

ROME OR RATHVEN: US AND THEM IN THE CATHOLIC HIGHLAND MISSIONS IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

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INTRODUCTION

The preface to Erasmus's Greek New Testament of 1516 contains the following words: "I totally disagree with those who are unwilling that the Scriptures, translated into the common tongue, should be read by the unlearned. ... I would that they were translated into all the languages of all Christian people, that they might be read and known not merely by the Scots and the Irish but even by the Turks and the Saracens". Clearly to the man who had travelled from his native Low Countries to many of the countries of the world including England, the Scots and Irish were as near to barbarism as made no difference. But who were 'they' or 'the other' in this context? In Scotland itself the Lowlands were seeking to differentiate themselves from the barbarous Highlands. The divide between Highlanders and Lowlanders remained marked down to Culloden and may in some ways have become more marked in the period when the Highlanders were struggling to maintain a distinctive culture and a separate ideology while the Lowlanders were turning them into the 'other' who was alien and barbarous. At James VI's baptism, in 1566, 'wild highlanders' were presented alongside Moors as the enemy whose attacks on the enchanted castle of the Stewart monarchy had to be overcome¹ As Jane Dawson has pointed out, this was the moment at which the variety of regional diversities that existed, were, in terms of propaganda and royal response, replaced by a simplistic division into Lowland and Highlands spheres² A century later, Alexander Leslie, visiting on Propaganda's behalf in 1679³ noted that:

The enmity of the Lowlanders has been a great source of injury to the Scoto-Irish, especially since heresy began to dominate in Scotland, for the inhabitants of the Lowlands being most furious heretics (with the exception of some few whom the Catholic missionaries restored to the bosom of the Church), and seeing the Highlanders most constant in the Faith and that there is no hope of alienating them from

¹ M. Lynch, 'Queen Mary's triumph: the baptismal celebrations at Stirling in December 1566', *Scottish Historical Review*, 69 (1990).

² Jane Dawson, 'The Gaidhlehtachd and the emergence of the Scottish Highlands', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds), *British Consciousness and Identity: The making of Britain 1533-1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 259-260.

³ Allan I. MacInnes and Douglas J. Hamilton (eds), *Jacobitism, Enlightenment and Empire, 1680-1820* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015).

the Church they seek by all possible means to excite odium against them, designating them as barbarians, impious enemies of the reformed creed, etc., and they hesitate not to affirm of them everything that can be suggested by detraction and their own excessive hatred. They even deem it a glorious deed to show contempt for or cast ridicule on a Highlander.⁴

‘They’, the Highlanders, Gaelic speaking and oral in culture were thus at variously levels, definitely not ‘us’, the English speaking and literate Lowlanders, let alone a European ‘us’. They spoke a different language and valued different qualities. Even inside the embattled Catholic Church in the eighteenth century, the Highland and Lowland boys at Scalán, the college on the edge of the Highlands that provided the basic training for postulants, could not live at peace with one another.⁵

THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND

The North of Scotland had its own internal divides. Despite their links to the Gordons, both Huntly and Sutherland remained Catholics to 1728. More of the clans on the northern and eastern Highland fringe, such as the Sinclairs, earls of Caithness, the Munros of Foulis, the MacKays of Strathnaver and the Grants of Freuchie became reformers than those on the West and in the Islands. When they feuded, the feuds rarely involved the West coast clans who had their own internecine strife.

If Highlanders were seen as different by most outsiders, they were nonetheless presented by those who needed to promote them to the Holy See as souls worthy of catholic support, catholic by inclination if not by training. Cardinal Rospigliosi wrote:

They sign their foreheads with the sign of the holy cross. They invoke the saints, recite litanies, and use holy water. They themselves baptize their own children when the ministers make any difficulty as to administering that sacrament, on the pretence that it is not essential for eternal salvation’ and they are ... of excellent disposition, quick of intellect and taking a special delight in the pursuit of knowledge. They are desirous of novelties and have an unbounded passion for ingenious inventions. No greater favour can be conferred on them than to educate their children and render them suited to become priests or ecclesiastics.⁶

⁴ *Archivio Storico Congregazione per l'evangelizzazione dei Popoli*, Fondo Congregazioni Particolari, 26 ff. 13-327.

⁵ John Watts, *Scalán: The Forbidden College 1716-1799* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press, 1999) p. 69.

