to the Assembly: "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

* "Scotchchronicon," p. 158.

† *Ibid.*

a King and Ministry bent on overturning the Protestant religion. In pamphlets, in newspapers, in handbills, 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 on 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 incendiary letters. Several of these letters 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 on, 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 prompted them to point a dagger to the breast of a fellow Christian in the name of our merciful Saviour." (*Hist. of the Church in Scotland*, Walsh, p. 523.)

The Catholics, naturally alarmed, applied for protection to the Lord Provost and City Magistrates, only to be told that there was no need for apprehension. And then, quite suddenly, on February 2nd, the storm broke in all its fury. The mob assembled round the new chapel house, and soon the little place was in ruins. "Set fire to it. Set fire to it," yelled the crowd. Two priests who were sitting at their dinner managed to escape, but a poor cat, which rushed out of the burning building,

was seized by savage hands and thrown back into the flames, with the cry that it was a popish cat and deserved to die.

Meanwhile, ironically enough, the Relief Bill, the cause of so much fury, had been withdrawn; news of the excess of bigotry it had aroused in Scotland had so far intimidated its supporters that they thought it wiser to delay the measure until popular feeling had subsided. Bishop Hay hastened home to console his distracted flock. He reached Edinburgh on the fatal 2nd February, and having dismounted at the inn, proceeded with his saddle bags under his arm to his house in Chalmers Street. He found the place surrounded by a yelling mob, and asked an old woman what the matter was. "Oh, Sir," she said, "we are burning the Popish chapel and only wish we had the Bishop to throw on the fire, too." The Bishop thought it prudent to slip quietly away, and found shelter for a few days in the castle.

The mob, elated by their first success, swept on to Blackfriars Wynd, where they destroyed and plundered the chapel house, and then proceeded to loot the shops and houses of the other Catholics in the town. The city authorities seem to have looked on with helpless apathy at these disgraceful proceedings, but the Duke of Buccleuch, with a large body of fencibles, did his best to quell the rioters, and by degrees order was restored. Sir John Dalrymple, whose own house was threatened (he being a known supporter of the Catholic cause) wrote to Dr. Hay a letter of sympathy in French, for fear of its 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 now have been standing and Mrs. Macdonald living." He also wrote to Lord Linton: "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 Non-jurors and enthusiastical parts 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 quiet."

The storm had not been confined to the capital alone; renewed rioting had taken place in Glasgow, and mobs had gathered in Peebles, Perth, and Aberdeen, but in these cities the local authorities had shown greater promptitude and courage, and order was enforced before material damage was effected. But the poor little Catholic body of Edinburgh, far from enjoying the promised relief, found themselves in worse plight than ever—their humble chapels burnt, and their priests driven into hiding. The Bishop's papers had most fortunately

been saved, though his furniture and a library of ten thousand volumes collected by his three predecessors (a priceless possession in those days) had shared the common doom. But with his usual calm submission to the Will of God, he made no complaint.

Writing a few days later to Mr. Reid, he said: "Give my kind compliments to my sister and tell her I am safe and well, and I beg her and all my friends not to be dismayed nor discouraged at what has happened. The storm will soon blow over and all will be well again." And he thus unburdened himself to Mr. Geddes in Valladolid: "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 motion 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."

He lost no time in instilling similar sentiments into the members of his flock. Hardly were the riots over when he addressed to them this pastoral:

"To all the faithful, both clergy and laity, under our charge, health and benediction from the Lord.

"Dearly beloved in Our Lord. As you will no doubt be alarmed on seeing in the public papers what has just now happened in Edinburgh against our

friends there, we think it our duty to administer to you both advice and consolation, as the circumstances permit and the occasion seems to require. . . . For some time past, but especially since the middle of January our friends in Edinburgh had been frequently alarmed with threats of destruction from the mob, sometimes by word of mouth, sometimes by incendiary papers dropt in different parts of the city, and sometimes even by threatening letters sent to their own houses; and on Tuesday, the 2nd inst., these threats were effectually put in execution. The mob assembled that day with very great fury, attacked the houses possessed by both our clergy in Edinburgh, burnt the one lately built—with all its contents—to the ground, and pillaged and destroyed the other. Then they attacked the shops and houses of some others of our people, which they treated in the same manner, and threatened the same destruction to all the rest. . . . Though we cannot help being deeply afflicted for these sufferings of our dear people, and for the interruption of the exercises of our holy religion, yet, confiding in the arm of the Most High, we hope for a speedy relief from His infinite goodness. We, therefore, earnestly beseech you all not to be discouraged under the afflicting hand of God, but to put your trust in His all-powerful goodness, who when He is angry remembers mercy, and when He chastises us as children for our sins, intends at the same time our greater advancement in virtue; let us not fail to co-operate with His fatherly views, but remember that the time of suffering is the time of trial—the showing our fidelity to God and our sincerity in His service. . . . 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, shall undoubtedly, through the mercy of God, turn out to His greater glory and our greater good. Above all things we enjoy you 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 heads except in so 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 are doing 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 are doing,' and let us earnestly beg of Him not to lay their sins to their charge, but, by granting them sincere repentance, bring them to eternal happiness. It is thus we will show ourselves children of our heavenly Father, and draw down a large benediction on our own souls, according to these comforting words of our Lord: 'Blessed are ye when men shall persecute you and revile you, and say all manner of evil against you, 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 pre-serve you for ever in the practice of all good, and in the Faith and love of our Lord Jesus. Amen.

February 8, 1779." (*History of Church in Scotland*, Walsh, p. 524.)

One outcome of these events was the public recognition by the Catholic body of Scotland of the reigning House of Hanover. So long as there had remained any prospect of the restoration of the Stuarts, they had remained faithful to the old allegiance, but all such hopes were at an end, and at a meeting of the clergy in the autumn of 1779, Dr. Hay proposed that for the future it would be proper for them to pray by name for King George III. The proposal was unanimously agreed to, in fact, it was the wish of the whole Catholic body, for under existing circumstances there was no other means open to them of proving their loyalty to the Crown. A mandate was therefore issued to all the Scottish missionaries to mention King George and the royal family by name, and to recommend them to the prayers of their respective congregations.

Earnestly as Bishop Hay exhorted his people to patience under their trials, he was not one to submit tamely to such flagrant injustice, and he was determined to obtain redress for their losses, which, it was estimated, amounted to £3,000. He addressed a long letter to the Provost, setting forth his claims, but no answer was vouchsafed to him. The letter was read at a meeting of the Town Council, who expressed themselves as much annoyed that a person of the Bishop's character should presume to write to them, fearing, no doubt, that the "Friends of the Protestant Interest" should come to hear of the correspondence. Seeing small hopes of obtaining a hearing in Edinburgh, the Bishop returned with Lord Linton to London, where they presented a

petition to the King, which was kindly received, and another to the House of Commons. Mr. Burke spoke with great eloquence in its defence in a speech lasting an hour and a half. He denounced in glowing terms the brutal bigotry of the fanatics who had so cruelly incited the mob against peaceful and law-abiding subjects; and, producing an abstract of the Scottish penal code, he read the laws out one by one, challenging any member to say he wished them to be retained. Perceiving at this point that the Prime Minister, Lord North, was peacefully asleep, he paused. "Behold!" he said, "what I have said again and again; the Government, if not defunct, at least slumbers; brother Lazarus is not dead, only sleepeth." The whole House burst into a peal of laughter, and having won them to good humour, he closed by eloquently appealing to them to grant the Catholics of Scotland assurance of protection for their lives and property, and the free exercise of their religion.

Lord George Gordon, "the lunatic Apostle of Protestantism," as Walpole called him, who was soon to set London itself in flames, opposed the motion. Mr. Fox called for the repeal of all the penal laws without further delay; and so the debate went on. Bishop Hay remained all the time in the lobby, interviewing the Prime Minister in the Speaker's room, and consulting with the Attorney General and the Lord Advocate. The result was that the member for the City of Edinburgh wrote to the magistrates urging them to make compensation. This threw the Town Council into no small agitation. "Gentlemen," said the Provost, at a meeting, "we must either do something for these

people, or appear at the Bar of the House of Commons." Finding they could no longer evade their liability to pay, the next question was how to raise the money, and once again the storm rose high. The "Friends of the Protestant Interest" were, of course, in arms, and some of them wrote to Mr. Burke, who replied with delicate satire. "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 enquiry, 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."

The final result of the negotiations was that the Catholics were granted £1,600 in compensation, one-half being paid by Government, the other by the City of Edinburgh. Inadequate as was this sum to cover their losses, it was gratefully accepted, and Bishop Hay was glad to let the matter rest, trusting that the fires of bigotry would gradually die down.

But if they were burning low in Scotland they were to burst out with redoubled fury a few months later

in England, when London witnessed scenes which far exceeded anything that had taken place in Edinburgh. Twenty thousand fanatics, under the leadership of Lord George Gordon, paraded the streets, burning, looting, destroying; Newgate was rased to the ground, and three hundred thieves and felons were set free. Lord Mansfield's house, with his priceless collection of legal documents, was given over to the flames. As many as thirty-six great fires could be counted at one time in the "place that once was London." The authorities seemed paralysed, but at last the king himself intervened and ordered out the military. Two hundred of the rioters were shot and two hundred and fifty others wounded, and gradually order was restored, and Gibbon wrote: "Our danger is at an end, but our disgrace will be lasting, and the month of June, 1780, will be ever marked by a dark and diabolical fanaticism which I had supposed to be extinct, but which actually subsists in Great Britain perhaps beyond any other country in Europe."

So ended the first chapter in the history of the repeal of the Penal Laws.

There was one outcome of these troubles which must have brought real consolation to the heart of Bishop Hay, and that was the universal expression of regard and esteem for his personal character which they elicited from friend and foe alike. It was well for the Catholics that, at a time when all eyes were thus turned towards them, their leader should have been a man of such sincerity, learning, and true piety. One of the "Friends of the Protestant Interest" wrote: "As to Mr. Hay and Lord Linton,

* "Scots Magazine," 1779, p. 137.

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."

Sir John Dalrymple and his brother wrote a joint letter to the Bishop in which they said: "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 gentle, modest nature; giving offence to none and forgiving it when given to you 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."

Mr. Alexander Wood, his fellow student and early friend, hastened to add his testimony also: "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 seems to possess that extensiveness of charity and freedom from bigotry so essential to that character."

Expressions of sympathy and appreciation also came to him from Ireland, and his brother Bishop, John Macdonald, the Vicar Apostolic of the Highlands, wrote: "I trust in God he will come out of

this affair with much greater lustre of reputation than he had before. Everyone 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, as ought never to be forgot; and may Our Lord amply reward him for it."

But, as ever, it was Mr. Geddes who alone was able to share his inmost feelings throughout the whole affair: "I know you must have felt much on some occasions, within this twelve months; even I at this distance have been much afflicted. 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 do what He requires of you to the best of your knowledge."

are the circumstances in which you come to that office."

