

CATHOLICS IN A CHANGING SCOTLAND
The Archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh,
1878-1965

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I certify that the following thesis is my original work. It is the result of research carried out at the School of Divinity of the University of Edinburgh from October 1997 to January 2005.

ABSTRACT

Between 1878 and 1965, the Catholic Church in Scotland changed from a small, reclusive and relatively unassertive community to become a force to be reckoned with in social and political terms. The thesis (the first to be based on a thorough examination of the episcopal correspondence of St Andrews and Edinburgh 1878-1965 held in the Scottish Catholic Archives, Edinburgh), argues that this change was caused by the combination of two momentous but unexpected and unconnected events in the 1850s and after — first, the arrival in Scotland of large numbers of economic migrants from Ireland (most of them Catholics) and second, the conversion (through the influence of John Henry Newman) of influential members of the Scottish aristocracy. The former were mainly confined to what is today the geographically small but very densely populated province of Glasgow, the latter, to the geographically more extensive province of St Andrews and Edinburgh, where Irish migrants, much fewer in numbers, integrated more successfully. While Irish migration has been extensively studied by scholars, the conversion of the aristocracy has, with some notable exceptions, remained unappreciated. The thesis contends that it was principally the simultaneous impact of these two phenomena which accounted for the development of the Catholic community in modern Scotland; that it was not only the critical mass of migrants which gave the Catholic Church political leverage but also the networking skills and the funds of the convert elites. Other changes in the Catholic Church were subsumed into this larger picture: the role of the clergy was transformed from a pastoral one in 1886 to a combative one in the 1930s and 1940s, while at the same time shifting vis-à-vis the laity (who were themselves moving from subjugation to co-responsibility). The thesis, however, deals not only with the secular clergy but also with the activities of religious orders — the important national provincial Council of Fort Augustus (1886), for example, and the consecration in 1929 of the dynamic Benedictine Abbot Andrew J. McDonald as Archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh. By 1918, the virtual collapse of the Catholic school system played into the hands of the government; the resulting financial compromise was mutually beneficial but its price (while it affirmed the Catholic community by providing the educational tools for better employment opportunities), was the loss of autonomy and control. After a series of financial scandals in the 1880s and other examples of mismanagement in the first two decades of the twentieth century, episcopal and parish finances gradually recovered as stricter safeguards were imposed. Between the first and second Vatican Councils a sea-change is visible, not only in the relationship between pope and bishop but also between clergy and laity. The pressure of social and political events

gradually transformed the hierarchical pyramid that was the Catholic Church of 1878 into the more egalitarian model of the People of God as embraced in 1965 by the Second Vatican Council.

ABBREVIATIONS

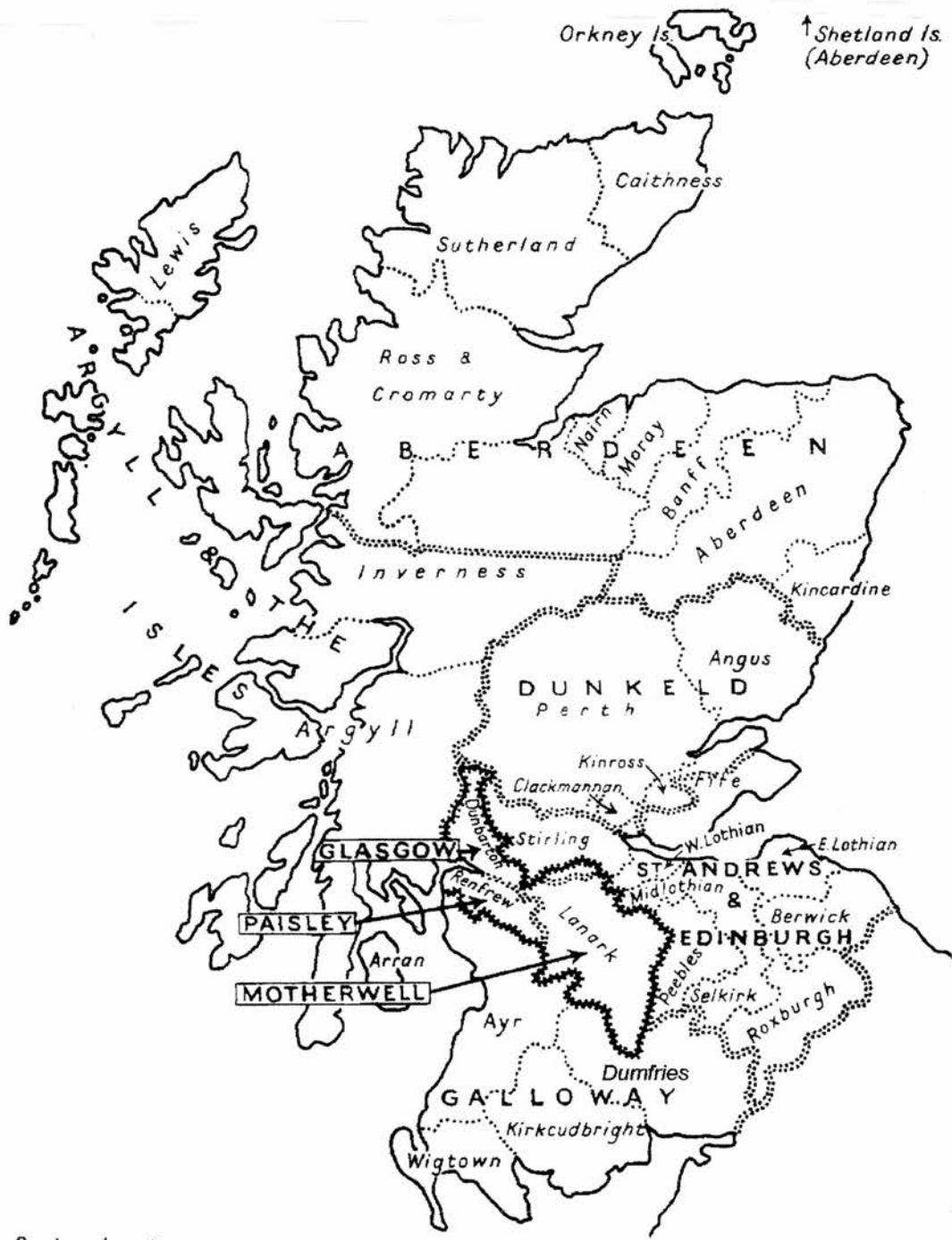
ARCHIVES

AA.EE.SS	Archivio della Sacra Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari, Vatican
ADA	<i>Acta et documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticani II apparando: series prima antepreparatoria</i> (Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1960-1961)
ADP	<i>Acta et documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticani II apparando: series secunda antepreparatoria</i> (Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1964-1995)
AGA	Glasgow Archdiocesan Archives
AP	Archive of Propaganda (Scitture riferite nei Congressi Scozia), Rome
AS	<i>Acta synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Vaticani II</i> (Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1970)
ASHL	Archives of the Sacred Heart, Lauriston
ASV	Vatican Secret Archives
CDS	<i>The Catholic Directory for Scotland</i>
CR	<i>Clergy Review</i>
ECA	Edinburgh City Archives
EUA	Edinburgh University Archives
FAOBA	Fort Augustus Abbey School Old Boys Association Archives
FMB	First Matriculation Book
GAA	Glasgow Archdiocesan Archives
GGHBA	Greater Glasgow Health Board Archives
GUA	Glasgow University Archives
IR	<i>The Innes Review</i>
KMA	Kinnoull Monastic Archives
MBYMS	Minute Book of the St Patrick's Young Men's Society
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
NCE	<i>New Catholic Encyclopedia</i>
PSAS	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i>
RH	<i>Recusant History</i>
RSCHS	<i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</i>
SCAR	Scots College Archives, Rome
SCH	<i>Studies in Church History</i>
SHMB	Scottish Hierarchy Minute Book
TST	<i>Theology in Scotland Today</i>

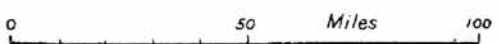
TITLES

Abp	Archbishop	Mme	Madame
Bp	Bishop	Rev	Reverend
Can	Canon	Sr	Sister
Card	Cardinal		
Fr	Father		
Mgr	Monsignor		

THE DIOCESES OF SCOTLAND (1878; 1947)



Province boundary **-----**
 Diocese boundary **.....**
 County boundary **.....**



Source: *The Catholic Directory*, 1969 (London: Burns & Oates, 1969), 540

INTRODUCTION

I am ... a Catholic. I belong to the Catholic Church. To call me a Roman Catholic is to use a contradiction in terms. The word 'Catholic' means 'universal.' The word 'Roman' implies a limitation.¹

Thus the late Father John C. Barry, canon lawyer, parish priest, former seminary rector. Of Irish extraction but from a family that had become deeply rooted in Scottish social and industrial life, Barry personified the journey that Scottish and Irish Catholics made together in Scotland between 1850 and 1965 from ultramontanist to ecumenism. In the process they began to uncouple the oxymoron (*Roman Catholic*) which was, in English-speaking Protestant countries, a covert means of ostracisation, but a description, nevertheless, welcomed by Catholics as a mark of superior authenticity.