⁶ Robert A. Dodgshon, ‘West highland chiefdoms, 1500-1745: a study in redistributive exchange’ in R. Mitchison and P. Roebuck (eds) *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland 1500-1939* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988) pp. 27-37 and “‘Pretence of blude” and “place of thair dwelling” the nature of Scottish clans 1500-1745’, in R. A. Houston and I. D. Whyte (eds), *Scottish Society 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); A. I. MacInnes, ‘Crown, clan and fine: the civilizing of Scottish Gaeldom 1587-1638’, *Northern Scotland*, 13 (1994), pp. 31-55; and A. I. MacInnes, ‘Gaelic

Their conversion was also presented as easily (and therefore cheaply) achieved. Their desire to ‘imitate their ancestors who were so zealous in the cause of religion’ was given as one reason why almost all the families were disposed to receive the Catholic Faith, an argument maintained even when many pressures were pushing the clan leaders towards adopting the Lowland values.⁷

EDUCATING THE MISSIONARIES

Educating Scots to be priests who could minister to them after 1560 meant sending them abroad, principally to the colleges at Paris, Rome, Douai and Madrid, sometimes described as the Sixth Scottish University.⁸ and this introduced them to the areas closer to the heartland of the Catholic faith. It also opened them to experiences that might alienate them from their native culture. It provided them, however, with an awareness of how different their homeland was. The Scots who had spent some years in Rome, often described as the most beautiful city in Europe, had learned how the men, mainly Italians, who ran the central government of the Church lived. They had seen the grand palaces of the cardinals, like the Scottish cardinal protectors in the seventeenth century, the Barberini, whose galleries were full of works of art, their chambers the focus for music and scholarship; the huge and ornamented churches with their shrines and painted altars; stately papal festivals and the many other festivals and feasts and processions that passed through the streets, in the provision of which money was apparently no object.⁹ Although the large scale expenditure on artistic patronage had been diminishing since 1677 what remained was still grandiose.¹⁰ They must have been acutely conscious of the gulf between Rome and the Highlands and the relative

culture in the seventeenth century: polarization and assimilation’, in S. Barber and S. Ellis (eds), *Conquest and Union* (London: Longmans, 1995), pp.162-194.

⁷ For an interesting anthropological analysis see Dodgshon, ‘Modelling chiefdoms in the Scottish Highlands and islands prior to the “45”,’ in Bettina Arnold and D. Blair Gibson (eds) *Celtic Chiefdom, Celtic State: The evolution of complex social systems in prehistoric Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 99-109; Dodgshon, ‘West highland chiefdoms, 1500-1745: a study in redistributive exchange’, pp. 27-37, and Dodgshon, ““Pretence of blude” and “place of thair dwelling” the nature of Scottish clans 1500-1745”; Robert A. Dodgshon *From Chiefs to Landlords Social and Economic Change in the Western Highlands and Islands, c. 1493 - 1820*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998).

⁸ Thomas McNally, *The Sixth Scottish University: The Scots Colleges Abroad 1575-1799* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011).

⁹ Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals* (London; New York Routledge, 1995); Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan* (New York and Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1990) and John Beldon Scott, *Images of Nepotism: The Painted Ceilings of Palazzo Barberini* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

¹⁰ Hanns Gross, *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment: The Post-Tridentine Syndrome and the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 332-333.

ignorance of the papacy about conditions there. For example, Alexander VII on 11 July 1656 had issued a document about the Scottish secular clergy requiring strict visitation and allocation of priests to specific places. It empowered the prefect to call to Scotland those who had ‘attached themselves to great personages and are more occupied with acquiring temporal goods for themselves than spiritual goods for others.’¹¹ It was hardly enforceable on a regular basis in the penal conditions that prevailed.

What the priests had to expect when they returned to employment in Scotland was a country where a chapel 80-foot-long was amazing and only to be found in the remote area of the Highlands known as the Enzie in the parish of Rathven near the Gordon-protected home of the bishop. Their own house, which they often built themselves, was probably very similar to those of the local farmers probably built of wickerwork or turf although Alexander Cameron spent his first winter in a shieling hut and nearly died of exposure.¹² They would live precariously from year to year waiting on the small pittance that Propaganda provided to filter through the uncertain channels of international exchange. They would share the sparse food of the Highlands: ‘only one meal a day, consisting of barley bread or oaten bread with some cheese or salt butter.’ They would minister to people who lived constantly on the verge of famine since shortage of suitable agricultural land meant that what corn they could grow was cultivated on the runrig system.¹³ Mostly, churches were non-existent although meeting-places or Tighean-Phobuill (houses of the people as they were called) or open air mass stones were to be found throughout the glens.¹⁴ Other places held services in barns. In 1755, for instance, the Laird of Tynet built an addition to a small house at ‘Newlands’, ostensibly to be a sheepcote, but in effect for use as a Church to replace the barn burned in the aftermath of the 45.¹⁵ They were frequently out of contact with their bishop and one another as storms in the Minch or snow in the passes cut them off from their neighbours.