A few months later Bishop Macdonald was also called to his reward, and Dr. Hay was thus left sole Bishop in Scotland; and this at a time when all his thoughts and energies were centred on the issue of the Relief Bill. "Alas! my dear friend," he wrote to Mr. Geddes, "I am now all alone. Our worthy and most valuable friend Mr. Tibertiop is no more. . . . You will more easily imagine than I can describe the situation we must all be in in that melancholy event. May Almighty God in His infinite mercy look upon us with pity and direct us what to do."

Mr. Alexander Macdonald (the third in succession of that name) was shortly afterwards appointed to the vacant Highland Vicariate, but owing to the stormy weather his consecration had to be postponed till Passion Sunday, when the ceremony was performed by special dispensation by Bishop Hay alone at Scaln. There remained the question of a coadjutor for Dr. Hay himself, and there could be little doubt where his choice would lie. Sending up the suggested names to Propaganda, he added: "I must confess that with common consent, I must say, Mr. Geddes, 'non est inventus similis illi.'" His choice was confirmed, and Mr. Geddes thus expressed his own 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

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CHAPTER VIII

VICAR APOSTOLIC

WE must now return to the history of events in Scotland. In the year 1778, while the clouds were still gathering before the storm, good Bishop Grant died, in the twenty-fifth year of his episcopate, and was laid to rest among his brethren in the little churchyard of Our Lady of the Snows, at Aberdeen. "He was one of the few who in their whole life escaped censure," wrote Bishop Macdonald, "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." Bishop Hay succeeded him as Vicar Apostolic of the Lowland district, which tidings brought the following letter from Valladolid:

" Though your last letter has prepared us for it, you will believe, when it has now come, it affects us 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

much difficulty." His peculiarly sweet and lovable nature had endeared him to all, and during his long stay in Spain he had made many lifelong friends. They all now vied with one another to do him honour. He was consecrated with great solemnity in Madrid on St. Andrew's Eve, by the Archbishop of Toledo, who presented him with his own ring. The King of Spain settled an annual pension of £100 upon him. The Duke of Hijar undertook the expenses of his consecration and gave him a beautiful ring and cross. "Deo gratias," cried Bishop Hay, "the happiness of my friend increases my own; and those who are friends to my friend are friends to me. May God reward them."

The new Bishop of Morocco (such was his title) started home in February, 1780, after a residence of nearly eleven years in Spain. On his arrival in London, he found that the venerable Dr. Challoner had gone to receive the reward of his long and faithful labours, in the ninetieth year of his age and the forty-first of his episcopate. His mental faculties had remained unimpaired to the last. He had ever been a friend to the Scottish mission, and from the time of his death Bishop Hay faithfully fulfilled the compact entered into long ago of saying Mass thrice a week for the repose of his soul.

The three Scottish Bishops met in Edinburgh. Twenty years ago they had been fellow students in the College in Rome, and it is easy to imagine their joy on this happy occasion, and the earnestness and zeal with which they discussed their hopes and plans for the future welfare of the Mission. There were many important matters requiring attention, both at home and abroad, and it soon became evident

that the only satisfactory way of settling them would be for Bishop Hay himself to go to Rome. He accordingly set out early in August under the assumed name of Signor Tommaso Scotti, having, we are told, discarded his wig. The journey to London in the "fly" took four days; he crossed over to Ostend and proceeded to Wurzburg, where he was kindly welcomed at the Scottish monastery. He called on the Prince Bishop, "a most worthy prelate who acts much in the episcopal character," and who lent him his coach for the time of his visit. Thence he proceeded to the other ancient Scottish monastery at Ratisbon, and on the 15th October, he arrived in Rome.

The colleges were still in "villeggiatura" and the Scottish students were at the country house at Marino, whither he followed them. They "were all much overjoyed to embrace him, and he was much delighted with the company and the place." He went over to Frascati to pay his homage to the Cardinal Duke of York, the last of the Stuart House, to whom his family had been so devoted. The Cardinal received him most kindly, and promised to assist him in any way he could during his stay in Rome. On his return to the Holy City he was waited on by Cardinal Antonelli, who placed a coach at his disposal, and he was then presented to the Pope Pius VI, "who was very affable and kind." The good Bishop seems to have won the esteem of all, for Abate Grant wrote that "he was much liked and honoured in Rome and was mightily caressed." His chief business related to the condition of the Scots College itself. Ever since the suppression of the Jesuits, it had been in a most unsatisfactory

state, having been under the direction of a succession of Italian secular priests who had proved quite unfitted for the task. They had allowed the finances to become involved, had sold many valuable books and pictures, and worse than all, they had failed utterly to understand the Scottish character. Discipline was relaxed, studies had fallen into neglect, and many of the students had left or been expelled, so that when Dr. Hay arrived in Rome there were but six in residence. The Bishops had drawn up a memorial, which Dr. Hay presented to the Pope, begging for the appointment of a Scottish rector who could also act as Agent for the Mission. The English and Irish Bishops were pressing for a national superior for their colleges also, but the suggestion roused such a storm of opposition that it had to be relinquished. Dr. Hay was deeply disappointed and wrote to Bishop Geddes: "Since my last of December 1st, which you received, I have never wrote to Scotland; and I suppose so long a silence will make you fear things have not succeeded to our wish. In some things your fears are just; in others, not; and I am sorry to tell you that they are just as to the main affairs of this house. . . . However, I shall not fail to make some more attempts, which, though I scarce expect that they will have success, yet, they will at least exonerate my own conduct and conscience. Albani assures me that he is still of his own opinion, and will not fail, as soon as the present heat subsides, to take the properest measures for bringing about what we want. This, however, I lay no stress on; being convinced that if I be once gone, it will never more be thought of till the same miserable scenes being

renewed in these colleges, or the not sending any boys to this place, to be exposed to the same miseries, shall convince them of the truth of what I have again and again represented to them. . . . But what shall I say? *Si fuerit voluntas in coelo, sic fiat.* May Almighty God bless and direct us continually."

Nearly forty years were to elapse before the Bishop's wisdom in this matter was acknowledged, and the affairs of the college were put on a satisfactory basis by the adoption of his suggestions. Although disappointed as to his main business, he was more successful in some of the minor objects of his visit. He obtained the necessary sanction for a code of statutes for the use of the missionaries, and the printing of a small ritual at the Propaganda Press. This contained only what was actually necessary for daily needs, and was easily portable, a matter of no little importance to the priests in their weary tramps over hill and dale. Furthermore, he received the welcome grant of two hundred crowns a year for the use of the Mission.

During his stay in Rome, he ordained three of the students, "three very promising young men," and sat for his portrait, which still hangs on the college walls. In the middle of April he bade a last farewell to Rome. It was thirty years since he had first arrived there, an unknown young convert, seeking admission to the priesthood. He was now the leader of the Church in Scotland, revered alike at home and abroad for his wisdom and his holiness. Another thirty years were still to run before he laid down the burden which pressed so heavily upon him, but he was never again to set foot within the Holy City he so dearly loved. **He left Rome in the middle of April,**

accompanied by his young priests. Their journey was one of discomfort and danger, on account of the storminess of the weather, the roads being so "monstrously bad" that they had to walk most of the way. They bought a little horse, but had to sell him as his keep proved too expensive. "I really long to be on your side of the Tweed," the Bishop wrote to Dr. Geddes, "and I hope I shall never have to cross it again."

On his return, the bishops held a meeting at Scalan, where it was arranged that Dr. Geddes should continue to reside in Edinburgh, while Bishop Hay made his headquarters in Aberdeen. He took up work with his accustomed energy, and on Christmas Eve we find him opening a new chapel in Aberdeen, said to be the best that had been reared in Scotland since the Reformation. "God grant His blessing to it and quiet possession," he wrote to Bishop Geddes. A similar event took place not long afterwards in Edinburgh, where a new chapel was erected, again in Blackfriars Wynd. The greatest secrecy had to be preserved in the business, and the building was so arranged as to look like a private house, with chimneys and an outside stair.

In the year 1783 Bishop Hay began to be seriously troubled by his head and failing memory. "My bodily health has been pretty well most of this winter, but my mind is sometimes so confused, and my ideas so indistinct that I scarcely know that I am thinking at all; nor could I tell on what. This, however, is in different degrees, sometimes more, sometimes less violent; and as for my memory, there is scarce a day that I could recollect at night the series of what I have been doing that day, or what

has passed in any one conversation; unless I had been reflecting on it immediately when done, and fixing it in some degree in my mind. If this infirmity increase, I fear I shall soon be obliged to give up all concern; but, if such be God's Will, I have no objection." His friend replied in deep distress: "I cannot well express how much grieved I am at what you write about your memory, etc., but I am persuaded you exaggerate. However, you certainly should moderate your application, sleep more and take exercise. You excite my tenderness, my dearest friend, when you beg of me to sympathise with you. I think I know what I owe to you, and with the help of my God, I shall do everything in my power to make you easy. Your coming up hither, or going north to the country will be of use to you. But you have spared yourself a great deal too little; I beg of you to do it now. It shall be my study, as it is my duty, to ease you of all the trouble you desire, and I can. But it is too soon to write to you in this style in some respects. You will believe it comes from dutiful affection."

In July, the Bishop took a walking tour for the sake of his health. "I had a very agreeable walk from Aberdeen to this place (in the Enzie), short stages, the longest was only eighteen English miles and none of the others exceeding twelve in the day. I was favoured with most agreeable weather, and I think my health much the better for the exercise, which was one view of my mode of travelling. I believe I shall not be fond of any other mode, at least for some time. But what is very surprising, the better my health turns, the more I perceive my memory fails—*fiat voluntas Dei*."

He is described on these expeditions—a tall figure striding along, wrapped in a highland plaid, with a highland boy behind him, carrying a knapsack.

We have another glimpse of him, as visitor to the school of the Misses Rankine at Aberdeen, who "keep a boarding school for young girls, and of course have a very decent table and tea twice a day. They get £20 a year for their board, but then they have two or more in a room, and their coal and candle in common." One of the former pupils wrote that the Bishop went frequently to see the school. "He would sit at tea with all the young ladies about him and gratify them with his pleasant conversation. He would then call for a little music, and asking some of the older pupils for their new song, would himself sing it at sight with perfect ease and accuracy. All the young ladies were expected to present themselves on Sundays, at the altar rails, to repeat their catechism. The lady to whom the author is indebted for this little memorial of the great Bishop, being at that time, as well as her sister, somewhat older and taller than the other pupils, Miss Rankine felt a difficulty in insisting on their compliance with this rule, and told the Bishop so. He, with much good nature, offered to hear them their catechism at his own house in the afternoon of Sunday. They accordingly went every week to his room, where they always found him in his purple cassock, and with a purple velvet cap on his head, and where he heard them repeat their catechism and talked to them kindly and cheerfully."