Between 1878 and 1965 the history of the archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh and its wide-flung *province* — the suffragan [subordinate] dioceses of Aberdeen, Argyll and the Isles, Dunkeld and of Galloway — has been neglected by scholars who have, quite understandably, focused on the geographically limited Catholic community in the province of Glasgow (see the map on page v), the area that, because of migration from Ireland, held by far the greatest concentration of Catholics, and therefore the area that boasted the most extensive data for purposes of research.² But conclusions derived from Glasgow and the West are not necessarily applicable to the remainder of Catholic Scotland. The late John McCaffrey, for example, in his article 'Roman Catholics in Scotland in the 19th and 20th centuries,' took care to qualify his title with the caveat that 'Because two-thirds of Catholics stay in the West of Scotland and because that is where most of the sources used in this paper have been drawn from, this discussion will be largely confined to that area.'³

Among the very few pieces of extended research dealing with Catholics in the south East of Scotland is Bernard Aspinwall and the John McCaffrey's 'A Comparative View of the Irish in Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century' (1985), one of fourteen contributions to *The*

¹ John C. Barry, *I am a Catholic Protestant* (privately published: 1997), 18

² See for example: Euan McCollm, 'Historian to plunge into Scotland's great divide — £74,000 grant for study of what lies behind our vicious sectarian clashes', *The Scotsman* (17 Nov 1997), referring to the award of a Leverhulme Trust grant to Professor Thomas Devine and Dr Martin Mitchell 'to examine the Catholic Irish who came to settle in the West of Scotland from the 1840s until after the First World War.'

³ John McCaffrey, 'Roman Catholics in Scotland in the 19th and 20th centuries,' *RSCHS*, vol. 21 (1983), 278

Irish in the Victorian City, edited by Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley.⁴ In a survey which exploits the available population statistics to the full, Aspinwall and McCaffrey explore the dynamics of Irish migration to Scotland and its political and social effects on the host community, making the point that 'The tensions in Glasgow stand in marked contrast to the rather more assured Catholic posture in Edinburgh.'⁵

In the severely limited historical literature dealing with Catholics in Edinburgh and the East, the main focus has been less on the development of the Catholic community as a whole than on the problems of migration. Thus, the small but significant non-Irish Catholic population of Edinburgh is quite legitimately not the focus of Aspinwall and McCaffrey's study. Compounding the lack of research on the East is the fact that overviews of the range of Scottish Catholic communities in the modern period are also scarce. James Walsh's *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland* deals with his subject only to 1874.⁶ Originally written in German by Canon Alfons Bellesheim of Aachen (1839-1912), *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland from the introduction of Christianity to the present day* (1887-90) has the advantage of being based on documents in the Roman archives but the disadvantage of a lack of personal contact with Scotland and inadequate footnote references (only partially supplemented by the translator, David Oswald Hunter Blair).⁷ Peter Anson's *The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland*, however, traces the history of Catholicism from 1560 to 1937, including considerable useful factual information, much of it biographical.⁸ George Scott-Moncrieff's *The Mirror and the Cross* deals with the Church in Scotland from St Ninian to 1960, highlighting the role of John Henry Newman and Robert Hope-Scott in converting many Scottish aristocrats to Catholicism.⁹ But it is not until 'The Development of the Scottish Catholic Community 1878-1978' by Fr Anthony Ross OP (an article in a volume published to celebrate the centenary of the restoration of the hierarchy) that all the main

⁴ Bernard Aspinwall and John F. McCaffrey, 'A Comparative View of the Irish in Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century,' in Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds.), *The Irish in the Victorian City* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 132

⁵ *Ibid.*, 149

⁶ James Walsh, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, etc (Glasgow, 1874)

⁷ Alfons Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland from the introduction of Christianity to the present day* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1887-90)

⁸ Peter F. Anson, *The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland* (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1937)

⁹ George Scott-Moncrieff, *The Mirror and The Cross* (London: Burns & Oates, 1960)

themes of twentieth-century Scottish Catholic history and culture are woven together into a coherent whole.¹⁰ In 1983, summing up the state of research, John McCaffrey warned that

In spite of the growing volume of literature from journals like the *Innes Review*, the history of Catholics in modern Scotland is still largely uncharted. Interpretation is hampered by the lack of a substantial body of literature which provides both in-depth analyses of topics and a general synthesis therefrom.¹¹

This thesis seeks to explore and analyse the development of the Scottish Catholic community with particular reference to the archdiocese and province of St Andrews and Edinburgh during the period from the restoration of the hierarchy (1878) to the close of the Second Vatican Council (1965), exploring the formidable challenges facing the Catholic Church in Scotland.

Unlike Glasgow (part of which was removed in 1947 to form the new dioceses of Paisley and Motherwell), the boundaries of the archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh and of the eastern province have remained almost unchanged since 1878. Its archbishops have responsibility for Catholics in Lothian and Borders, Fife, Dunfermline (except the parish of High Valleyfield), Kirkcaldy, North-East Fife south of the River Eden, Falkirk, Stirlingshire, the Banton, Kilsyth and Queenzieburn areas of Cumbernauld and Kilsyth, as well as the Lennoxton, Milton of Campsie and Torrance areas.¹² Other changes occurred in the eastern province in 1947 when fourteen North Ayrshire parishes (which had previously been part of the archdiocese of Glasgow) were transferred to the diocese of Galloway to make it a more viable entity.

As metropolitan of the eastern province, the archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh has oversight of four suffragan [subordinate] sees: Aberdeen, Argyll and The Isles, Dunkeld, and Galloway and the close working relationship between archbishop and suffragan is reflected in the diverse correspondence now deposited at the Scottish Catholic Archives.¹³ Around seven million hectares in area, the eastern province of St Andrews and Edinburgh, with boundaries unchanged since 1878 (apart from 14 North Lanarkshire parishes added to Galloway diocese in 1947) is geographically eleven times more extensive

¹⁰ Anthony Ross, 'The Development of the Scottish Catholic Community 1878-1978,' *IR*, vol. 29 (1978), 30-55; David McRoberts (ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism, 1878-1978*, (Glasgow: John S. Burns & Sons, 1978)

¹¹ McCaffrey, 'Roman Catholics in Scotland in the 19th and 20th centuries,' 275

¹² *CDS* (1991), 25

¹³ *CDS* (1991), 25

than the western province, although the latter's Catholic population is approximately twice that of the eastern.¹⁴

As for the metropolitan himself, his main duties are to confirm, consecrate, transfer or summon his suffragan bishops); he may give them leave of absence or allow them to dispose of Church property. Where a bishopric becomes vacant, the metropolitan has the option of appointing a diocesan administrator or administering the diocese himself (as in the case of the Aberdeen diocese during the Second Vatican Council, which involved Cardinal Gray flying back from Rome to Aberdeen on a weekly basis). From the Shetlands to the Borders, from Dunbar on the eastern coast to Whithorn in the southwest, the Edinburgh-based metropolitan of the eastern province is responsible for some important aspects of Church governance. However, only since 1947 have there existed two Scottish metropolitans and two provinces (with parity of status); the unofficial title of 'leader of Scottish Catholics,' a term used regularly and loosely by the Scottish and English media (the latter sometimes overstepping the limits of tact and canon law by attributing the supposed office of 'leader of British Catholics' to the cardinal archbishop of Westminster) and has tended to be exercised by the Scottish archbishop who is senior in appointment. The latter may be identified with the president of the bishops' conference or (as in more recent times) with whichever archbishop enjoys the additional dignity of being 'Scotland's cardinal.' From the time of Cardinal Gordon Gray (the first resident Scottish cardinal since the Reformation), what limited experience there is suggests that the 'red hat' will rotate successively between Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Beginning with a summary of the immediate causes of the restoration of the hierarchy, the thesis examines the efforts of the Church to preserve the distinctive identity of its Catholic schools, institutions which had at their core the aim of suffusing 'secular' subjects with faith so as to preserve the Catholic *ethos* — this at a period when the supply of teachers and of funding was critical for survival. The shift from peripatetic vicars apostolic to diocesan bishops in 1878 brought requirements under canon law to set up an infrastructure (such as cathedral chapters, deaneries and, later, parishes) which would ensure effective administration. Improved financial systems and controls were also called for to safeguard the survival of missions and dioceses. In the area of human resources, bishops, priests, monks and nuns all experienced conflicts and challenges in their vocation. Between 1886 and 1930, for example, the clergy were called upon to reinvent themselves from being

¹⁴ Francis H. Groome, *Ordnance Gazeteer of Scotland* (Edinburgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack, 1901), 1744; CDS (2004)

shepherds of souls to becoming soldiers in the bitter struggle against atheism and materialism.