How could the great Roman aristocrats comprehend this? The successive Barberini cardinals saw their role as patrons of the arts and culture as critical to maintaining the dignity and influence of the church. They and their successors as Scottish Cardinal protectors such as cardinal protector Alessandro Falconieri (–1734) used wealth that they had derived from the resources of the Holy See, in Falconieri’s case the income from contracts received from the Apostolic Chamber on the collection of sodium chloride and potassium nitrate, to build and decorate great palaces while the

¹¹ J. Metzler, *Sacrae Congregationes de Propaganda Fidei Memoria Rerum: 350 Years in the Service of the Mission* (Rome: Herder, 1971-1976), Vol. I, p 499.

¹² John Watts, *Hugh MacDonald Highlander, Jacobite and Bishop* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2002) p. 98.

¹³ The remains of such rigs and lazybeds can still be seen on the inland from Arisaig and Morar. They did not take their corn to the mill but burned it (graddan meal) and ground it in querns.

¹⁴ P. Galbraith, *Blessed Morar (Morair Bheannachte)* (Morar: Fort William, 1989, 1994), p. 5.

¹⁵ A. Roberts, ‘Mass in the kiln’, *Innes Review*, 41 (1990), pp. 227-229.

missioners awaited their pittances. Perhaps the family underpinning of ecclesiastical life in the upper echelons of the church would not have struck the Scots as dissimilar from their own expectations, but the scale and ostentation of the patronage it provided must have stunned them. Were the Scottish students ever invited to these palaces, one wonders. The cardinals were not necessarily sympathetic to the urgent pleas from the mission. Fr William Leslie (1649-1708) the Scottish representative or agent in Rome who was a member of Barberini's household wrote in Italian to the pope in 1705 of the obligation to convert heretics.¹⁶ But although the duty was formally acknowledged the Holy See was preoccupied with European politics.

THE WIDER CONTEXT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Part of these politics was now being played out across the globe. The special concessions that the Vatican had granted Spain and Portugal in the late 15th century were now coming home to roost. Under the Spanish *Patronato* and the Portuguese *Padroado* system the monarchs claimed rights and privileges that encroached upon the spiritual domain in particular the right to nominate bishops and control dioceses. The missions were thus tied to the monarchs. Only when it became part of European politics with the Stuart monarchs in exile, did the Highlands approach the importance of the overseas Spanish missions. Indeed, Spanish and Portuguese missionaries were often regarded by the local people as mere agents of white penetration rather than as harbingers of Christ, so much so that in India conversion was described as "turning Parangi". Propaganda had only limited weapons with which to combat this although as can be seen from the three strong critical reports in 1625, 1628 and 1644 written by Msgr. Francesco Ingoli, the first secretary of the newly established Congregation, they were well aware of the problems.

The programs the cardinals and popes followed had political as well as cultural purposes as the papacy struggled to maintain its authority and be seen as the neutral arbiter in Europe but how far the poor Scottish students understood this, or even supported it, must be doubtful. The commitment of some of the popes, like the Albani Clement XI, to a crusade against the Turks may not have been matched by a similar commitment to the struggles of the Missions inside Europe.¹⁷ While at certain moments Rome may have seen various advantages in assisting the Highlanders maintain their religion it was not as a rule a high priority. There was a marked insensitivity to the hardships of the missionary's life if the rumours that 'some people at Rome had said that it was needless to allow them any subsidy because they ought to imitate the apostles' manner of living if they were such as they ought to be' are accurate. For men who were 'every hour in danger of having their throats cut by the insolence of the mob'

¹⁶ Scottish Council on Archives (hereafter SCA), SM3/3/7 3/3/8 is similar. Leslie was succeeded by John Irvine William Stuart, and in 1737 Peter Grant.