When the priest at Buchan fell ill, the Bishop added the care of that district to his many other duties, and we find him going to baptise a child—

a three days' journey, twenty-one miles of which he had to travel on foot, as his horse could not carry him on account of the snow. "I must lay my account with calls of this kind for some time, as there is none between Deveron and Dee that can answer any but myself," was his only comment, and he informed Cardinal Antonelli that he spent two weeks out of every six in making a circuit of forty miles among his people who were without a pastor. But if the good Bishop never spared himself, he expected a high standard from his clergy also. The wild and lonely glen in the Banffshire Highlands, called the Cabrach, where Bishop Geddes had commenced his missionary career, was the poorest mission in the country, and was known as the Siberia of Scotland. A young priest, not long returned from Douai, was offered the post. "Very well," he replied, no doubt with heroic resignation, "I can have no objection. It is only proper that everyone should take his turn in that place." "Stop," said the Bishop gravely. "That is not the proper way to speak of it. You should be willing if necessary to go and labour there for the rest of your life." "Of course, of course," answered the young man, hurriedly, "but if that should happen, may the Lord have mercy on me."

Bishop Hay was apt to take a strict view in matters of discipline also. He had ever shown a prompt obedience to his own superiors, and he looked for a like submission from his subjects when he himself was set in authority. Like all men of strong character, once his mind was made up upon any matter, he did not easily alter it. An incident in point is the curious little controversy which arose

over the question of church music. With the improving outlook of affairs, some of the clergy were anxious to make the bold innovation of having singing at their services. "The singing scheme was soon in full swing in the Highland chapel in Edinburgh, where Mr. Menzies is credited with having been the first to introduce the "Adeste Fideles" into Scotland. "It speedily became a furore in the town," says Stothert. "Apprentice lads whistled it in every street; the very blackbirds in the squares joined in the chorus, it was said." Bishop Geddes supported the effort with warmth, hoping to see the practice extended over the greater part of Scotland; but Dr. Hay, strangely enough, in view of his usual progressive courage, considered such a novelty to be most imprudent, and would have none of it. Mr. Thomson, the new agent in Rome, agreed with him, looking on it as "a mere whim of the Scottish Catholics to wish for music in their chapels—a thing which ought to be the last to be thought of." Bishop Geddes pleaded with his friend to reconsider his decision, urging the continued use of music from the ages of the catacombs. Besides, he pointed out, Sunday afternoons and evenings were times of peculiar danger for young persons, and a little music would help considerably to attract them to the chapel, a matter of no small advantage. "This would likewise be a preparation at a distance for our having a High Mass sung on some festivals, to the great edification of the faithful when we shall see it expedient." But Dr. Hay, having stated his opinion in the matter, could not be induced to alter his decision.

On the question of lenten dispensations he showed a like firmness.

It had been customary in England for some time past to grant a general dispensation for Lent, and it was now suggested that the same should be allowed in Scotland. But he would not hear of such a thing, and wrote with some sarcasm: "Our friends in London complain of having a very hard Lent this year. Would you guess the reason? Because though they are allowed flesh three days in the week, yet on Tuesdays and Thursdays they are not allowed to take it at collation, but only at dinner. See, my dear Sir, what general dispensations lead to." What would the good man have said could he have foreseen the concessions granted to our weakness at the present day?

A story is told of a gentleman who asked for a dispensation for his chaplain, an aged ex-Jesuit, on account of the scarcity of fish in the district, and begging at the same time that the indulgence might be extended to himself and his family as well. The Bishop at once agreed as regarded the old priest, but added that he knew no one who would derive more benefit from occasional fasting and abstinence than the gentleman himself!

It may be that Bishop Hay with his own untiring energy set his standard a trifle too high for common flesh and blood; it may be, too, that his failing memory added to his difficulties. Certain it is that at this time he was faced with a new and painful trial, in a growing unpopularity with certain of his priests. His own unbending sense of duty doubtless made him at times appear somewhat hard and stern, causing him to be compared with his coadjutor,

whose singularly winning personality made him so universally beloved. Some of the more restless spirits spoke of him among themselves as the "mitred duenna," and a note of criticism is evident in their correspondence. The Bishop could not fail to be aware of this, though he was at a loss to understand the cause. "Can this be some new persecution arising?" he wrote to his friend. "If so, God's Will be done." But for all his resignation, his anxiety of mind resulted in such despondency and depression that he seriously contemplated resigning the burden which weighed so heavily upon him. He fell into a very low state of health and his friends were much troubled about him. Dr. Geddes, who had spent a week with him at Aberdeen, wrote: "Mr. Dauley's health is far from good. Besides his pains of stomach and head, he still feels the bad effects of the fall he got last year, coming downstairs at Aberdeen. This alarms me much. I see him failing, and he, himself, is by far too sensible of it. I stayed with him a week at Aberdeen in coming South, on purpose to cheer him, and consult him on several things. From virtue, he is resigned, and says he is very easy in his mind, but he is not well."

Bishop Geddes did his best to dissuade his friend from his contemplated resignation, urging among other reasons the fact that it might appear a giving in to his opponents. Dr. Hay replied by a long and carefully reasoned letter, stating all the arguments in favour of his proposal. "As for the arguments against the plan taken from the use others may make of it to my prejudice in the eyes of the world, they have no weight in my mind, because it is not what

the world may think or say, but what *God wills* that I wish to know and act by."

A little later he again wrote that he longed "to procure a respite for the few remaining years I have to live, in order to prepare myself in peace and quiet for the approaching change," adding that by his retirement "the odious object will be taken away" and all differences healed. "They may perhaps pursue me with their tongues, even in my retreat; but my peace of mind will be out of their reach; it is easy to suffer in silence when one has not to act." His ill-health no doubt made him over-estimate the hostile feeling, which was, in fact, confined to one or two among the clergy. However, he finally sent a formal letter to Cardinal Antonelli, asking to be relieved of his charge. Some time later, to his surprise, it was returned—he had omitted to sign it. This and several other incidents caused him to reconsider his suggested resignation, and he at last came to the conclusion that it was not in accordance with the Will of God. Accordingly, without another word he resumed his burden, and bore it nobly, without murmur for another twenty long and toilsome years.

CHAPTER IX

SCALAN—RELIEF AT LAST

IN the beginning of the eighteenth century, advantage had been taken of a temporary lull in the persecution to reorganise the affairs of the Church in Scotland. Bishop Nicholson had been sent as Vicar Apostolic—the first Bishop since the Reformation—to administer the country and, soon afterwards, Mr. Gordon was consecrated as his coadjutor. With the improved conditions, the supply of priests became a more pressing need than ever, and the Bishops resolved upon the bold step of founding a tiny seminary at home. A first attempt was made on an island in Loch Morar, but the renewed persecution resulting from the Jacobite rising in 1715 resulted in its closure. Dr. Gordon, however, would not abandon the plan, and two years later he made a fresh start at Scalan, a remote and desert spot in Banffshire. Reached only by a bridle path, "hardly known but to a few shepherds or to the wandering sportsman," it had the further advantage of being on the estates of the Catholic Duke of Gordon. Here the missionary of Glenlivet, hiding from the Hanoverian troops in 1715, had built himself a little hut, and it was this rude dwelling which now became the pioneer seminary of Scotland. Bishop Gordon loved it as his own child and watched over it with



From "Catholic Highroads of Scotland" by courtesy of Sands & Co.
THE COLLEGE AT SCALAN

tender care. He framed the rules as far as possible in accordance with those in force in the continental colleges, to one or other of which most of the students went to complete their training. Some few, however, remained here till their ordination, one of the first of these "heather priests," as they were called, being Hugh Macdonald, who afterwards became the first Vicar Apostolic of the Highland district.

Hidden and inaccessible as was the little place, the ministers had their eye upon it, and for the next thirty years it had a chequered history. Several times its inmates were dispersed by bands of soldiers, only to reassemble on the passing of the danger, until the "Forty-five" brought real disaster. Fr. Duthie had warning of the coming of the troops of Cumberland; the students were dismissed. "He changed their dress to put them out of the kennin'"; vestments, books, and other movables were safely stowed away, and he himself retired to a neighbouring hill, whence he watched the humble dwelling—so vital to the Catholic body, so little worth in any other eyes—swiftly swallowed up in flames. Yet, true child of the Church, it could not die, and three years later the students were once again in residence. For some time they were subject to sudden alarms. In 1760 the General Assembly of the Kirk sent two emissaries to inspect the place, but though the Superior politely invited them to enter, they refused to dismount and rode off astonished, as they said, that so mean a place should have aroused so much concern.

Shortly afterwards Mr. Geddes was appointed Superior, and during the five years of his director-

ship the place made rapid progress, so that in 1767 he found it necessary to build a larger house.

On the right bank of the Crombie there stands to-day a little farmhouse, a modest building of two storeys and an attic, fifty feet in length and sixteen wide. One end is occupied by a single chamber still known as Bishop Hay's room, with one window looking into the court, another giving out across the stream; adjoining is a closet where he kept his books. Immediately above, up a steep wooden stair, is the former chapel, measuring sixteen feet by ten, and seven feet in height. It is lighted by a small window, originally part of the door by which the congregation were admitted from an outside stair. The mark of the altar may still be seen upon the walls. Next the chapel was a tiny bed-sitting room for the master, and beyond again a dormitory for the boys. On the ground floor opposite the Bishop's room was another square chamber, the sole accommodation for the students. It served as chapel, refectory and classroom. Movable forms ran along each side, and the marks still show where the boys leaned their weary heads against the walls while the professor walked up and down the small central space. The ceilings of all the rooms consist of rough rafters which, it is said, were floated down the stream and drawn to the spot by oxen. The pieces are fitted into one another, no nails being used. The wooden pegs where the boys hung their bonnets may yet be seen, as also a specimen of the lamp they used in the long dark nights. It is shaped somewhat after the old Roman fashion, but is made of tin, the wick consisting of rushes, which were gathered every year about the Feast of the Purification. Outside

there was once a little vegetable garden and a level stretch of turf running down to the river, called the Green, which served as playground for the boys.

The life was in all truth no life of luxury. The stipend was six pounds per head. The students (whose number rose at times to fifteen) wore a Highland dress of black and blue tartan and homemade brogues. They rose at six, and, summer and winter alike, their bathroom was the Crombie. Breakfast and supper were of porridge. Thrice a week they were given meat for dinner, otherwise the fare consisted of vegetables, oatcakes and oatmeal soup, called "sowens." Yet how indebted are the Catholics of Scotland to this humble spot where over one hundred zealous priests received, in part, at least, their education! As Bishop Geddes truly says: "The time by the goodness of God will come when the Catholic religion will again flourish in Scotland, and then, when posterity will enquire with a laudable curiosity by what means any sparks of the true Faith were preserved in these dismal times of darkness and error, Scalan and these other colleges will be mentioned with veneration, and all that can be known concerning them will be received with interest, and even this very account which I give you, however insignificant it may now appear, may one day serve as some monument for our church history, transmitting down to future ages the names of some of those champions who stood up for the cause of God."*

This tiny mustard-seed was ever treasured by the Bishops, and it was within these narrow precincts

* Quoted in "Sidelights on Scottish History," p. 235. Dom. M. Barrett.

that they usually met for their annual meetings. To Bishop Hay especially it was dear. For to him it held a treasured memory, as the scene of his own consecration. He called it "Patmos," and often went there, finding peace of soul in its far solitude, and health of body in the clear waters of the Crombie.