For lay people there were also changes: until the Second Vatican Council the laity had very little option but to follow the lead of the bishops and obey the dictates of their parish clergy. Up to the Second Vatican Council, lay people (while their activities were certainly valued) were seen by bishops and priests as essentially subservient and any independent action was judged to be a challenge to clerical authority. However, the gradual lessening of the mutual hostility between Catholics and Protestants between 1878 and 1965 also helped to give greater freedom of action to the laity. Running almost unrecognised under the paranoia of Protestant extremism in the 1930s was a new spirit of religious revival and a desire for dialogue, symbolised by the Liturgical Movement and Ecumenism, both of which helped to undercut the foundations of sectarianism and bigotry. Moreover, the Catholic Church was already taking steps to assert its respectability, its breadth of vision and its patriotism with the help of a small but powerful network of aristocrats converted through the influence of John Henry Newman and encouraged by Robert Hope-Scott of Abbotsford. Later, during the early and mid-twentieth century the arts and the broadcasting media also helped to make the Catholic community better known and accepted. Gathering together these developmental strands, the thesis concludes at the end of the Second Vatican Council, examining the contribution of the Scottish bishops to the work of the Council and their first tentative steps to implement its decrees. Following the Council's long-awaited programme of radical change, there would come a long and sometimes painful process of renewal — one of the consequences being a fresh uncertainty over the distinction between the role of the laity and that of the ordained priesthood.

During this period the Catholic Church in Scotland faced many challenges. From 1845 the spread of the fungus *phytophthora infestans* in Ireland resulted in successive failures of the potato crop and drove increasingly large numbers of the population to seek employment and greater security across the Irish Sea, often in Scotland. By 1841 there were already 126,321 Irish-born (Catholic and Protestant) in Scotland, representing 4.8% of the Scottish population; by 1851 the figure had increased by around 80,000 to a total 207,367 (7.17%) with the Catholic population standing at 5.1% of the national total.¹⁵ In 1848, the Free Church organ, *The Witness*, claimed that there were 20,000 Catholics in the county of Edinburgh.¹⁶ The census returns suggest this to have been an exaggeration, although the

¹⁵ Martin J. Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797-1848* (Edinburgh: John Donald Ltd., 1998)

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 102

upward trend was accurately identified: in 1851 (according to Darragh) there were no more than 10,600 Catholics in Midlothian [Edinburgh] County.¹⁷ However between 1841 and 1851 the Irish-born population of the county of Edinburgh doubled (from 7,100 to 15,317), while that of Forfar almost tripled (6,474 to 16,219); such increases, however, hardly compare to the figures for Lanark (55,915 to 89,330).¹⁸

After 1851, the primary task facing the Scottish Catholic Church would be how to meet the challenges caused by the influx of the Irish and how to assimilate the migrants while maintaining the Scottish identity of the Church. The Catholic Church in Scotland needed to re-invent itself to take account of the sudden and radical change in its population profile. The restoration of the hierarchy was the first step.

Some caution has also to be exercised over the declared size of the Catholic community in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Parish census returns were usually compiled by parish priests who might use differing criteria; often they merely repeated the global statistics from the year before; they did not normally distinguish between regular churchgoers and those with a much looser affiliation. They might even inflate the number of parishioners as an exercise in self-preservation. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that there is a difference of opinion as to the population of the archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh in 1878. According to *The Catholic Directory* (1879) there were 43 priests and 55 churches, chapel and stations. Yet the historian James Darragh quotes from a paper written by Archbishop Charles Eyre of Glasgow which estimated that in 1878 there were 24 missions (the precursors of canonical parishes), 38 churches, chapels and stations and 38 priests; nevertheless, by 1925 the numbers had risen considerably: *The Catholic Directory for Scotland* states that there were 60 missions and 101 priests; by 1964 there was yet further expansion with 93 parishes and 394 priests.¹⁹

In the watershed year of 1878 there were estimated to be 43,230 Catholics in the archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh; by 1925 (when *The Catholic Directory for Scotland* reprints the figure for 1921 over a period of several years) the Catholic population of the diocese was estimated to be 79,568; by 1964 it had risen to 129,570 (16% of the Catholic national total for Scotland).²⁰ Darragh, using a slightly different timescale, gives the Catholic population of the archdiocese as 50,200 in 1878 (15% of the Scottish national

¹⁷ James Darragh, 'The Catholic Population of Scotland, 1878-1977,' *IR*, vol. 29, No 1 (Spring, 1978), 228

¹⁸ James E. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1947), 44

¹⁹ James Darragh, 'The Catholic Population of Scotland 1878-1977' *IR*, vol. 29, No 2 (Autumn 1978), 211

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 211

total), 93,000 in 1931 (14% of the Scottish national total) and 117,800 in 1951 (15.6% of the Scottish national total).²¹ What becomes evident is that, while mass centres (missions, churches, chapels and stations) almost doubled between 1878 and 1925 — and the number of priests more than doubled — between 1925 and 1964 the number of priests tripled to meet the 61.4% increase in the Catholic population.

With respect to the main diocesan population centres, *The Catholic Directory for Scotland* shows that, while in 1878 around 41% of the eastern province's Catholics lived in St Andrews and Edinburgh, this figure increased to 48.5% in 1931 and rose further to 52.29% in 1964 — perhaps reflecting the gravitational economic and cultural pull of the capital city and the relative decline of rural parishes.²² By 1961 the economic historian Richard Rodger notes that, using a 1931 base, Edinburgh's urban growth index was 106.3% (compared to Glasgow's 96.9% at the same period).²³ However, Darragh's statistics also indicate that centralisation was greater in the archdiocese of Glasgow where, in 1964, some 57.5% of the western province's Catholic population resided — although this represented a decline from the 1951 figure of 61.4%. This was not long after the creation in 1947 of the new western province and the dioceses of Paisley and Motherwell when the archdiocese of Glasgow, as David McRoberts points out, was reduced territorially to the City of Glasgow and the county of Dumbarton.²⁴ The creation of two new dioceses also provides evidence that the Catholic population was moving out of the centre of the western province and into its periphery (in contrast to the trend in St Andrews and Edinburgh), the result of what Rodger refers to as the Glasgow 'post-1945 overspill policy and New Town development strategies which decanted population far and wide ... ,' even as far east as North Berwick in East Lothian.²⁵

The subject matter of the thesis is thematically organised into eight chapters, presented in a chronological order. The principal sources consulted are the extensive national diocesan records for the period 1878-1965 at the Scottish Catholic Archives, Columba House in Edinburgh, described by the Archivist and Keeper, Andrew Nicoll, as follows:

²¹ *Ibid.*, 230

²² *Ibid.*, 230

²³ Richard Rodger, 'Urbanisation in Twentieth-Century Scotland,' in Thomas M. Devine and R. J. Finlay (eds.), *Scotland in the 20th Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 128

²⁴ David McRoberts, 'The New Province of Glasgow,' *St Peter's College Magazine*, vol. 18 (1948), 101

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 128

The Scottish Catholic Archives is responsible for maintaining the diverse manuscript collections relating to the Catholic Church in Scotland. The main body of the collection dates from before 1878, when the Hierarchy was restored in Scotland, but added to this are the records of the Dioceses of Argyll and the Isles; Dunkeld; St Andrews and Edinburgh; Galloway and Motherwell. The records of the Scots Colleges at home: Blairs, Scaln, Aquhorties; and abroad: Paris, Douai, Madrid and Rome are also a part of our holdings.²⁶

The collection in Columba House is made up mainly of primary source materials and the thesis uses as its principal archival source the correspondence that was collected by the bishops of the former Eastern District and of the archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh that succeeded it in 1878. This is the first time that this material has been critically surveyed in its entirety for the period chosen. Notable by their absence are the records of the Archdiocese of Glasgow which are located in the Glasgow Archdiocesan Archives (GAA), Glasgow.