¹⁷ Christopher M. S. Johns, *Papal Art and Cultural Politics: Rome in the Age of Clement XI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

(27 Nov 1688), this was hard counsel.¹⁸ While some, like Clement XI made grants to the Scottish mission for the education of suitable boys, many more did not. Individual cardinal protectors varied in their attitude to the country they protected.

Lacking powerful armies and with its finances in chaos, the Holy See had to negotiate with what it had, and had to rely on formidable international institutions like the Jesuits.¹⁹ They remained the pope's best allies against the ambitions of eighteenth century absolutists to control the Church in their own lands. They were therefore not very willing to lend an ear to Highland complaints about Jesuit practices.

The minor squabbles of secular and Jesuits in the Highlands must have seemed small beer compared to the absolute refusal of the padroado bishops and priests in Asia to acknowledge the authority of the Propaganda appointed vicars apostolic. Each side repeated the baptism, sacraments of marriage and confessions, saying that the other side had no jurisdiction. The Scottish squabbles did not go so far. The position of the distant Scottish mission, therefore, depended for a great part on the vagaries of papal diplomacy and intrigue and was reflected in the fortunes of the Stewart dynasty. After the failure of the 45 rebellion Domenico Riviera,²⁰ the cardinal protector who succeeded Alessandro Falconieri from 1734 – 52, and Propaganda even queried the right of the Scots college at Paris to spend its funds on succouring the priests in exile after the 45.²¹ It also withheld financial support from the Mission at this time because of the dislocation and demanded evidence of a return to more settled conditions. Riviera refused to sanction the appointment of a new co-adjutor in the Lowlands or further funds for the viatic of students and complained that Allan MacDonald the prince's chaplain was at the college in Rome using up their funds.²²

As the political scene changed the cardinal protectors became more accommodating. In the 1760s Riviera's successor Giuseppe Spinelli was more sympathetic. Although he supported bishops against their refractory clergy, and repressed the independent spirit of the regulars, he better appreciated the problems the ordinary priest faced. He was willing to fight Propaganda for improved treatment for the Scottish mission and to find money to finance Hugh MacDonald's proposal of a small Highland seminary.²³ Unfortunately when he died in 1763 his successor,

¹⁸ SCA SM 3/10/9 John Thomson's account.

¹⁹ See Jeffrey Collins, *Papacy and Politics in eighteenth century Rome: Pius VI and the Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Ch. 1 for a useful survey of the problems faced by the Holy See in the period.

²⁰ A relative of the Albani family, (Pope Clement XI) who was relatively more impoverished but better educated than the Barberini and a member of the zelanti faction that saw piety and humility as critical. He was, however, equally the product of a great local aristocratic family whose sons regularly became prominent in the Roman hierarchy and who used the resources of the Holy See for personal as well as strategic display

²¹ Watts, *Hugh MacDonald*, pp.128-9.

²² Watts, *Hugh MacDonald*, pp.134-5.

²³ Watts, *Hugh MacDonald*, pp.146-7.

Gianfranco Albani, nominated by James III (The Old Pretender d 1766) to the position, was less sympathetic, refusing to hand out Spinelli's legacy, that had been entrusted to James, or even the annual funding from Propaganda until the bishops had sent a detailed account numbers, names and duties of clergy and resources and an account of the boys maintained on it.²⁴ These accounts, and annual letters from the parish priests were a long-standing Roman requirement, although the more sympathetic of the cardinal protectors might be persuaded by the Scottish agents in Rome that it was difficult if not impossible for such letters together with the receipts for expenditure of the annual pensions, to be sent on a regular basis. In 1668 it had been decided that letters were not necessary because it was so difficult to convey them, but in 1697 they had been again required and were sent intermittently, since they could not be entrusted to the regular post, when a reliable courier was available.²⁵ Since the information required was laid out by Propaganda the letters sent by the missionaries were to a considerable degree formulaic, although one can discern in them an awareness of the rhetorical devices employed in the collections of printed Jesuit missionary letters.

Albani later again stopped the legacies to the Scottish seminaries when Hay decided to send no more boys to Rome because despite the Mission oath they took too many found they had no vocation or failed to return to Scotland.²⁶ Even those that did, like George Innes missed the life they had got used to in Paris or Rome and, if the opportunity offered, were glad to return.²⁷ Albani was a strong curial cardinal, a member of the *zelanti* faction who favoured the Jesuits.²⁸ In the 1770s and 80s he quarreled with the Procurator of Mission at Scots College Rome Mr John Thomson over the opposition of the missioners to his appointment and to bishops Hay's arbitrary manner of proceeding.²⁹ The Stewarts had given substantial sums themselves. James II paid £27,818 to Catholics in Ireland, £5,314 to English and £2172 to Scots. At the end of the eighteenth century when the last Stewart, cardinal and king, became the Scots protector but he knew as little of the Highlands as most cardinals, and in any case took the position at a stage where the church in Scotland had had to become reconciled to the now established civil government.