In 1788, the superior of Scalán fell seriously ill, and there being no one to replace him, it was arranged that Bishop Hay should himself go there for a time. Many memories of him linger about the old place he loved so well, and we come into more personal touch with him during the next few years than perhaps at any other period of his life. We may picture him in his long reading gown of red and blue tartan, spun by Annie Gerard, the thrifty housekeeper who ruled the whole establishment, Bishop included, with a rod of iron. He always dined at mid-day with his boys, and in the evening he took his exercise up and down the green. But he was most often to be found in the little chapel. His faithful servant, Cummings, used to say that no matter how early he was called, he was already at his prayers, and his evening meditation was carried far into the night. From Scalán he evangelised the country far around. Many a missionary journey did he go, mounted on his big grey horse (known locally as the blue horse), the faithful Cummings following him with a huge leather valise slung over his saddle, so full that it often fell below the rider's feet, for the Bishop was physician for body and soul as well, and it was packed not only with Mass requisites, but with many a simple medicine, too. They would arrive at some Catholic house on a Saturday night, notice having been sent to the scattered congregation that

Mass would be celebrated the following day. The altar would be fitted up in a large barn, a blanket serving as a canopy, and another as a reredos. The Bishop then heard confessions and gave wise advice to all who sought him in whatever need. Many Protestants were included in the number, and to all he gave some homely remedy, often adding an alms as well, so that his friends would smile and say that the patients invented new ailments in order to benefit by his charity.

Shorter journeys were made on foot, John Cummings carrying the vestments. If it rained, the good Bishop would make him shelter under his own wide cloak, and when not busy with his prayers, he would beguile the way with tales of his adventures with Prince Charlie.

Among the patients who were brought to him at Scalán were two cases of diabolical possession—both Protestants. One was considered so dangerous that his friends feared to loose the ropes that bound him. Bishop Hay went out to him, crucifix in hand, and himself undid the cords before proceeding with the rite of exorcism. The unhappy man, trembling with fright, began to speak in several languages, although he had learnt no tongue but Gaelic, but when the prayers were finished he was found to be completely cured, and, like the Ruler in the Gospel, "himself believed and his whole house."

The other case is related by Mr. Carmichael, who was a student at Scalán at the time, and an eye-witness of the event.

"I can never forget one case I witnessed at the seminary. The good Bishop after the community evening prayers, at which he always attended,

begged our prayers for an afflicted woman, for whom he was to offer up his Mass next morning. A report went out among us that she was possessed or "obsessed." The woman appeared in the oratory next morning with her husband, both of them Protestants. I think, from Kildrummy. He was a decent countryman and seemed much dejected. Immediately after Mass the Bishop began the exorcism of the Church, the woman kneeling before him. At first she was tolerably calm, though a little restless, till he came to the words 'dic mihi nomen' — 'tell me thy name,' when all of a sudden she started up quite furiously, so that we little fellows looked anxiously at the door of the small chapel, which was shut, or probably some of us would have made our escape. With the most commanding and majestic mien I ever saw in man, the Bishop commanded her in the name of Jesus Christ to kneel down. She instantly obeyed and several times, when, with similar fury, she again attempted to rise, the same order, given in the same all-powerful name, and repeated, if possible, with more majestic energy and authority, always brought her to her knees again, until at last, by the time the exorcisms were completed, she became quite calm. She returned home perfectly cured, and many years afterwards I heard that her husband was very anxious to be instructed and received into the Catholic Church; but I am afraid that his distance from any priest prevented this.*

The life and climate at Scalán proved very beneficial to Dr. Hay, and his health improved considerably. He was also cheered by the increasing

* "Scotchchronicon," p. 278.

prosperity of the seminary, as he wrote to Bishop Geddes: "Who knows but Scalán may yet live to be of good service in place of Scots' shop in Rome. . . . Our present subjects seem all very promising."

While Bishop Hay was thus engaged, his coadjutor had little time for rest; up and down the country, he was continually on the move. Now in Glasgow, now at Aberdeen, now in Galloway, and these journeys were for the most part made on foot. He declared he much preferred this mode of travelling, finding it very beneficial to his health and affording him ample time for meditation. (He usually carried a "staff umbrella," an article of recent invention which he found most useful.) Above all it was a great economy. He found he could go to Glasgow in a day and a half for the trifling sum of three or four shillings. Describing one such journey to the North, he wrote: "Bishop Hay recommended me to go up North on horseback, but was not in the end displeased at my having gone on foot, especially as by that means my horses ate none of his grass, and he readily approved of me walking through Banffshire and Aberdeenshire as he could not well spare the Scalán horses."

His most enterprising journey was to the Orkneys, whither he went to visit some converts who had gone to live there. On his return he calculated that he had covered over six hundred miles on foot in less than six weeks. But it was to the over-fatigue occasioned by this effort that his friends ascribed, in part at least, the gradual loss of power which soon afterwards came upon him.

Another matter which was now engaging the attention of the bishops was that of schools. Al-

though Catholic schools were still forbidden under the Penal Laws, several small beginnings were made in this direction. Mr. Menzies, the enterprising pastor of the Highland chapel in Edinburgh, had recently opened one such establishment where some two dozen children were taught reading, writing, and catechism every day. A trifling charge was made, Bishop Geddes undertaking to pay for six of the poorest among them. A few years later he proposed opening a larger school for forty or fifty children, offering a salary of £15 to the teacher. Dr. Hay at about the same time succeeded in procuring masters for two small schools in Aberdeen and Glenlivet at a salary of £5 each.

A great change was undoubtedly taking place in public opinion towards the Catholics, and not least among the contributing factors was the conduct and character of the bishops themselves. Dr. Hay, as we have already seen, had many friends among non-Catholics, and Dr. Geddes, with his genial kindness, quickly won his way with all he met, thus breaking down many an age-long prejudice, to the manifest advantage of his co-religionists. "One evening at supper," says Stothert, "meeting a Mr. Kemp, a clerical gentleman officially connected with the management of schools, Bishop Geddes proposed to him that the Catholic children should not be required to learn the Assembly catechism in the Charity schools. The company at once joined the Bishop in saying that it was a hardship. Mr. Kemp turned off this direct appeal, humorously assuring his friends that he was not endowed with a dispensing power. The Bishop insisted on his having a permissive and discretionary power, two other

ministers and some ladies supporting the Bishop's plea, "in the pleasant way of company." At parting, Mr. Kemp took him by the hand, and said that in company he felt under some restraint, but that he wished to have some private conversation with the Bishop, and to settle the matter in an amicable manner."

A paragraph in a letter from Dr. Hay to the priest at Aberdeen also throws a curious little sidelight on the broadmindedness of some, at least, of the officials in the larger towns. It is written from Edinburgh and says, "We have just such a plan for the Poorhouse here as you mention to be in agitation with you; but here our people who are taken in are in no wise molested as to their religion and allowed to go the Chapel when they please, and we have free access to them in sickness. As the town of Aberdeen has always been favourable to us in this respect, I hope they will be no less so in the present case; and if so, I much approve that what you mention of some poor's money be applied that way, especially as you are much better provided for that purpose than any other station I know; besides, I think it will be a real advantage in the main."

But, hopeful as were these signs, the Penal Laws were still in force, and Bishop Hay was ever on the watch for any opportunity of furthering their repeal. So, when in 1788 it was proposed to draft a second Bill for the relief of the English Catholics, he expressed the hope that this time Scotland too might be included. This is no place to enter into the sorry history of the English Catholic Committee and their unhappy differences with their bishops. The

trouble centred chiefly round the oath of allegiance required by Parliament, the Committee being willing to sign a form of which the bishops strongly disapproved. The latter consulted privately with their Scottish conferees, who were even more emphatic in their condemnation of the oath. Bishop Hay wrote, "I would never sign the paper sent by Bishop Gibson—besides other reasons, it includes to my mind the equivalent to the Oath of Supremacy." Dr. Geddes took exception in especial to the title of "Protesting Catholic Dissenters" adopted in the Bill, saying that he would call himself Catholic only, or, if any addition must be made, it should be "Roman," or some such honourable word. Eventually, after much discussion and heated controversy, the bishops succeeded in having the oath amended to their satisfaction, and the second English Relief Bill became law in 1791. Two more years were yet to run before Scotland enjoyed a like benefit, and then affairs moved with unexpected suddenness. Mr. Macpherson, the Agent in Rome, has left an interesting account of the course of events.*

"There were many favourable circumstances that fortunately concurred at the time to render Government, and the nation in general, favourable to the Scottish Catholics. Ever since the severe persecution of 1779, excited by a few ill-designing men and carried on with great violence by the rabble, of all which a distinct account was sent on due time to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, the Catholic religion, by the divine Providence, who

* Blair's College MSS. Quoted in "Memoirs of Scottish Catholics," Vol. II, p. 383, Forbes Leith.

knows how to make good rise out of evil, and light out of darkness, was making great progress. The liberal part of the kingdom was perfectly ashamed of the barbarity and wild enthusiasm which had pervaded and blinded the inferior ranks of our countrymen. Even these, when the phrensy began to abate, and cool reflection return, were equally ashamed of what they had done; both by reason of that generous spirit which is so peculiarly characteristic of the British nation, and by reason of the reproaches of cruelty and inhumanity which were liberally heaped upon their country by neighbouring nations, on account of these tumults.

"They therefore began to look askance on what they had done, and to seek, but in vain, for a sufficient reason to excuse a conduct so severe towards Catholics. Their natural generosity and love of justice induced them to make up by every act of civility, kindness and protection for their past injuries. If this was the temper of the lower orders of our countrymen, it was fully as much so of the better sort, whose minds were more liberal, and who were better acquainted with the principles of the Catholic morality. . . .

"The laudable behaviour of our Catholics, their resignation and patience in time of trial, and their modesty and prudence in time of prosperity, served greatly to gain the sympathy and esteem of our adversaries. But what above all acquired us the admiration and affection of everyone, was the exemplary and truly apostolic life of our bishops and clergy. . . .

"In these circumstances, as if Almighty God wanted to give us a token at the same time of His

protection and power, which so easily baffles the counsels of men, one of our principal Catholic gentlemen, who was pretty far advanced in life and had no children, though married for many years, was called upon towards the end of the year 1792 by his nearest Protestant heir to give him, exclusive of his own sister and other Catholic relations, legal security of succeeding after death to a very considerable estate, else that he would immediately take the advantage of one of the Penal Laws against Catholics which not only gives a title, but even enjoins the nearest Protestant heirs to claim estates in like circumstances.