In writing the thesis, the customary archival restriction of 30-year closure has been observed, as well as 100-year closure (for particularly sensitive material). One important exclusion, moreover, is such material as may be contained in the diocesan secret archives, relating to 'criminal cases concerning moral matters' which canon law (can. 489-490) stipulates should be kept under total and perennial secrecy — 'Documents are not to be removed from the secret archive ...'²⁷ One can only surmise what potential historical material is thus removed from the scrutiny of scholars.

The thesis attempts to redress the balance between the story of Catholics in the West of Scotland and that of Catholics in St Andrews and Edinburgh by focusing on communities which Irish migration enriched rather than radically changed. The evidence provided by families of Irish descent in the East (such as the Barrys) and Irish communities (such as St Patrick's, Cowgate) suggests not only that migration patterns were complex but that integration was more rapid and perhaps more effective in the East than in the West of Scotland. It was the inability of Catholics in the West to integrate which alarmed not only the apostolic visitor, Archbishop Henry Manning in 1878 but also disturbed the British government in 1918. The relative homogeneity and integration of Catholics in the East also makes it more possible to observe the Catholic community there in all its variety.

²⁶ see <http://www.catholic-heritage.net/sca/index.htm> (accessed 2 Sept 2003)

²⁷ The Canon Law Society Trust, *The Code of Canon Law* (London: Collins Liturgical Publications, 1983), 87; see also *Church Archives* (The Catholic Archives Society, 1997)

One factor which emerges in the thesis is the key role of the convert aristocracy in providing influence and financial support to the developing Catholic Church. The strength of the Church lay not only in the number of its adherents, swelled by migration, but also in the convert elite which enabled the bishops to wield a political influence beyond their station. However, the bishops had difficulty in overcoming the problems which faced them, both in deploying and motivating the clergy and in mastering debt or eradicating financial ineptitude. Catholic schools, in spite of sustained efforts to help them survive, struggled until the settlement of 1918 and then took another twenty-five years to bear visible fruit. At the same time, the laity found it hard to emerge from dependency on the clergy; it was not until the Second Vatican Council that they, the priests and the bishops began to feel themselves affirmed and valued in what was potentially a new collaborative relationship within a renewed understanding of ecclesial life. Between 1878 and 1965, Catholics in Scotland can be seen to have developed a greater unity of purpose, with a more conscious understanding of their roles in the work of salvation.

The thesis has developed from an earlier attempt to write a history of St Andrews and Edinburgh in the modern period, namely the author's biographical study, *Cardinal Gordon Joseph Gray* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1994), based on interviews conducted personally with Cardinal Gray and typescript reminiscences supplied by him to the author. As the book was written after Cardinal Gray's death, this typescript formed the core of the biography, which was then further developed by reference to documents and newspaper cuttings in the Scottish Catholic Archives, by writing to those who had known Gray and by tape-recording interviews with others — by this means building up a more rounded understanding of the subject. The thesis also had its origins in the author's work as East of Scotland correspondent for *The Scottish Catholic Observer* and as the author of a parish local history, *St Martin of Tours, Tranent* (1991), as well as of a number of other publications on Edinburgh and the Lothians.²⁸ Inevitably, although the same range of research techniques was employed in the composition of the thesis, the historical period chosen meant that greater reliance was placed on manuscript rather than oral evidence.

The period 1878-1965 is important as it saw a growing sense of national identity in Scotland as a whole, evidenced by the emergence of the Scottish National Party. In June 1935 (four years after Compton Mackenzie was elected rector of Glasgow University for the SNP), at the height of the anti-Catholic protests in Edinburgh, a Catholic (Professor Alex Smith of Quebec) shared the platform at an SNP Bannockburn Day demonstration in Stirling

²⁸ *St Martin of Tours, Tranent* (privately published, 1991); *Edinburgh and Lothians Holy Corners* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1996)

with Professor A. Dewar Gibb, Robert Cunninghame-Grahame and the Duke of Montrose, who rebutted 'the opinion that self-government would lead to Irish domination in Scotland.'²⁹ Moreover, the birth of periodicals such as *The Scottish Historical Review* (1903), the formation of societies like the Scottish Church History Society (1922) — founded to fill the gaps of unsifted Scottish historical data — the creation of new chairs of Scottish History at the Scottish Universities, reflect both a reviving awareness of Scottish national identity and a sense that Catholics can and should be a part of the modern Scottish nation.

The thesis, directed towards scholars (a profession developed by building on previous work), will show how, between 1878 and 1965, Catholics in Scotland began to become an integral part of Scottish society, demonstrating the increasing obsolescence of such nineteenth century stereotypes as the 'alien migrant' or the 'ultramontane subversive.' As Thomas M. Devine observes:

... in the era of industrialization and urbanization religion remained a powerful force in the lives of the Scottish people, influencing values, providing a guide to personal conduct and helping to fashion contemporary social, welfare and educational policies, as well as moulding both imperial and national identities.³⁰

²⁹ 'Scotland's Freedom,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 24 Jun 1935

³⁰ Thomas M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000* (London: Penguin Books, 1999), 367

1. CATHOLICS IN SCOTLAND BEFORE 1878

Introduction

In beginning to trace the development of the Scottish Catholic community after the restoration of the hierarchy in 1878, it is useful to examine the turbulent period which preceded it — so as to better understand the motives for this radical change in Church administration and to introduce some of the principal themes which form the subject of the following chapters.

Patrick Reilly, a Scottish Catholic of Irish descent, maintains that 'the most important event in the history of modern Scottish Catholicism took place in Ireland where the potatoes failed in 1845.'¹ The challenges facing the Catholic community in Scotland immediately before the restoration of the hierarchy were caused principally by large-scale Irish migration which, in turn, almost inevitably led to ongoing conflict with the much smaller communities of 'native' Scots Catholics, largely in the West of Scotland where the majority of the migrants settled.

In the East, Catholics were not so overwhelmed by migration from Ireland, yet they also faced challenges. As in the West, missions had to be developed and supported; education was a priority but a constant drain on resources; religious orders and lay organisations were needed to help in the missionary effort. Money was the greatest concern but there was also the problem of 'mixed' marriage and the long shadow of prejudice, not least in the professions.

Irish Migration

The arrival of Irish migrants in the nineteenth century rapidly increased the Catholic population of Scotland. In 1851 there were 145,000 Catholics in Scotland (5.1% of the population); one hundred years later the figure had increased to 750,000 (14.7%).² The largest concentration of Catholics was in the industrial West of the country. However, not all the migrants from Ireland were Catholics: by 1832, some '26,965 of the 35,554 Irish-born in

¹ Patrick Reilly, 'Yes says Patrick Reilly,' *Scottish Catholic Observer*, 5 May 2000

² James Darragh, 'The Catholic population of Scotland, 1878-1977', *IR*, vol. 29, No 2 (1978), 228

Glasgow were estimated to be Catholics.³ A not insignificant proportion had always been from the Protestant north.⁴

While it increased the size of the Scottish work-force at a time when the industrial revolution was at its height, the influx of so many Irish to the West of Scotland (driven across the sea by unemployment, poverty or persecution), led to a clash of cultures and national identities — less so, perhaps, for those Irish who eventually settled to the East, in Edinburgh, where the structure of employment depended not so much on large groups of workers (such as were increasingly employed in the cotton trade in the West) who might readily combine for industrial action, but more on individual, casual or isolated work in labouring or in the service industries.⁵

Reporting to Cardinal Alessandro Barnabò, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Propaganda Fide*) in Rome, Henry Manning, Archbishop of Westminster (displaying a peculiar disregard for the shared Celtic roots of the Scots and the Irish), commented on his visitation of the Western District in 1867:

Until the year 1800 the Catholics of Scotland were nearly all of Scottish birth; and the clergy were entirely Scottish ... They [the Irish] were different from the Scots not only by race and religious conviction but they were also separated from them because of mutual prejudices, and there was a good deal of racial antipathy; the Irish population remained isolated and perhaps in some way hostile to the Scots.⁶

The marginalised Irish

Many of the migrant Irish in Scotland burned with a great sense of injustice — they were often marginalised, ostracised or victimised even in the Catholic community, particularly by some of the Scottish clergy. In 1828, for example, the Glasgow Catholic

³ Bernard Aspinwall and John F. McCaffrey, 'A Comparative View of the Irish in Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century' in Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds.), *The Irish in the Victorian City* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 132; see also James Edmund Handley, *The Irish in Scotland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1943), 307- 308

⁴ James Darragh, 'The Catholic population of Scotland since the year 1680,' *IR*, vol. 4 (1953), 56

⁵ Aspinwall and McCaffrey, *op. cit.*, 132

⁶ James Walsh, 'Archbishop Manning's Visitation of the Western District of Scotland in 1867,' *IR*, vol. 18, No 1 (1967), 12. NB 'race' is not used here in a pejorative Darwinian biological sense but as denoting a group identifiable in terms of cultural or sociological parameters. Nevertheless, see Bernard Aspinwall, 'Scots and Irish clergy ministering to immigrants 1830-78,' *IR*, vol. 47, No 1 (Spring 1966), 63 ('Ethnic lines were clearly drawn')

Association petitioned Rome against what it termed 'the obtrusive interference and intolerable persecution' of Irish Catholics by Fathers Andrew Scott and Murdoch.⁷ The Irish had a point: most of the Scottish clergy came from the Enzie in Banffshire and many were blood relatives.⁸ In John Cooney's memorable phrase, for the clerical sons of the Enzie, 'appointment and genealogy went hand in hand.'⁹

Irish Catholics were incensed when the same Fr Scott was made a coadjutor bishop, as the title of an article by William McGowan in *The Glasgow Evening Post* (12 Jan 1833) suggests — 'Bishop Scott and Toryism, or the Inquisition in Glasgow.' The Irish suspected Scott would never stop discriminating against them.¹⁰ Only in 1836, when Scott eventually retired to Greenock, did the tension between Catholic Scots and Catholic Irish briefly subside.

Church organisation

Like Caesar's Gaul, Catholic Scotland in 1827 was divided into three parts — the Eastern, Western and Northern districts; these replaced the former double division (lowland and highland) which had been in force for the previous hundred years. Yet Scotland was still a *mission* church, directly under the authority of Propaganda in Rome.¹¹ For this reason the three vicars apostolic in Scotland were directly and collectively responsible to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda. Addressed as 'bishop', vicars apostolic in nineteenth century Scotland had virtually the same powers as diocesan bishops. However, their powers were *delegated* and not *ordinary* (*jure ordinario* — in their own right). The missionary vicariate (an intermediate stage between a prefecture and a diocese) was the form of organisation normally adopted in a region such as Scotland which was not yet sufficiently developed for a complete hierarchy to be established.¹²

⁷ *Ibid.*, 55

⁸ *Ibid.*, 60

⁹ John Cooney, *Scotland and the Papacy* (Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1982), 39. See also John F. McCaffrey, 'The Roman Catholic Church in the 1890s: Retrospect and Prospect,' *RSCHS*, vol. 25 (1995), 453

¹⁰ Anthony Ross, 'The Development of the Scottish Catholic Community 1878-1978,' *IR*, vol. 29 (1978), 35-36

¹¹ See Cliff Williamson, 'An Antidote to Communism; Catholic Social Action in Glasgow, 1931-39,' in Raymond Boyle and Peter Lynch (eds.), *Out of the Ghetto – The Catholic Community in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1998), 40

¹² F. J. Winslow, 'Vicar Apostolic,' *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 14 (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America, 1967), 638-39

The developmental nature of the Catholic Church's missionary organisation in Scotland led to many setbacks. John Scanlan, for example, an Irish priest who had arrived in Scotland in 1842, decamped three years later with the large sum of money he had collected for Hamilton Chapel on fund-raising trips all over the country. Making his way to Liverpool, he sailed to America, leaving behind a substantial debt.¹³

The Status of Catholics in Scotland

Although the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829) had given Catholics many of the same rights enjoyed by other citizens, it still required them to pay for institutions which they did not patronise (or did so under duress). Catholics still had to pay teinds and (in Edinburgh and Montrose), the annuity tax for the support of Church of Scotland ministers and the maintenance of Kirk schools; they also had to pay the local minister for publishing banns of marriage. But in spite of Catholics' minority and relatively oppressed status, British politicians were anxious to stop them emigrating to America and tried to prevent their clergy being trained in Ireland where they might become sympathetic to Irish Home Rule.¹⁴

Conflict with the Reformed Faith

The embattled position of the Catholic Church was not helped by two further events — the Maynooth seminary endowment (1845) and the restoration of the hierarchy in England (1850).¹⁵ As Handley observed:

For a year and more after the decree from Rome, meetings were held in almost every village and town in Scotland on the topic of "Papal Aggression" with provosts and lord provosts occupying the chair flanked by files of ministers.¹⁶

From time to time a Catholic bishop might choose to challenge a Protestant minister directly and publicly. In 1831 Fr James Gillis (later vicar apostolic of the Eastern District) sent a proof copy of his letter to the press to a Mr Armstrong of the British Reformation Society. Gillis did not mince his words:

¹³ Martin J. Mitchell, 'The Establishment and Early Years of the Hamilton Mission in Thomas M. Devine (ed.), *St Mary's Hamilton – a Social History 1846 - 1996* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1995), 10 -11

¹⁴ James Edmund Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1947), 52

¹⁵ see Gordon F. Millar, 'Maynooth and Scottish Politics: the role of the Maynooth Grant Issue, 1845-57,' *RSCHS*, vol. 27 (1997), 220-279

¹⁶ Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, 93-94

... as I have been credibly informed, that, at a meeting held in that Chapel [Mr Kirkwood's] yesterday evening, and in the course of an evangelical address, beginning by "Och! and they have been praying for a dead Pope today", or some such words, you took the liberty of adverting to a discourse, delivered by me that morning, at the funeral service of his late Holiness ... hundreds of candid Protestants ... heard the scandalous manner in which your last meeting was carried on, and of the sickening and blasphemous abuse which you were pleased to heap on your absent adversaries and their religious tenets ... lest this letter should not be noticed ... I intend to insert it in the public papers.'¹⁷

It was another twenty years before the Scottish Reformation Society to be formed, beginning its activities with a course of weekly lectures in Edinburgh.¹⁸ However, within two years there was a series of anti-Catholic disturbances in the West — armed mobs in the streets, Catholic shops broken into and even an attempt on the life of a Catholic policeman.¹⁹ As the Catholic community in Scotland tried to defend itself from such animosity, it also tended to retreat within itself, with all the spiritual retrenchment this implied.²⁰

The Glasgow Free Press

While the Catholic community closed ranks against a hostile environment in the Western District and the city of Glasgow in particular, tensions between Irish and Scots Catholics threatened an upheaval which would bring the Catholic Church in Scotland to the brink of schism.²¹

In 1851 *The Glasgow Free Press* was established as a newspaper which would (in the passionate words of Peter McCorry, its final editor) be 'representative of the Irish in Scotland and for the correction of certain abuses in the ecclesiastical government of a young branch of the Church of God — a withered branch, rotten and decayed, but for the Irish sap

¹⁷ SCA ED10/14/1 Bp J. Gillis: proof letter, 21 Jan 1831

¹⁸ Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, 94

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 96

²⁰ David McCrone and Michael Rosie, 'Left and Liberal: Catholics in Modern Scotland,' in Boyle and Lynch, *op. cit.*, 68; but note Thomas M. Devine (quoted in Euan McCollm, 'Historian to plunge into Scotland's great divide' *The Scotsman*, 17 Nov 1997: 'In fact, there is a great deal of evidence that in the 1820s and 30s, the Catholic Irish were well plugged in to the radical movements of the time. The ghettoised image just does not fit the facts')