The qualities Rome admired —firmness, prudence, moderation — were not those likely to develop in Highlanders where courage, if not foolhardiness, was admired. As the threat of the Enlightenment increased, what a pope like Pius VI sought

²⁴ Watts, *Hugh MacDonald*, pp. 172-4.

²⁵ Metzler, Vol I, p. 503.

²⁶ Raymond McCluskey, *The Scots College Rome 1600-2000* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2000).

²⁷ Watts, *Scalan*, p. 62.

²⁸ See Jeffrey Collins, *Papacy and Politics in Eighteenth Century Rome: Pius VI and the Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004), p. 12.

²⁹ McCluskey, *Scots College*, pp. 56-58.

from a priest was prayer teaching and good example and matched with this moral piety learning in the humane and sacred literature.³⁰ But the beautification of the house of God was equally important, if unattainable in missionary circumstances.

Meanwhile, the young boys sent from the Highlands were spending their formative years in a culture quite different from that of the clans and absorbing different ways of thinking. Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine the education the Scottish boys in Rome receive outside the theology of the Propaganda College, which was said to be outside the mainstream of the educational activity in Rome?³¹ It is not clear whether they routinely attended the Sapienza or the Collegio Romana as well as the collegio of Propaganda although John Geddes had been taught not only theology and classics but also philosophy, physics and mathematics, which suggests some contact with the universities and George Hay, the later bishop, had had medical training.³² One would not expect them to have been invited to the exclusive conversazioni cardinals like Pamphili held in their palaces, or to the musical soirées, operas and cultural activities such as the antiquarian and archaeological interests that increasingly attracted young gentlemen making the grand tour. The rules of the Scots college included strict instructions for the avoidance of women and even male strangers. If some received some scientific training it was probably not of the sort that a man like Clement XI received.³³ What they learned of the new rationalist outlook must remain uncertain. Few of them had the resources to move outside the facilities provided for them by an ever financially squeezed Scots college. They probably received a solid rather than a profound theological training, with a primary emphasis on morality.³⁴ John Thomson complained of the way the principal, Marchioni, lived and the poor food and poor clothing the students were allowed.³⁵ The Abbe MacPherson's account of the college throws considerable light on the kind of problems that confronted the Church in its training of missionaries. One was the difficulty of reconciling university studies – speculative theology, Greek and Hebrew, for example – with the need for a pastoral, practical training for those who would be administering the sacraments and the word of the Gospel to the poor and scattered communities of penal Scotland; the second, the disparity of outlook between diocesan priests and the regulars. At the Scots college this took the form of a protracted and at times bitter dispute between the Scots from the

³⁰ Collins, *Papacy and Politics*, pp. 16-17.

³¹ Gross, *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment*, pp.235, 247-248, 252-253.

³² Watts, *Scalan*, p. 119. Some individual Scots who went to other universities evidently did so and remained on the continent as Professors, but these were not the run-of-the-mill students.

³³ Johns, *Papal Art and Cultural Politics*, pp. 14-15.

³⁴ A complete volume of the *Innes Review* was given over to the publication of the complete text of Abbe Paul MacPherson's History of the college, from 1600 to 1792. Rev. William James Anderson, "Abbé Paul MacPherson's History of the Scots College, Rome," *Innes Review*, 12 (1961), pp. 3-172.