"This Catholic gentleman was Mr. George Maxwell of Munches, a person of as fair and unblemished character as was in the kingdom, nor was there a man more esteemed or respected than he in the province where he lived. He lately departed this life, and is now, as we hope, enjoying the rewards of his virtuous life. This virtuous man did not long hesitate in giving his answer. He saw at once that, were he to avoid the effects of this penal law by such means as were proposed, there would not be a Catholic of any property in Scotland but would be immediately attacked in the like manner; and if all would avoid persecution in this way, there would not in a few years be any Catholic property in the kingdom. Therefore he resolved to stand out and defend himself in the best way he could. In consequence of this his adversary began immediately to put his menaces in execution, and summoned him to give up his property or deny his religion.

"Munches posted into Edinburgh, informed Bishop Geddes by word of mouth of his situation ;

and Bishop Hay, who was then in his seminary at Scalan, was advised of it by letters. It was agreed that in the first place a council of the ablest lawyers in the kingdom should be called, and their opinion heard. Munches was acquainted with many of them himself, and Bishop Geddes with them all. They most cheerfully offered their services; and among the rest the Lord Advocate of Scotland, the first crown lawyer in the kingdom. The result of their deliberations was that they could award the blow for some years by throwing every obstacle that was in their power in their adversary's way; but at long run Munches would necessarily lose his estate; nor could the cause be protracted for any length of time without costing Munches a considerable sum of money; that therefore the best, and indeed the only means they could point out, by which he might save his estate, was to petition Parliament for a repeal of the Penal Laws, in as far as they affected property.

"The Lord Advocate promised all his influence; nay, even offered, being a member of the House of Commons, to move himself a Bill to this purpose. He renewed all these offers repeatedly to Bishop Geddes, and regretted much that the state of the kingdom was such as in prudence prevented administration to do away with these Penal Laws at once. Though this partial repeal of the Penal Laws would be a considerable acquisition, yet it nowise answered our wishes; we could not perceive, now that some of them were to be abrogated, what danger would ensue if the greatest part were destroyed; and our Bishops resolved to push the matter as far as in prudence they could.

"There was no time to be lost, the Parliament was already set down, and the business behaved soon to come on. Good Bishop Geddes though young in years, yet loaded with infirmities, the consequence of his extraordinary exertions in the discharge of his apostolical duties, stood more in need of repose than of this additional burden of care and labour. But it was a crisis of too great importance to the Catholic religion for him to consult his own welfare in this matter. He saw that the difficulties to be surmounted were very great. Secretary Dundas, whose principal province is to watch over the internal peace of the kingdom, appeared decidedly of opinion that the Catholic Bill should extend only to property. Our Catholic gentlemen, afraid by asking too much, of getting nothing, were against touching any of the Penal Laws, but such as directly affected their temporal affairs. Yet he did not despair of success.

"He spoke to the nobility and Protestant clergy, reasoned the point with everyone in Edinburgh whose interest could be of use; he wrote to his powerful friends in other cities of the kingdom, and had the satisfaction of receiving from every quarter the most flattering promises of support; and was happy to find that almost every Protestant whom he consulted on the subject was as little apprehensive of any danger from a more full repeal as he was himself. Bishop Hay was equally active in the northern part of the kingdom, in as far as circumstances would admit.

"When matters were thus prepared, Bishop Geddes wrote to Secretary Dundas, the Lord Chancellor, and other friends in the ministry upon the

subject, assured them there would be no danger of disturbing the public peace by extending the proposed Bill much farther than was intended. That their minds might be fully satisfied on this head, he begged that they would ask the opinion of the magistrates and principal clergymen of every city in Scotland. This idea met with the approbation of Government. The magistrates and most intelligent men of the national clergy were consulted, and their answers, according to their promises of support given to Bishop Geddes, were favourable. This gave the ministry full courage; they were ready now to go all the length that Bishop Geddes or any prudent man could have proposed.

"The only point that remained to be settled was the oath of allegiance to be taken by Catholics. To frame such a new one as would obtain immediately the approbation of every party would have been a dangerous task and would have caused dangerous delays. The last English oath had been already approved of by all the Catholic Bishops of the British dominions, and we heard that it got the explicit approbation of the Holy See. Hence, without hesitation it was adopted. The present Chancellor, Lord Loughborough, and the late one, Lord Thurlow, assisted by the Lord Advocate, to show their regard for the Catholics of Scotland, drew up the Bill; a circumstance which is very extraordinary, as such things are never done by people in their high sphere.

"The Bill was proposed in the House of Commons by the Lord Advocate in an able speech, which reflected much honour on the Catholics of Scotland; there was not a member in the House but applauded

it. The same was the case in the House of Peers, where it was read by my Lord Kellie, a near relation of Mons. Erskine, who, when we afterwards thanked him for the friendly part he took in that affair, answered that he was happy in having had the honour of assisting to emancipate from shameful laws such valuable subjects, and that it was an additional pleasure to him to think he had done an agreeable office to his relation in Rome.

"After the Bill had thus triumphantly passed both Houses of Parliament, it got the royal signature, on the 3rd June, 1793.

"In place of the tumults first apprehended by the ministry, every corner in Scotland resounded with acclamations."

Bishop Geddes wrote at once to congratulate Dr. Hay, hoping that he would live many years to enjoy the good effect produced by the favour of Providence: "With regard to the Act itself, it almost puts an end to the Penal Laws against us, as the exceptions are so few and trifling, and, purposely, there is no penalty annexed to them. Besides, the English Catholics have it in contemplation to apply soon for being put entirely on the same footing with other subjects; and when that happens, we may now reasonably hope to be included with them."

We can well imagine the thankful joy that filled every Catholic heart at this long awaited answer to their prayers—yet nothing, perhaps, can bring home to us with greater force all the horror and suffering they had undergone than the record of the disabilities still hanging over them, even after the passing of the Bill which they hailed with such

pathetic gratitude. No Catholic could sit in either House, or even vote at an election. No Catholic could be a judge or hold a commission in the navy or the army; marriages between Catholics must still be performed in the Protestant church; and, more serious perhaps than all, it was still prohibited to a Catholic to take a post as teacher or schoolmaster anywhere in Scotland.

How resentful should we be in our free and happy days were we subjected to any one of these injustices—which yet seemed to our long-suffering fathers "so few and trifling as to be almost negligible."

It is one man that sows, and another that gathers in the harvest. Going, they wept, scattering the seed, that we may come with joy, carrying the sheaves.

quently compelled to fly his country and seek a temporary residence abroad. Students on their way to Rome were constantly entertained at Paris, and, in order to relieve the poor mission, the expenses of their further journey were defrayed by the superiors of the Parisian college. On their return in like manner, they were always welcome guests; they were often induced to prolong their residence at Paris till they had recovered the use of their native language, and had acquired a practical knowledge of their future duties. The public purse of the college, and the private purse of its superiors were over and over again opened to assist the pecuniary distress of the mission. The early Scotch agents at Rome knew little or nothing of the difficulties under which the Scottish missionaries laboured. The superiors at Paris supplied them with information, as far as it was possible. They maintained a weekly correspondence with Rome; taught the agents the miseries of his native country, suggesting remedies, and stimulating his zeal until they were obtained.*

In later days, however, the college fell under suspicion of Jansenism; the finances were mishandled; and the students proved so unsatisfactory that the bishops refused to send out any more. The position became sadly strained, for the Principal of the College, Mr. Gordon, denied the right of the bishops to any say in its direction. Eventually, on Dr. Geddes' arrival in Paris, a conference was held of all concerned, and the vote was given unanimously in favour of the bishops.

But by this time a fresh situation had arisen.

* "Scotichronicon," p. 249.

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CHAPTER X

DEATH OF BISHOP GEDDES

WHILE events were proceeding thus happily at home, Bishop Geddes had once more been called abroad in connection with the affairs of another of the colleges—that in Paris.

From very early times a close intercourse had been maintained between France and Scotland, and during the Middle Ages many a Scottish student had found his way to the famous Paris University. As long ago as 1325, David, Bishop of Moray, had endowed four burses there for poor scholars, providing for their maintenance by the gift of a farm at Grisy, which remains to this day in Scottish hands. Queen Mary added to these burses, and Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, bequeathed a house for the residence of the students, thus becoming founder of the historic Scots College. Many well-known names are enrolled upon its records, but to none is it so much indebted as to the various members of the Innes family, who for many years were its directors. "From the beginning the Parisian college has been of great assistance to religion in Scotland, and still more so during the reign of the Inneses. It had given many valuable labourers to the mission; its doors had always been open to receive any fugitive missionary whom peril to life or liberty not infre-

The Revolution had broken out in France and was sweeping like a cyclone over Europe, involving even far-off Scotland in the wash of its angry waves. Blood flowed in streams; the Church was everywhere attacked, and the British colleges in Paris and at Douai shared the general fate. By means of untiring negotiations the bishops managed to avert the blow until 1793, when the Reign of Terror carried all before it. Mr. Farquharson, the Rector at Douai, succeeded in sending home his boys, remaining on himself in the hopes of rescuing the property, but in vain. "The Rector played a part worthy of the best traditions of his country. He was the last to leave France, having the satisfaction of knowing that all his students and assistants had landed without harm in Scotland." (*Scottish Notes and Queries*. February, 1924.)

In Paris, Mr. Gordon had already left, but the Procurator, Mr. Alexander Innes, remained nobly at his post, barely escaping with his life. The date of his execution was actually fixed, but on its very eve the tide turned with dramatic suddenness, and the Reign of Terror closed as the head of Robespierre fell beneath the guillotine. In their report to Propaganda a few years later, the bishops stated that they had lost the whole of their property in France, while the annual subsidy from Rome had been reduced to one-third of its former value owing to the fall in the exchange.

The English colleges abroad suffered a like fate. But serious as was the loss occasioned by the Revolution, it brought its blessings too, and it is hard to say which scale weighed heaviest in the balance; for the heartfelt generosity extended by the people

of this isle to the ruined emigrés from France surely bore its own reward, setting wide the floodgates of God's mercy, and deluging the land with His pardon and His blessing. Priests and religious alike were welcomed with open arms, and by 1757 their numbers had risen to upwards of 12,000. A special committee was formed to care for them and an appeal issued, worded by Edmund Burke. In the course of a few weeks £34,000 had been subscribed. Not only were the temporal needs of the fugitives considered, but every effort was made to supply their spiritual wants as well. The University of Oxford printed two thousand copies of the Vulgate for their use, and altars were erected on every side, so that day by day, from dawn till noon, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass once more ascended from our land, as of old, before the throne of God.

The exiled priests, on their part, won all hearts by their patience and their piety, and were anxious to make what return they could for so great hospitality, thus breaking through many an ancient barrier of prejudice. Bishop Hay met some of them in London and on his invitation they returned with him to Scotland. One, a former Vicar-General, was employed for a time in teaching French in a desolate district where there was not a single Catholic. He applied for leave to say Mass without a server, as he found it quite impossible to obtain one.