²¹ Alphons Bellesheim, tr. D. O. Hunter Blair, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, vol. 4 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1887), 293

introduced into its fibre'; the aim of the paper was 'the establishment of a hierarchy for the Church in Scotland.'²²

Such language seemed to the Scots clergy to embody their worst fears. At first they thought that the Irish migrants would not put down roots in Scotland: after a short stay, they would surely move on.²³ In the event, the opposite was the case. Writing to Archbishop Manning from Hamilton in 1867, Fr James Danaher supplied statistics which the Catholic Church could not ignore:

In the Highland portion of the Western District there are according to my estimate about 5,000 Catholics ministered to by 13 priests, all of whom, both priests and people, are Scotch. All the rest of the district, about 200,000, are either Irish or of Irish descent.²⁴

An Airdrie reader of *The Glasgow Free Press* who signed himself 'A True Celt,' underlined the numerical insignificance of Scots Catholics:

I am not aware, with the exception of a few Scotch clergymen in this Mission, that any other country exists here as Catholic, except Irish, as the Scotch Catholics are a mere cipher in point of numbers.²⁵

Scots Catholics, for their part, feared that the swelling numbers of Irish migrants would

alter the nature of Scottish Catholicism, turn it into an extension of the Irish church in which finances and politics would be used for rebellion, thus losing any standing they might have in the eyes of their Protestant neighbours.²⁶

For seventeen years *The Glasgow Free Press* continued to champion what it saw as the legitimate grievances of the Irish Catholic community.²⁷ However misplaced its critical stance might appear to Scots Catholics, the resentment it expressed was real enough. The protests came to a head in 1864 when twenty-two Irish priests in the Western District sent a copy of their grievances against Bishop Murdoch to Propaganda. Augustus Keane, then

²² *The Glasgow Free Press*, 15 Feb 1868

²³ John F. McCaffrey, 'Roman Catholics in Scotland in the 19th and 20th centuries,' *RSCHS*, vol. 21 (1983), 283

²⁴ AGA W010/2/2 Fr J. Danaher to Abp H. Manning, 31 Oct 1867

²⁵ *The Glasgow Free Press*, 10 Feb 1868

²⁶ McCaffrey, op. cit., 278

²⁷ *The Glasgow Free Press*, 15 Feb 1868

editor of *The Glasgow Free Press*, also informed Rome of his disgust at the treatment of his fellow-countrymen.²⁸

The following year, Murdoch died and was succeeded by John Gray (also from Banffshire). In response to the clamour of the Irish clergy for an Irish bishop, a Maynooth-educated Vincentian priest, James Lynch, rector of the Irish College in Paris, was appointed coadjutor to Bishop Gray in 1866, 'largely through the influence of Archbishop Paul Cullen of Dublin.'²⁹

Near-Schism

A year passed but with no sign of the turmoil between Irish and Scots abating. The three Scots vicars apostolic — Gray (Western District), John Strain (Eastern) and James Kyle (Northern) wrote to Rome in September 1867 complaining about the disorder and division in the Western vicariate. Having considered the growing complaints from Scotland, Cardinal Alessandro Barnabò, Prefect of Propaganda, dispatched an *apostolic visitor* to supply him with a first-hand assessment of the situation in the West, asking him to adjudicate between the warring factions.

On 23 October 1867 Henry Manning, Archbishop of Westminster arrived in Glasgow. Over five days he took evidence from all parties concerned. Among these was the Irishman Robert Whitty, Jesuit superior based at Dalkeith, Midlothian, whose order had re-established itself in Glasgow eight years before.³⁰ Whitty wrote to Manning: 'Probe the wound as you will ... I have often tried to get at something tangible on either side. I never could ... I see no remedy but total removal and substitution of one important authority ... we want new blood in Scotland and we can only have it from England.'³¹ Opinion also came from less prestigious but no less revealing sources. Eugene Small, a student for the priesthood, wrote to Barnabò from St Fillan's, Houston by Glasgow, describing Bishop Lynch and his Irish priests as *garibaldini* (subversives).³²

²⁸ APF SC Fondo Scozia 7 (1867-1878), ff 331, 335; 521

²⁹ McCaffrey, *op. cit.*, 278

³⁰ The Society of Jesus had been invited to establish Charlotte Street School in Edinburgh by James VII and II as early as 1687, when Edinburgh became an 'enclave of Roman Catholicism.' See John V. McCabe, *The History of St Aloysius' College* (Glasgow: St Aloysius' College, 2000), 25-28

³¹ Fr R. Whitty to Abp H. Manning, 23 Oct 1867 (quoted in McCaffrey, *op. cit.*, 285)

³² Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide: *Ristretto con Sommario* ... Gennaro 1868, 11

Propaganda intervenes

Propaganda, meanwhile, having been sent numerous editions of *The Glasgow Free Press*, decided that the paper had to be closed down. A pastoral letter from all three Scottish bishops condemning the publication was read from every pulpit in Scotland. For once put on the defensive by this concerted surprise attack, *The Glasgow Free Press* protested at such ruthless censorship, in its death-throes calling prophetically for the advent of a higher order in the Church in Scotland.³³ Peter McCorry (assuming a persona both heroic and eschatological), proclaimed that the work of *The Glasgow Free Press* had

been performed honestly and nobly. The mission of the journal that dies today is perfected, namely, the establishment of a HIERARCHY for the Church in Scotland, not yet promulgated.³⁴

On 11 December 1868, an Englishman, Charles Petre Eyre (1817-1902), was nominated delegate apostolic in Scotland and titular archbishop of Anazarbus. He was consecrated in Rome on 31 January 1869. Three months later he began work as apostolic administrator for the Western District. Bishop Gray resigned on 4 March 1869; a month later Bishop Lynch, who had inflamed the Scots with his flagrantly pro-Irish attitude, was permanently transferred to Ireland as coadjutor for the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin.³⁵

Restoring the Hierarchy

In the eyes of the vicars apostolic the restoration of the hierarchy in Scotland was a mixed blessing. It might be expedient for solving the problems of the Western District but the erection of a more visible Catholic administrative structure went against their deepest instincts. James Kyle (1788-1869), bishop of the Northern District, had written in 1864 from his north of Scotland retreat at Preshome, Buckie with considerable apprehension to his colleague, Bishop John Murdoch in Glasgow:

we have always thriven most, when we made the least noise and the least display. For this reason I rejoice that Rome has had the good

³³ *The Glasgow Free Press*, 15 Feb 1868

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ David McRoberts, 'The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy in 1878,' *IR*, vol. 29 (1978), 22

sense to turn a deaf ear to the vain fools who wished to inflict a hierarchy upon us.³⁶

This north-eastern Catholic trait was what James Handley called ‘the spirit of self-effacement’:

The intolerant attitude of the mass of the Scottish people towards the old religion had induced in the isolated Catholic communities of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a spirit of self-effacement and caution in the observances of their religion.³⁷

Self-effacement had a corollary — ultramontanism, shared by the Scots cleared out of the Highlands as well as by economic migrants from Ireland:

The ultramontane influence reached its zenith when the Pope seemed to be deprived of his lands as unjustly as any Highlanders or Irish.³⁸

Traditionally, the Scottish vicars apostolic had a policy of ‘reassuring Kirk and Government that they had nothing to fear from Roman Catholics,’ so much so that Bishop George Hay (1729-1811) had been accused by a Catholic member of the underground society, ‘The Friends of the People,’ of being a recruiting-agent for King George.³⁹ Montreal-born Bishop James Gillis (1802-1864), vicar apostolic of the Eastern District from 1838 to 1864, had a decided reverence for monarchies of any kind — an enthusiasm, however, not shared by the vast majority of Irish Catholics in Scotland.⁴⁰

In preparing to change from vicars apostolic to bishops and archbishops, Rome planned to impose order among Catholics and also liberate areas of potential growth. However, having seen the outcry caused by the restoration of the English hierarchy (1850), the Scottish vicars apostolic were filled with foreboding that a restored hierarchy in Scotland ‘would only tend to increase the prejudice which already existed against the development of the Church in Scotland.’⁴¹ Kyle’s objections included the fear that independent bishops

³⁶ SCA OL2/110/8 Bp J. Kyle to Bp J. Murdoch, 30 Jun 1864

³⁷ Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, 89

³⁸ Bernard Aspinwall, ‘The formation of the Catholic community in the West of Scotland,’ *IR*, vol. 33 (1982), 54

³⁹ W. J. Anderson, ‘David Downie and the Friends of the People,’ *IR*, vol. 16 (1965), 165-79; see also Peter F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland* (Montrose: Standard Press, 1970), 209 -12

⁴⁰ Anthony Ross, ‘The Development of the Scottish Catholic Community 1878-1978,’ *IR*, vol. 29 (1978), 35

⁴¹ Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, 296

would weaken Scotland's close ties with the Holy See.⁴² Such was the dependency culture of many of the vicars.