³⁵ SCA TM11 John Thomson. Some account of the state of religion and of the mission in Scotland since the reformation also quoted in McCluskey, *Scots College*, p. 58.

mission and the Jesuits who ran the college. As Bishop Gordon wrote to William Stuart the Scots agent in Rome in 1725 the students could hope to receive little support from the College staff As Propaganda demanded that the principal not be a native of the nation it was not easily resolved. The success rate of the students there was low.³⁶

The students were supposed to get a better training than that received by the ill-prepared local parish clergy in Rome and any meeting they may have had with popular Catholicism there and its forms of religious expression with devotion to the Virgin was probably discouraged although they were likely to return to a similar closeness with their parishioners that was deplored in curial Rome and to similar though perhaps not identical superstitions. Often, too, they were to find on their return the more educated ladies were their strongest support.³⁷ They could hardly fail to notice in Rome, however, that the ordinary clergy were prone to wear fashionable dress, often lived in cheap, lay housing where there were also women, and were often from places like Naples, not Rome. They must have known that in Asia the Jesuits and others were permitted to adopt local dress in order to seem less alien to their converts. They must also have been aware of the Jansenist controversy that had made its way to Rome, despite efforts to suppress it.³⁸ They may also have visited some of the libraries and museums that allowed public access.³⁹ They were subject to the ideas of hierarchy that dominated the time to which lower strata of society were expected to conform⁴⁰ but some at least returned to Scotland critical of its management.⁴¹ The senior Scottish clergy were well aware that experience abroad had its drawbacks. As Thomas Innes wrote:

it would be better to ‘educate these on the place and instruct and form Churchmen without ever bringing them abroad from their own hardships to feel the ease and (in regard of the poor and hard life they lead at home I may say) the delicacies of our Colleges abroad.’⁴²

The temptations to be met with in Europe were not the only thing. The authorities were afraid that those who went abroad might have lost their loyalty to their own country.

Similarly, the Highland Scots who had spent time in Paris — for example, William Farquharson of Strathavon and James Campbell the younger brother of Colin

³⁶ Watts, *Scalan*, p. 59.

³⁷ Domhnall Uilleam Stiubhart ‘Women and Gender in the Early Modern Western Gaidhealtachd’ in Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M. Meikle (eds) *Women in Scotland c.1100 – c.1750* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), pp. 233-249.

³⁸ Gross, *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment*, pp. 272-277.

³⁹ Johns, *Papal Art and Cultural Politics*, pp. 22-23.

⁴⁰ Johns, *Papal Art and Cultural Politics*, pp. 45-46.

⁴¹ Watts, *Scalan*, p. 60.

⁴² Quoted in Watts, *Scalan*, pp. 20, 64-65.

— would have seen the full panoply of religious liturgy in a Catholic country where the feasts were openly and ceremoniously celebrated. The Scots college was a five-storey edifice with a magnificent staircase of carved wood and a substantial library, which included Archbishop Beaton's sixteenth century collection and archives. The temptations of the worldly life that they saw around them must have been considerable for some of the students.⁴³ Certainly those who 'failed' at the colleges and returned to Scalán such as Ranald MacDonald had learned to be critical of the church.⁴⁴ They would have come into some contact with the philosophe and the Enlightenment and the works of Montesquieu (*Esprit des Lois*) and later Rousseau.

In both places, and at Douai (then in the Spanish Netherlands)⁴⁵ and Madrid⁴⁶ the Scottish priests were educated in the Scottish colleges but lived in an environment that provided the image of a powerful Catholic monarchy and its physical surrounds.⁴⁷

⁴³ Watts, *Hugh MacDonald*, pp. 69-71.

⁴⁴ Watts, *Hugh MacDonald*, p. 81, n. 31.

⁴⁵ As part of a general program of consolidation of the Spanish Low Countries, in 1560-1562, a university was established in Douai by Philip II of Spain, in some sense a sister-university to that founded at Louvain in 1426. The University of Douai came to have five faculties: theology, canon and civil law, medicine, and arts. The foundation was confirmed by a Bull of Pope Paul IV on 31 July 1559, confirmed by Pope Pius IV on 6 January 1560. The letters patent of Philip II, dated 19 January 1561, authorized five faculties; theology, canon law, civil law, medicine, and arts. The formal inauguration took place on 5 October 1562, when there was a public procession of the Blessed Sacrament, and a sermon was preached in the market-place by the Bishop of Arras. The university was founded on the model of that of Louvain, from which seat of learning the majority of the first professors were drawn. However, while far from being even predominantly English, it felt the influence of the English in its early years, several of the chief posts being held by Englishmen, mostly from Oxford. It is reasonable to suppose that many of the traditions of Catholic Oxford were perpetuated at Douai. The University's first Chancellor was Dr Richard Smith, former Fellow of Merton College, Oxford and Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. The Regius Professor of Canon Law at Douai for many years was Dr Owen Lewis, former Fellow of New College, Oxford who had held the corresponding post at Oxford. The first principal of Marchiennes College was Richard White, another former Fellow of New College, while after taking his licentiate at Douai in 1560, William Allen became Regius Professor of Divinity.