Meanwhile, changes had been taking place in the mission-field at home. Bishop Macdonald had died in 1781, just as Dr. Geddes was setting out for France, and Bishop Hay found himself for the second time left alone, the only bishop in all Scotland. Mr. John Chisholm was shortly afterwards appointed

Vicar Apostolic of the Highlands. Dr. Hay once again obtaining special dispensation to consecrate him, with the assistance of two priests.

In one of his letters to his coadjutor he gives an interesting account of developments in Glasgow. We hear much nowadays of the evils of the Industrial Revolution; it is curious to find it, in its first beginning, hailed as a blessing from Heaven to relieve the destitution in the Highlands.

"February 13, 1792.—Accounts have been received from our last summer's emigrants. They went to Nova Scotia, were kindly received, got a year's provisions and so much land from Government for each family. This encouragement has set others upon following them, and we hear that subscriptions are going on for a new emigration this year. There are many, however, of the poorer sort, who, not being able to pay their passage, are left at home in great misery. Would you imagine it? A door is likely to open for them in Glasgow. Manufacturers there are advancing to such a degree that they cannot get hands to supply. Children of seven years of age may make half a crown or three shillings per week, and others in proportion. Application has been made to us to supply them from the Highlands, our only objection was the want of the exercise of their religion. This they easily saw into; and are actually concerting at present to obviate that difficulty, by providing a chapel, and have begun subscriptions among themselves to execute that plan and provide for a churchman. *Quam mirabilia sunt opera tua Domine!* If this takes place and the emigrations continue for a few years, we shall have very few of our people, either

in the great estates of Clanranald or Glengarry. "*Dominus novit opus suum ab eterno. Fiat voluntas ejus.*"

The Glasgow mission made rapid strides under the care of its zealous pastor, Mr. Macdonell. A large hall was taken for a chapel; the leading manufacturers, anxious to attract sober and industrious workmen, undertook the rent and fitted up three hundred seats. In October, 1792, the place was opened with a congregation of over two hundred. Bishop Hay wrote happily: "Mr. Macdonell is of a forward and intrepid disposition; but I have often seen that when Providence has a mind to bring about any event He qualifies the instrument he makes use of for that purpose; and very often a certain degree of boldness produces much better effects than too much timidity. I trust in God that that will be the case with our friend there."

It was soon after Bishop Geddes' return from France that his health began to fail, and the first symptoms appeared of the creeping paralysis which was eventually, after seven long and weary years, to carry him to the grave. To Bishop Hay it was a deep anxiety and grief, but he himself accepted it with calmest resignation. "With the divine assistance I shall always consider it a great advantage to have my Purgatory here. In the meantime I shall be doing all the little I can for the common good." He begged his friend not to be concerned about his health. "It will be better if it so please God. It has been very good for a great many years. My mind, I thank God, is easy enough, and it is good to be weaned from this world and to perceive our gradual approach to the next."

Soon he found it necessary to dictate his letters. "I am not apprehensive of being in immediate danger of death and I am truly in good enough spirits, but I scarcely believe I shall ever in this life be again quite free of this weakness in my limbs."

As he grew worse it became obvious that he could no longer fulfil the many duties involved in his present position. Bishop Hay therefore suggested that he himself should go to Edinburgh and that Dr. Geddes should take his place at Scalán, where he could live quietly in the seminary and hope to recruit his health. The invalid placed himself entirely in the hands of his friend. He thought the retirement might possibly benefit him, though he was "something afraid" of the cold and damp and the isolation from medical advice. However, it was agreed to make a trial of the plan. It was a real grief to Bishop Hay to leave his beloved "Patmos"; "I never was happier since I came to the mission than I am at Scalán, and were it not for the other duties of my charge I would be content never to be without the limits of its enclosure. I have got a set of excellent servants, who go hand in hand for the good of the place and live in the most perfect harmony ever since a certain person left the place, inasmuch that I have not the smallest concern whether I be at home or abroad, either for things within or without doors. My boys are every day more content, tractable and happy."

Good Bishop Geddes set out upon his northward journey deeply lamented by his many friends. His geniality and wise human interest had endeared him to Catholics and Protestants alike, and ensured him a hearty welcome to their homes. His keen

interest in history and antiquarian research had brought him into close touch with Dr. Chalmers, the author of "Caledonia," and with Mr. Gleig, the editor of the Encyclopedia, at whose request he wrote several of the articles, and with many more besides. Unlike his friend, who cared nothing for appearances, and would wear only the plainest homespun, he was very particular about his dress. He had long ago given up a wig and wore his own long hair, now grown silvery white. When going into company he would appear in satin breeches and silk stockings, thus gaining the disapproval of some of the more old-fashioned priests, who used severely to remark that he would burn a thousand years in Purgatory for his vanity!

On his first arrival at Scalán he was able to be of some little use, saying Mass, instructing the students, and hearing confessions, but his infirmity rapidly increased, and at length he wrote to Dr. Hay, saying that he felt himself a mere encumbrance in the small establishment, and suggesting that he should go to Aberdeen, where his nephew had volunteered to look after him. "Let me know what you think would be best, and I shall agree to it cheerfully, as I ought to be the first to give an example of obedience, and of a desire to do all the good I can." Dr. Hay readily agreed. "My only view now is to have you in the most agreeable way you can think of for yourself."

So Bishop Geddes bade adieu to Scalán. "I am truly much concerned that I should become so soon useless to my country," he wrote, "but as you well observe, we must submit entirely to the Will of God, who well knows what is best, and can easily

raise up fitter instruments for the performance of His own work. For me, personally, this distemper is certainly one of the greatest blessings I could receive, as it gives such a fine opportunity of expiating my sins, through the merits of Christ, and of preparing for death, if I be strengthened to bear my sufferings patiently, and make a good use of my circumstances. For this you will pray for me. Of myself, I am nothing but weakness."

The invalid was received very kindly by his nephew, Mr. Gordon, in the little chapel-house in Aberdeen, where he was given the tiny room formerly occupied by Bishop Grant. For some time he was able to creep downstairs for Mass, but as he grew more feeble the Holy Sacrifice was offered once a week in his bedroom, the maid making the responses, spreading the Communion cloth on his bed, and putting on his stole. His gentleness and patience never failed, and despite his helplessness of body, his mind remained alert and active and he was able to occupy himself by writing. Among other works he compiled a life of St. Margaret, and wrote several articles for the *Encyclopædia* for Dr. Gleig. He also left many MSS. of great value relating to the Scottish Mission.

In May, 1797, he had a sudden attack and received the Last Sacraments. He sent the following touching letter to his lifelong friend:

"Much honoured and dear Sir,

"Within these few days my distemper has affected my stomach in the way of a nausea, and I am otherwise very weak though not more pained than usual. I apprehend my departure is drawing

near, more than the doctor seems to do; and I am not sure if I shall be able to have the satisfaction of writing you again. And, indeed, I wish now to bid farewell to the world, and converse with my God as constantly as I can.

"Now, my dearest friend, I must thank you sincerely for all the good you have always been doing to me during the space of forty-six years. I know that you will readily pardon any cause of displeasure that without intention I will no doubt have given you. I well know also that you will pray for me, alive or dead, but especially that I may be guarded against my spiritual enemies at my last hour. I have been an ungrateful creature to my God; but He is infinitely good, and with His assistance I shall always trust in His mercies.

"I cannot think of desiring you to come hither, as it is uncertain when I may die, and I think it not improbable that I may slumber into eternity. Besides, I even believe that your being here would be a distraction to you from better things, and even to me, considering my weakness. You must imagine to yourself the many things I would have to say, were it necessary and were I able. I shall therefore bid you farewell, with the pleasant hopes of meeting in a happy eternity. *Laciatius sum. atc.* Farewell, my dearest friend.

"I am truly yours, JOHN GEDDES."

Contrary to expectation, he once more rallied and lingered on for almost two more years—truly a living death, for he was unable so much as to brush a fly from off his face. His nephew cared for him with utmost tenderness, sometimes rising to assist

him twenty times in one night, after his own long day's work. On one occasion his exhaustion was such that he fainted while lifting the invalid from his bed to a chair. They lay together on the floor, the Bishop uppermost until Mr. Gordon recovered consciousness. It was the early hours of a day of obligation, and he refused any restoratives which would prevent his saying Mass.

In September, 1798, Bishop Hay once more visited his friend; it was their last meeting upon earth, and the end came five months later. From lying constantly in one position, the patient's back had broken down, but he was never once heard to complain. Four days before his death he lost the power of speech, but his mind remained unclouded to the last. He was laid to rest in the little graveyard of Our Lady of the Snow. The professors of King's College, to whom the cemetery belongs, refused the usual fees, regarding it an honour to have so great and good a man lying in their ground. A square horizontal stone bears his name, together with that of Bishop Grant and three other priests who share a single grave.

What his loss was to Bishop Hay, none can tell. It was to John Geddes alone that he had revealed the secrets of his heart, and now this outlet was forever closed. He himself was growing old, and a long chapter in his life was at an end. He seldom mentioned his friend's name again, but who could now act as peacemaker and smooth away the little difficulties which from time to time arose between the Bishop and his priests? As Stothert writes, "From this time our history may be compared to a fair landscape of meadow and of mountain, whose

abundant foliage autumn has touched with a thousand tints of crimson and of russet, but from off which, as evening approaches, the golden sunlight has died. We have much energy, much devotion, much sacrifice yet to witness in our great Bishop, but the one tender, affectionate side of his character is lost to us henceforth in the grave of his friend. Mr. Guthrie was gone; Mr. Geddes followed him; Bishop Hay's contemporaries and associates now were not the friends of his youth, but younger men with new ideas, new standards of judgment. Even with the best of them the aged Bishop could only partially sympathise; many of them were not at pains to conceal their mistrust of him and their opposition to his plans."

It was the penalty of a long life, but Bishop Hay saw in it the hand of God and he did not repine.

not sufficient, since the late addition to our numbers, to give £10 per annum to each for their maintenance. This circumstance alone suffices to give an idea of their difficulties, without entering into a detail of their particulars, especially in these distressing times, when all the necessities of life are come to so high a price. It is true, in some few places, the people give their own pastors some little assistance, but it is so small and so precarious that little dependence can be laid upon it. At present there are three bishops actually in this country: to wit, B. Chisholm, who has the charge of the Highland district, and your humble servant, who is placed over that of the Low countries. Bishop Chisholm has no coadjutor, nor has he the means of supporting one. A good many years ago, I, being but in a poor state of health, got my worthy friend, B. Geddes, for my coadjutor; he was of no small assistance to me while his health remained, but for these five years past he has been quite *ab agendo*. Being now in the seventieth year of my age, and finding the common attendants of that age fast advancing upon me, and dreading the fatal consequences if the French should become masters of Rome, I applied to Rome about a year and a half ago for another coadjutor, as it was judged by all his physicians that B. Geddes would never recover. My request was readily granted Mr. Alex. Cameron, who was then Rector of our college in Spain, was appointed for that office. He was lately consecrated at Madrid, and I expect him home sometime in the approaching Spring, which will make the number of our bishops four. With regard to our finances before the French Revolution, we had no reason to complain. The two

CHAPTER XI

AQUHORTIES

THE revolutionary upheaval in Europe was still making its influence felt in the affairs of the British Isles. In 1798, the French troops, after many previous alarms, finally invaded the papal states and entered Rome itself. The pope was carried off; the cardinals were imprisoned, or had fled, and the foreign colleges were taken over in the name of the Republic. The English and Irish agents had already left the city, committing their students to the care of the Scottish agent, Mr. McPherson, who was determined to cling on to the last. But he, too, had finally to go. He was treated with every civility by the French authorities, and succeeded in conveying his twenty-two students safely home. On reaching London, he found himself something of a hero, and was presented to the Prince of Wales and the Speaker of the House—all were anxious to greet the man who had escorted his party without mishap through the heart of Revolutionary France.