In contrast to the Catholic community in England, in Scotland there were only a handful of the middle class or aristocracy to promote Catholic interests. However, aristocratic converts such as John Patrick, Third Marquess of Bute and Robert Monteith (with their immense wealth and extensive network of personal relationships), had an influence out of all proportion to their numerical strength. Most had relatives and properties south of the Border: Lord Bute, for example, was related to the Duke of Norfolk, a Catholic and the premier peer in England.

The Catholic Church in the East

Between 1830 and 1878, the Eastern District (which included Edinburgh), was undergoing change, just as Glasgow had done.⁴³ The Eastern District was made up of the counties of Angus, Berwick, Clackmannan, Dumfries, Fife, Kincardine, Kinross, Kirkcudbright, East Lothian, Midlothian, West Lothian, Peebles, Perth, Roxburgh, Selkirk and most of Stirling.⁴⁴ At its most western point (Blanefield) it stretched across the north of Glasgow, only a few miles from the city centre and close to Loch Lomond.

In the late 1830s the Irish made up a large proportion of the 10-11,000 Catholics in and around Edinburgh.⁴⁵ However, their living conditions were deplorable:

By far the greatest proportion of the lowest class in Edinburgh is now composed of Irish; and the state of overcrowding, filth, and want of the necessaries of life amid which they live makes it surprising that typhus fever should ever leave their dwellings⁴⁶

But, in Edinburgh, unlike Glasgow, there were virtually no large-scale continuous community conflicts. The numbers of Irish were small and they posed little direct threat of 'swamping' to the host community, which, in any case, had a Whiggish enlightenment tradition.⁴⁷ Edinburgh was also fortunate in having in James Gillis a charismatic and

⁴² *Ibid.*, 299-300

⁴³ Christine Johnson, 'Scottish Secular Clergy 1830-1878: The Northern and Eastern Districts,' *IR*, vol. 40, No 1 (Spring 1989), 27

⁴⁴ James Darragh, 'The Church in Scotland. The Hierarchy of Scotland,' *CDS* (1979), 33

⁴⁵ Bernard Aspinwall and John F. McCaffrey, 'A Comparative View of the Irish in Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century', in Swift and Gilley, *op. cit.*, 132

⁴⁶ James Stark, 'On the Mortality of Edinburgh and Leith for the year 1848,' *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal* (Apr 1849), 387; see also Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, 40

⁴⁷ Aspinwall and McCaffrey, *op. cit.*, 134

cosmopolitan bishop with wide-ranging international experience, who had previously served as coadjutor vicar apostolic. His new responsibilities would require all Gillis' administrative flair and diplomacy.

The Catholic community in Edinburgh faced many difficulties. A year before Gillis became vicar apostolic, a virulently anti-Catholic publication, *The Bulwark*, began publication in Edinburgh under the editorship of the Rev James Begg (author of, among other tracts, *A Handbook of Popery*, 1852). Begg, a member of the Free Church and a political maverick, fiercely opposed the established Church of Scotland and would go on to edit *The Bulwark* for 21 years. In the same year, a former monk, Alessandro Gavazzi (who was working for the downfall of the embattled Pius IX as ruler of the Papal States), spoke at public meetings in Glasgow and then at the Music Hall, Edinburgh. The event was well patronised. Hugh Miller, editor of *The Witness*, wrote of the Music Hall audience approvingly as 'densely crowded with a respectable and highly intellectual assemblage'.⁴⁸

Public feeling against Catholics was such, that, early in 1852, four months before Gillis became vicar apostolic, he sent a letter to *The Scotsman* complaining of the harassment Catholic clergymen received as a result of the speaking tour of another former priest, Camillo Mapei, who had appeared at the city's Baptist chapel:

Edinburgh has been lowered to that level of *sauvagerie* that now makes it impossible for a Catholic clergyman to cross the threshold of his own door, without being, as I daily am, wantonly and grossly insulted by name.⁴⁹

John Menzies Strain

In 1864, Gillis was succeeded by Edinburgh-born John Menzies Strain (1810-83). Strain, the son of an Irish jeweller, had been educated at the Royal High School — 'the Protestant Grammar School in High School Yards' (as his nephew and biographer, Canon Michael Turner called it).⁵⁰ Strain was the last vicar apostolic of the Eastern District and, after the restoration of the hierarchy, became the first archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh. He had strong Roman credentials, having studied at the Scots College, Rome from 1826 and, in 1833, at the Propaganda Missionary College.

⁴⁸ *The Witness*, 23 Aug 1851

⁴⁹ *The Scotsman*, 28 Feb 1852

⁵⁰ Michael Turner, *Life and Labours of John Menzies Strain* (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1922), 11

In 1864, Strain was consecrated in Rome as vicar apostolic by Pius IX. Later, along with Bishop Macdonald of the Northern District and Archbishop Eyre of the Western, he took part in the First Vatican Council (1869-70) and was therefore well versed in the problems of authority which faced the Church.⁵¹ Unlike Bishops Gray, Murdoch and Kyle, Strain welcomed the restoration of the hierarchy as a largely positive step, possibly because he also saw opportunities for a more gracious life-style.

Catholic Education

Principal among the bishops' aspirations was the handing on of the Catholic faith, seen as essential for the survival of the Catholic community. Such was their concern that, in 1872, they decided not to enter the national school system under the provisions of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act. They had already expressed their fears over the coming legislation in a petition sent to Parliament three years before:

While your Petitioners have no wish to interfere with any educational measure, which may satisfy the requirements of the country at large, they are fully convinced that the circumstances of Scotland would render a purely parochial national system intensely Protestant, and most prejudicial to Catholic interests. Your Petitioners therefore pray that, as far as Roman Catholics are concerned, the Denominational system may still be continued ... Your Petitioners can foresee that, were the Denominational system to be discontinued, their Schools would soon be adopted — that is, *absorbed*, while they would not be authorised to establish others.⁵²

The vicars feared that accepting state control would make Catholic religious education impossible. They, like the Scottish Episcopal Church and the Free Kirk, therefore chose to keep their schools 'voluntary', although they knew that this would impose an even greater financial burden on Catholics. Because of the high priority they set on education, Catholics would also have to continue paying for the state education system (which by and large they did not patronise), as well as for their own independent schools:

Education was a major concern of the Church. To provide basic literacy within a Catholic environment for survival; to develop the second stage through middle-class schools in preparation for a Catholic professional and leadership class.⁵³

⁵¹ Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, 291

⁵² SCA ED10/15/3 Petition: Scottish Parochial Education Bill, 1869

⁵³ Bernard Aspinwall, 'The formation of the Catholic community in the West of Scotland,' *IR*, vol. 33 (1982), 46

During the negotiations over the 1872 Act, Strain tried to allay the fears of Catholics over what was seen as potentially a surrender of a right fundamental to Catholic identity. He stressed the importance of taking the initiative: 'As Catholics we have nothing to fear from education, but everything to gain.'⁵⁴

Existing Catholic schools took many forms: there were orphanages, such as the one at Greenside, Edinburgh, managed by the St Vincent de Paul Society, which provided basic education and vocational placement. Founded in 1862, it cared for twenty-two boys, three of the older ones being apprenticed to good tradesmen.⁵⁵ For girls, there was schooling provided by convents such as St Catharine's, which (in 1870) housed 25 students.⁵⁶

During the 1860s, Catholic clergy (such as Fr J. Martin of Stirling), were faced with almost insuperable difficulties in dealing with the movements of population and with child industrial workers (problems common to all denominations):

At Strathblane, by reason of the completion of that portion of the Railway the navvies have nearly all gone to work elsewhere, thereby reducing considerably the number of Catholics in that quarter. In general the whole of the people are of a migratory character, here today and away tomorrow ... There are in Milngavie, Strathblane etc those so called Cotton Fields and Cotton Printfields, where all the children are in a manner, imprisoned, I may say from the time they come to the use of reason, and where they work from 5.30 and 6 a.m until 7 and 8 and sometimes 10 p.m. Such is the rule here, and it cannot be interfered with it seems, at least by local means. These places are schools of vice for young and old.⁵⁷