⁴⁶ The university at Alcalá de Henares was thirty kilometres from Madrid.

⁴⁷ The Madrid foundation charter illustrates this. *Esriptura de fundacion y dotacion del seminario de colegeales seglares Escoceses en la villa de Madrid, X de Mayo MDCXXVII* and 'Ane copie of the testament of Coronel William Semple, X February MDCXXXIII', in William J. Duncan (ed), *Miscellaneous papers, principally illustrative of events in the reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI* (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1834). All items in this volume are from transcripts of documents formerly in the archives of the Scots College in Paris. The foundation deed of the college in Madrid, endowed in 1627 by Colonel William Semple of Lochwinnoch, a member of an old Scots family who had fought on the side of Spain against Holland, and been involved in the negotiations with Huntly in the interests of Spain, and his wife, Doña María de Ledesma (entrusting its running to the Jesuits) gives a clear picture of what was required. It stipulated that the college was for students "Scottish by birth, preferably those of superior character and virtue and those who promise more fruit in the welfare of souls, and they have to spend whatever time may be necessary in studying Grammar and Philosophy, and Theology, Controversies and Sacred Scripture, so that when they are well versed in all of these, they may proceed to the said Kingdom of Scotland to preach the Gospel and convert heretics... when they leave the said seminary for this purpose, others are to be received in their place having the same end, and thus the matter will continue for as long as the aforesaid conversion may require."

These experiences while not making most of the Highlanders become ‘them’ must have distanced them to some extent from their flock. Once they were established in one of the stations there was a problem of contact with their fellows. The bishop thought himself very happy when he could hear from the Highlands and remote isles once in six months and that only in summer so great was their distance and the difficulty and expense of communication with Edinburgh. The occasional convocation could only take place in summer and then with difficulty.

The alienation was to some extent reduced by the establishment in 1716 of a college at Scalán in Glenlivet. Later, as Highland boys did not get on with the Lowlanders another college was set up on Eilean Ban.⁴⁸ where Hugh MacDonald was able to train home-grown priests through the medium of Gaelic.⁴⁹ The Highland priests had long resented the better conditions of the Lowlanders and in 1732 with the appointment of Hugh MacDonald hoped for improvement. The representatives of the Highlands at the meeting in 1732 at which changes were pressed, Colin Campbell, Alexander Paterson and Bishop Hugh MacDonald, however, had to be content with the status quo.⁵⁰ The priests at this stage were also bitterly divided over the theological issue of Jansenism.

SITUATION AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

There were also still open divisions between the priests in regular orders like the Jesuits and the seculars. One might say that “all’s queer save thee and me and even thee’s a bit odd” applied to this small beleaguered group of no more than thirty to forty priests at any one time, two thirds of whom were in the Lowland diocese. It was a paradox that those who were dedicating their lives to the conservation of a key element of the Highlanders identity — traditional religion — were drawn away from them by the nature of their training as it was literate, anti-superstitious and European. The Jacobite link tied the lords of the clans to the sophistication of the European political system and even to the European, as opposed to the Scottish, Enlightenment. The really able Highland priests, like Alexander Geddes, born in Rathven and educated at Scalán and Paris, were almost irresistibly drawn away from the narrow confines of a rural parish. Geddes went to the cultivated circles of London where his literary talents could earn him a living even though his “New Catholic” translation of the Bible aroused the fury of his Catholic superiors and his protestant fellows alike and saw him die in 1802 suspended from his faculties by both his Rathven and his Roman bishops, truly neither them nor us.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Watts, *Hugh MacDonald*, pp. 76-77 and Watts, *Scalan*, p. 163.

⁴⁹ Watts, *Hugh MacDonald*, pp.78-79.

⁵⁰ Watts, *Hugh MacDonald*, pp.78-79.

⁵¹ Articles in all the various encyclopaedias and the *Dictionary of National Biography* provide all these details.

CONCLUSION

The nineteenth century with the granting of toleration and emancipation as well as the increased number of Catholics in urban centres and the increasing dominance of Irish in the membership of the church in Scotland saw a major change in the nature and structure of the Scottish catholic church. The issues discussed here ceased to be matters of priority and the church turned more towards new questions of science and education.

⁵²

⁵² S. Karly Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish church: Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth-century Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)