The Scottish bishops had meanwhile been reduced to sore financial straits, the chief source of their revenue having been invested funds in France, "which, with what he had from Rome, made by far the greatest part of our income. All these are now totally lost and what remains in this country is

Vicars Apost. had a pension each from the H. See of 200 scudi, which according to the rates of exchange yielded between £40 and £50, and we had also some funds in this country which, with some small additions since that period, yielded £40 yearly to each Vic. Ap. With these two we lived in a tolerably decent manner in those days, and could even spare a little every now and then to assist others in distress. At present all we had from Rome is lost, and it will be a long time, if ever, before it be able to replace it. Our coadjutors, when we had any, had also a pension of 100 scudi from Rome."

This letter was addressed by Bishop Hay to Sir John Hipplesey, an English M.P., who had been for several years resident in Rome as a sort of secret agent for the British Government. Common interests and danger had brought the courts of Rome and England into touch with one another, and it might be restored between the two. Sir John had made himself very popular, and won the goodwill of all, including the Pope himself, by his whole-hearted service in the Catholic cause. One of his successes had been the obtaining of a grant from the British Government for the English seminaries. Bishop Hay, learning this, made a petition through his old friend, Sir John Dalrymple, for a like benefit for Scotland. Sir John Hipplesey willingly took the matter up. Prolonged negotiations ensued, in the course of which he was much assisted by Mr. Secretary Dundas and the Lord Advocate. At length the latter wrote that he hoped soon to be able to announce "that a class of person whose virtue and loyalty I so much respect as I do that of the Catholic

clergy and laity in Scotland, are relieved by the liberality of the British Government from the distresses under which they have so unfortunately been subjected."

In June, 1799, the bishops were able to write as follows to Sir John, telling him of the result of their final interview with the Lord Advocate:

"Most dear Sir.—Only two days ago the Lord Advocate found leisure to give us an audience, and this morning our affair was finally adjusted. Though you will probably know the terms on which matters were settled, we thought it our duty to let you know them from ourselves.

"We are allowed such a sum for the support of our clergy as, with what we have of our own, will enable us to give each of them, according to our present number, £20 yearly, with a small balance to be reserved for other common exigencies, as mentioned to you in a former letter, would be necessary. Each of the Vicars gets £100 and each of the Coadjutors, £50; also £50 are allowed for each of our colleges, to help their yearly support, and £600 are to be given to each to defray the debts incurred in their erection. . . . You will easily conceive how great a consolation this intelligence gave us, to see ourselves and our clergy, by this singular assistance from our generous benefactors, raised to a comfortable situation from almost absolute poverty. But what greatly enhanced the favour was the amiable and endearing manner in which his Lordship communicated the intelligence to us. He seemed even overjoyed to have had it in his power to do what he was pleased to call an act

of justice. He did not omit giving us to know how much we were indebted to your exertions in our favour. This we well knew before, but we are very much at a loss to know how to express the feelings of our hearts towards you, our best of friends.

"Be assured, most dear Sir, that we shall never forget what we owe to you for the interested friendship you have shown to us, but, being unable to make any suitable return for so much goodness, all that remains is earnestly to recommend you and yours to that Supreme Being, who never fails amply to reward even a cup of cold water given to His servants in their distress, and who alone is able to reward you for the charity you have shown to us and our brethren.

"We had some thoughts of writing a letter of thanks to our generous benefactors, His Majesty's Ministers; but, not being accustomed to writing to those in their high station, and unwilling to intrude upon their precious time, we hope you will take the trouble to assure them of the grateful sense we have of their goodness and generosity, and that we shall never be wanting in giving every proof in our power of our loyal attachment to our most gracious sovereign, and of promoting the same among our people, both on public and private occasions.

"We have the honour to be, with every sentiment of gratitude and respect, most dear Sir, your most obedient and most obliged humble servants,
"GEORGE HAY.
"JOHN CHISHOLM."*

* "Scotichronicon," p. 414.

The following letter from Mr. Secretary Dundas shows the high place the Scottish bishops had won in the esteem of their fellow countrymen:

"Reverend Sirs,

"It is with much pleasure that I acknowledge the receipt of your letter, particularly as I find by it that the aid which His Majesty's Government has been able to extend to you, and to the rest of the Roman Catholic clergy under your authority, promises to afford so much comfort and relief to such a pious, loyal and respectable body of men as the Roman Catholic clergy of Scotland have constantly shown themselves, and which I have no doubt they will ever continue to be, while they have the benefit of such an example as you have invariably given them. With every good wish for your future health and happiness, I remain, with much respect and regard, reverend Sirs, your very faithful, humble servant,
HENRY DUNDAS."

Alas! The Government soon repented of its generosity. The grant, obtained with so much labour and so gratefully received, was year by year more grudgingly bestowed, until in 1805 it altogether lapsed.

Dr. Hay was at this time much occupied with a new enterprise. As one after the other the colleges abroad were lost, the problem of the supply of future students for the priesthood became ever more insistent, for the tiny seminary of Scalán could accommodate fifteen at the most. The Bishop, with his usual energy, set about doing what he could to remedy the situation. He describes the result of

his efforts in a letter to the Agent a few months before the latter was driven out of Rome.

"After the loss of our two colleges in France, and Dauley (himself) being exorted by friends in Rome to see to procure some place at home to supply that loss, considered this as an intimation of the Will of heaven to him. He, therefore, set himself to see if such a place could be got, and on such terms as he could expect to procure. Several places were proposed, but on examination he found insuperable objections to them, till Summer, 1796, when Mr. Leslie of Balquhain, having lately come to the full management of his estate, made offer to him of a farm very fit for our purpose, and on such advantageous terms as could not be looked for from any other in this country, the chief of which is a long lease of 107 years, from Whitsunday this year, which no proprietor here would give almost on any consideration. This, then, we have got with all legal security for the full possession of the farm for that space of time. The soil and climate are good and the soil capable of great improvement; and were it not that we are obliged to build a house upon it, which (such as we need) with office houses, will cost a great deal, we would have had a very great advantage by it, especially as he has given a considerable reduction of the rent put upon it (on condition of a sum of money paid in hand) from £120 to £90. As Dauley had a place of this kind in view some years before, he was endeavouring to procure what help he could for accomplishing it, but not being able to do much in that way, a subscription was set on foot among our people, who, indeed, did more than could have been expected,

considering their abilities, though far below our needs. With their help and what he got from some other friends, he has been able to pay the sum to be paid in hand, which was mentioned in a former letter, and to provide the most necessary improvements for plenshing the farm. He has also employed proper persons to build the house, which will be roofed before the end of August, and finished by that time next year. . . ."

Within two years the house was completed with accommodation for thirty boys. It was a solid granite building overlooking the valley of the Don, and consisting of three storeys and an attic. At one end was the chapel.

The Bishop bade a sad farewell to little Scalan, so desolate and primitive in its barren solitude, yet deserving of such veneration from all Catholic hearts—"Where we have been so long and where so many worthy missionaries have had the rudiments of their education." He was seventy years of age, and it was no light task to face the difficulties and anxieties of the new establishment, but he shouldered his burden wholeheartedly, with utter carelessness of self. He had entered on the final chapter of his life. Henceforth he left to his coadjutor the more active work of the vicariate, devoting himself as long as his failing powers allowed to the care and education of his boys. The cost of the building had left him heavily in debt, and it was necessary to exercise the most strict economy, but the students themselves evidently approved highly of the change. One wrote joyfully to say that they no longer had to serve at table, no sweeping or other menial task was expected of them—they did

not even have to make their beds! The only drawback was the difficulty of extracting leave for any play from the Bishop. They were to have one afternoon in the week, and their whole vacation would consist of three afternoons in September. He added, however, that the rules had not yet been published, so we may hope that the reality proved somewhat less severe than his expectations.

The Bishop took a very active share in the work of the establishment, lecturing on metaphysics and philosophy, and teaching the rudiments of grammar to the smaller boys. He took his meals in common in the refectory and attended the community devotions in the chapel, besides spending several hours a day in mental prayer and meditation, sometimes in the chapel, sometimes out of doors. If his priests had found him at times severe and stern, he clearly had no terrors for his boys, and Stothert gives a touching description of the happy relationship which grew up among them.

"In the time of recreation, the Bishop would frequently mix with the students in the playground or in the grounds. Even when he was very old, Mr. Carmichael has seen him, on a holiday afternoon, looking on at a well-played game at hand-ball with all the interest and vivacity of the boys.

"If the boys could see the Bishop in one of his solitary walks in the grounds, when he was not occupied with his prayers, they would throw themselves in his way to hear him tell one of his charming stories of divine interposition, particularly in past time of trouble, for religion.

"No one, says another of his students, could match the Bishop in his captivating power of telling

a story. When he came among the boys at recreation and began one of his stories every game was stopped and all the boys crowded about the old man, to hear what he was going to say. His face gave suitable expression to his descriptions; and the gestures of his hands also helped to impart sense of reality to what he was saying.

"It was in winter, during the Christmas holidays, that the boys most enjoyed the company of the Bishop. Combining the playfulness of a boy with the warm affection of a father, he would sit among them after tea while they were playing the Italian game of cuckoo. He gave them prizes to be played for, and when the prizes were all disposed of, if he saw their amusement flag, he would announce one prize more, and, when the game was played out, would excite a shout of merriment by producing with great formality, and with a quiet smile, the coveted prize of a few almonds, or perhaps of one.

"Throughout the winter season the Bishop usually joined the boys after supper in the playroom, where they often made a semi-circle with the benches round the stove. The Bishop would then take his seat in the middle, that everyone might see him, and the fascination of his stories began. He told them so graphically and to the life. The hour for evening prayers often seemed to come too soon to interrupt the flow of anecdote.

"On one of those evenings spent round the stove, the Bishop gave the boys a narrative of his father's apprehension in 1715 for his attachment to the Stuarts and of his escape. The tears were running down the Bishop's face as he related the story.

"When the boys were sick, the Bishop not only

prescribed for them, but administered his medicines with his own hands. If they were confined to bed, he would often remain in the room with them, saying his prayers and helping them by turns, with the tenderness of a nurse, till he saw they were better. Mr. Carmichael was once threatened at Aquhorties with inflammatory fever. The Bishop gave him some medicine, and for three or four hours never left the bed-side of the sick boy, until he saw that the worst symptoms were abated. He then gave him his blessing, wished him a quiet night's rest, and assured him that he would be better next day. When the boy awoke in the morning he found himself well enough to rise and go on with his studies. His rapid recovery he used always to attribute to the Bishop's prayers more than to his medicines.

"The children at Fetternear found the old man equally charming. He was very fond of telling of the Jacobite times, and used to amuse the family circle with stories of his own adventures in the Prince's army. When he had finished hearing the children their catechism, he would sometimes play tricks for their amusement, hiding things for them to find. He used often to hide his little gold crucifix, which they always said he had concealed under his brown wig."*

An amusing anecdote is told in connection with Mr. Robertson, one of the Ratisbon Benedictines who had returned to work in Scotland. He was a short, stout, merry little man, always full of jokes and fun. One evening when visiting Aquhorties, he collected the boys around him as they came out of prayers, and soon had them in roars of laughter.

* "Scotchchronicon," p. 419.

The schoolroom was next the chapel, where the Bishop, according to his custom, remained on for some time after the rest of the community. The noise in the schoolroom only made him prolong his devotions, and when he appeared he asked the little monk what he meant by creating so much disturbance. Mr. Robertson, striking his breast, exclaimed, "Mea culpa, mea culpa." "That is not sufficient punishment," said the Bishop. "Let me administer it," and he raised his arm, as though about to inflict a severe blow. "Stop. Stop," cried the monk, "That would be, not 'mea culpa' but 'tua culpa, tua maxima culpa.'" Which remark was received with a shout of merriment by the boys.

The Bishop's homely dress has already been described. He was fond of wearing purple, and once, by mistake, he ordered a suit of lilac, utterly unconscious that this was a most fashionable colour among gentlemen. A certain old lady who had often suffered from the severity of his denunciations of the fashions promptly seized the opportunity of trying to improve the occasion. "What the worse are you yourself, my Lord," she said, "though you are dressed to-day in the heights of fashion." He innocently asked her what she meant, and the lilac coat was never seen again.

"Our church is here 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. . . . The style is impressive and clear."

But perhaps his reputation as an author rests chiefly on the three works on Christian doctrine which he published successively under the titles of "The Sincere Christian," "The Devout Christian," and "The Pious Christian." They form a complete summary of revealed religion in the style of question and answer.

"The view I have had in this present work," he says in his introduction, "is to assist the most unlearned; and, beginning with the first rudiments of Christianity, to conduct the reader step by step through the whole body of the truths of revelation, so that the knowledge of one truth may serve as an introduction to those that follow after. The Sacred Scriptures are an inexhaustible fountain of heavenly knowledge, but are commonly less used than they might be, as illustrating and establishing the truths of religion."

The "Sincere Christian" appeared in 1780, the year following the anti-repeal riots. It had a wide sale, passing almost at once into several editions and being translated into a number of foreign languages. The "Devout Christian" was published in '83, and "The Pious Christian" followed three years later.

"Having in 'The Sincere Christian' instructed in the faith of Christ those who are seriously

CHAPTER XII

OUT OF DARKNESS INTO LIGHT

No reference has as yet been made to a subject which doubtless in the eyes of many constitutes Bishop Hay's chief right to fame, namely, his spiritual writings. It is almost incredible, in view of his various activities, his ceaseless journeys, and his long hours of prayer, that he should have found time for authorship as well. Yet he left behind him several standard works, displaying profoundest study and a deep knowledge of the Holy Scripture.

One of his first anxieties when he returned as missionary to Scotland was the scarcity of books and catechisms for the use of the faithful, and he at once set himself to supply the want. He printed 10,000 copies of the catechism, and later on, with the assistance of Dr. Geddes, he brought out a new edition of the Bible based on Bishop Challoner's translation. He first attracted public notice by a number of controversial pamphlets. Then he produced an important work in two volumes: "The Scripture doctrine of Miracles," an exhaustive study which received much praise both at home and abroad. He quotes St. Thomas freely, and supports his arguments by his own extensive knowledge of natural science. The book was reviewed in the "Scots' Magazine," (1776) as follows:

desirous to know His truth ; and having in ' The Devout Christian ' instructed those who are truly resolved to obey God in what His holy law requires of them, in order to please Him, we now purpose, in this present work, to instruct the Pious Christian in the nature of those holy exercises of piety which he practises, and in the manner of practising them, so that they may be of real benefit to him and effectually enable him to keep the commandments of God, to sanctify his own soul, and secure his eternal salvation."

In all his writings he quotes extensively from Scripture, and though they strike the modern mind as somewhat severe in tone and dry in style, yet to former generations they proved of inestimable use, and are still of solid value to the student.

There is little more to be recorded. In 1800 the bishops again made report to Rome of the religious conditions in their province. There were two vicars apostolic and forty priests ; the faithful numbered 30,000. There were but twelve chapels throughout Scotland, and not one single religious house in all the land.

In the second volume of his " Caledonia," published a few years later, Chalmers says, " There still continues in Scotland the remains of the most ancient church, after all the efforts of Reformation—all the harshness of severity and other influences—so difficult it is to eradicate the religious habits of a people. The Roman Catholics of Scotland are ruled by several bishops, who are vicars apostolic, like the Roman Catholic bishops in England, and are allowed each a coadjutor when age or infirmity requires assistance. These Catholics are generally

poor and helpless, quiet and inoffensive, which are qualities that anywhere merit and receive the protection of wise governments."

A century and a quarter have gone by. Truly the Church can never die. " The Kingdom of God is as if a man should cast seed into the earth and should sleep and rise, night and day, and the seeds should spring and grow up whilst he knoweth not."

But the hand that had sown so lavishly was getting spent at last, and he who had laboured so untiringly was being gently summoned to his rest. His path was already entering the dark valley, but despite his failing powers he continued for a time to carry on his work. He still lectured to his boys and made the long journey several times to Edinburgh, once travelling all the way on horse-back. On one of these visits he purchased five shillings worth of the " best fiddlestrings," showing that he kept his love of music to the end. On another occasion he was persuaded by the daughters of his old friend, Mr. Wood, to sit for his portrait, and the result is the beautiful picture which hangs at Blairs. This time he celebrated his return to Aquhorties by granting a whole holiday—an event unprecedented in the history of the college.

It was in a night in October, 1804, that he had a first slight stroke. He did not realise the fact until he tried to rise, when he found one side affected. However, he managed to get out of bed and dress himself before his server came to call him for his Mass. He was then lying helpless in his chair, his face much distorted, though his mind remained quite clear. When Mr. Carmichael went to enquire for him later in the day, the old man raised his

eyes to heaven in token of his resignation to the will of God, and then shook his hand with great affection. He received the Last Sacraments by his own wish, but within a week he had so far recovered as to be able once more to leave his bed. He had already appealed to Rome to be relieved of his episcopal duties, and this being granted, he signed a formal document transferring the entire administration of the vicariate to his coadjutor, Bishop Cameron. So this year for the first time for nearly half a century his name no more appears on the bishop's annual report to Rome.

Dr. Cameron, full of tenderest anxiety for his comfort, wrote as follows to the superiors at Aquahorties :

" Rev. dear Gentlemen.—Confident as I am that your inclination as well as your duty will always make you pay every attention in your power to our careworn superior and father, B. Hay, I have very little to say to you upon that subject. But I hope you will not take it amiss that I lay before you some reflections which I have much at heart. You will observe that he has lately given you a singular mark of his regard and affection in the foundation of a weekly Mass to be said by each of you. I need not tell you that these Masses are always to be said in the college ; and that everyone is to say his own Mass, except in case of sickness. These three conditions are attached to the foundations. What I wished to insinuate was the propriety of your saying these Masses, particularly in the B.'s room or closet, when he permits it. This can be of very little incon-

venience to you individually ; it can be of none to the Community, and it may be a great comfort to him. It is natural and most just that you as well as I should look up to him as to what he will be whilst he lives—our benefactor, our chief superior and Father ; but we are to remember that he is no longer capable of those exertions in which his health and strength have been exhausted. We reap the fruit of his labours ; let us endeavour to convince him that he has not laboured in vain. A strict compliance with our respective duties will do this effectually. I hope, therefore, and earnestly request, that you will pay the most scrupulous attention to every branch of domestic discipline. Few doubts can occur to any of you, and in any real difficulty you will always find me ready to fly to your assistance with my candid opinion, my best advice, and all the authority with which I am entrusted. It will, no doubt, be a pleasure to B. Hay to know and see that everything goes well ; and it is our business to give him that pleasure. But let us avoid as much as possible, everything which could disturb the tranquillity of his mind. Let him enjoy the evening of life, and employ it wholly in preparing for eternity.

" Accept my best wishes and affectionate blessing, and believe me to be very sincerely,
Rev. dear Gentlemen,

" Your most obedient, humble servant,
" ALEX. CAMERON."

His admonitions were unnecessary, for boys and masters vied with one another in their watchful

care of their beloved father—in fact, their attentions proved somewhat overwhelming, for they were for ever knocking at his door to see if he were wanting anything, until he limited their visits to certain hours of the day. He liked to be read to in the evening, and one of the masters took his tea with him at five.

We can but reverently draw a veil over the last days of this great Bishop who had wrought so true a work for God. He had put his talents to their utmost use, freely offering all he had—even to that great gift which is more highly prized than life itself, and now he once again became a little child. A final picture, deeply touching in its pathos, is given us in the words of one of his students. Hour by hour the old man sat helpless in his chair, Breviary in hand, his head sunk upon his breast, the elder boys watching him by turns, at times he seemed to be instructing imaginary people, speaking in a language that only one or two could understand. "When the little timepiece over the fireplace struck the hour of twelve, and of six in the evening, the old man, with the instinct of half a century's habit, would kneel down, as if to repeat the Angelus, and sometimes would remain kneeling for a quarter of an hour, fingering the buttons of his cassock as though he were saying his beads. He went down to hear Mass every morning; at the time for Communion he walked up to the altar rails and remained there for a while, but no one taking any notice of him, he would return to his seat. His whole demeanour when in repose was pure and simple as a child's."

His strength failed very gradually, until, on Octo-

ber 15th, 1811, at the age of eighty-three, he passed peacefully away. "His soul was holy and most zealous for the divine honour," wrote one of his priests. He could have no truer epitaph.

He was laid to rest in the little cemetery in the grounds of Fetternear, about two miles from the college. Many came to attend the funeral, and the students, dressed in mourning, walked behind the hearse. A new chapel was later on erected, covering the grave. It stands to-day, closed and desolate. And so the great Bishop lies at peace, with no sound to disturb his solitude but the singing of the birds, and the gently murmuring waters of the river Don.

He bore the heat and burden of the day. May he obtain for us that we, who at a later hour are called into the vineyard, may so follow his example as to be found worthy to receive, each of us, our due reward.