Bishops and priests had to rely on the commitment of volunteer Sunday school teachers such as Mme Cécile Campbell of Doune who pitied the transitory pupils she taught:

... I was sometimes sorely tried, when I saw some of the children forgetting their lessons as soon as they learned them! A good many of them not even being able to read! At first I had in my class 80 children on my list, but a good many left Doune to go into service in the country, but I have, I may say regularly about 46 to 48 children coming to me every Sunday, in winter for one hour and a half, and in summer for two hour! They are good children, very obedient! But very ignorant, most of them work in Deanston mills during the week, but all these children live with their parents in the village of Doune!⁵⁸

⁵⁴ SCA ED3/205/3 Bp J. Strain: Catholic education, nd

⁵⁵ SCA ED3/146/9 A. C. Mackenzie to Bp J. Strain, 31 Jul 1862

⁵⁶ SCA ED3/125/7 Sr M. Ignatius to Bp J. Strain, 12 Oct 1870

⁵⁷ SCA ED3/167/6 Fr J. Martin to Bp J. Strain, 12 Feb 1866

⁵⁸ SCA ED3/173/1 Mme C. Campbell to Bp J. Strain, 14 Jan 1869

For Scotland as well as England, educational policy and funding was co-ordinated by the Catholic Poor School Committee, based in London. In 1869 its chairman, Edward Howard, warned of the dangers ahead:

I feel, as all Catholics must, the perils which beset us in regard to education. The view of Catholics is that religion should be blended with it; that of the present day is that religion is only subsidiary and non-essential in primary education.⁵⁹

Such Catholic schools as existed were often heavily in debt. In 1865, for example, the school at Blairgowrie had a debt of £328. Over the previous three years the sum expended for the teacher's salary, schoolhouse furniture, educational apparatus, repairs, coal and gas was twice that amount.⁶⁰ Local administrators, however, were not always disposed to appreciate or solve the difficulties of Catholic education. In Stirling, Fr Paul MacLachlan, writing to Bishop Strain in 1869, complained:

I am under great obligation to your Lordship for your letter of the 24 relative to the Education Bill and the Poor Law commission. You will no doubt have observed what Sheriff Fraser and Sir John Macneill state as to the case they take of our children. I wonder how respectable men can say things so utterly at variance with fact ...⁶¹

Part of the Catholic objection to the proposed government legislation was the negative portrayal of Catholics in history textbooks. In 1869, the bishops encouraged Catholics to petition Parliament on the Scottish Parochial Education Bill, protesting that the Bill:

would almost certainly perpetuate the use of the Class Books now used in the Parochial Schools, which, as your Petitioners are ready to prove, are interspersed with passages and observations most objectionable to the feelings of Catholics, and most offensive to their faith and religion.⁶²

Financial and Legal Problems

The problems facing Catholic priests still working on a missionary footing are evident in the desperate letters of Fr John Prendergast of Haddington (East Lothian) to Strain in 1865 in which he pleaded for assistance to complete his building projects:

⁵⁹ SCA ED3/124/6 E. Howard to Bp J. Strain, 12 Apr 1869

⁶⁰ SCA ED3/174/4 Fr. J. Carmont to Bp J. Strain, 1 Jan 1865

⁶¹ SCA ED3/171/17 Rev P. MacLachlan to Bp J. Strain 26 April 1869

⁶² SCA ED10/15/3 Petition: Scottish Parochial Education Bill, 1869

The last seven years have been to me a time of much care and anxiety, of labour and slavery. In that time I purchased the house, offices, and garden ground, and paid for them, and also got the church erected and reduced the cost from £2010 to £1380 ... I am prepared to lend my assistance, but only my assistance, for to undertake them single-handed would soon cost me the loss of health and spirits and shortly afterwards the loss of life.⁶³

On the other hand, in Kilsyth (at the western extremity of the archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh, touching the northern boundary of Glasgow), the Irish parish priest, Fr John Galvin, displayed presumption and naivety in his handling of the complexities of the Scottish legal system — so threatening to undermine his objectives. The feu superior's solicitor, Thomas Frew, although clearly well-disposed towards the Catholic Church, complained to Strain in May 1873:

... the terms between Superior and vassal, in the case of the Roman Catholic Chapel here, have been carried out as far as they could be with Mr Galvin: He took upon himself to build a fine wall around the feu at a great cost, whereas had he built such a fence as prescribed in the charter I would have allowed the half of the expense, but certainly it was not in my power to allow half of the expense of the costly wall: As to the 'grant' from the late Sir Archibald Edmunstone, I have simply to say that I frequently told Mr Galvin that when he was prepared to pay the arrears of feu duty I would allow him the £5 that Sir Archibald promised, but he urged me to ask Sir Archibald to make it £10 which I would not do ...⁶⁴

Perhaps it is not surprising that Fr Galvin (who had been at Kilsyth since 1865) was moved not long after Frew's letter. In a number of other cases the construction of churches was at the mercy of aristocratic whims. The Dowager Countess of Buchan, for example, made her offer of financial aid to Strain conditional on the money being used exclusively at Broxburn, West Lothian, because of 'family feeling'.⁶⁵

Another source of difficulty for Catholics was the uncertain electoral status of the clergy. When the Conservative agents applied in 1877 for sixty-four year old Fr Paul MacLachlan to be put on the roll of Dunblane voters (as proprietor in *liferent*, in right of his office, of the dwelling house attached to the recently-opened church), the Liberal agents objected to his claim on the grounds that his title to occupy the house was *defeasible*: 'that is, that he is removable therefrom at the pleasure of the Bishop and that his appointment is not, as in the case of most ministers, ad vitam aut culpam'; in reply, the solicitors acting for

⁶³ SCA ED3/147/3 Fr J. Prendergast to Bp J. Strain, 27 Feb 1865

⁶⁴ SCA ED3/147/20 T. Frew to Bp J. Strain, 17 May 1873

⁶⁵ SCA ED3/130/9 A. I. Christie to Bp J. Strain, 1 Jan 1865

the Catholic Church pointed out that in the case of a priest (being one of the trustees in whom the property was vested), his being burdened with the feu duty, taxes and the upkeep of the building, this indicated that his was a life appointment.⁶⁶ At Dunblane, nevertheless, along with several other cases, MacLachlan's claims were rejected by the Registration Court.⁶⁷ Along with William Kilgour, a school teacher from Kincardine, his subsequent appeal to the Court of Session was also unsuccessful.⁶⁸

Although the 1877 electoral rolls for the county of Perth have not survived, those for the City of Edinburgh show that voters were listed in one of two categories, in terms of the 1868 Representation of the People in Scotland Act — as 'an Inhabitant Occupier as Owner or Tenant of any Dwelling House ...'⁶⁹ The Edinburgh rolls for 1877-78 list voters who are described as 'Minister' or 'Clergyman' or 'Missionary.' At St Mary's, Chapel Street Lane, (where Frs William Geddes and George Rigg also resided), only John Strain is listed (Clergyman — *Tenant and Occupant*). It would appear, therefore, that, at that date only the upper ranks of the Catholic clergy were eligible to vote and that this disqualification continued until the 1918 Representation of the People Act which removed virtually all restrictions on male suffrage.

Religious Orders

One of the obligations of vicars was the supervision of religious orders. Normally, an order had to seek permission from the bishop to establish a community in his diocese. Orders had their individual constitution, their own agenda and their own *charism* (specialisation). Most orders had their administrative centre ('motherhouse') abroad, chiefly in Italy or France, but each community was also part of a local *province*. Their concerns were shaped by an internal dynamic which disregarded national boundaries and might not be at all related to local needs. Orders of priests, of nuns or of brothers were supra-national organisations which a bishop might invite into a diocese for mutually agreed objectives.

Founded in 1540, one of the principal religious orders was the Society of Jesus (*Jesuits*). The Jesuits were one of the largest men's orders in the world, flexible in their ministries and dedicated to the mission field. The order in eastern Scotland was directed by a

⁶⁶ SCA ED3/200/14 Stirling & Alexander to Bp J. Strain, 22 Sep 1877

⁶⁷ *Stirlingshire Observer and Perthshire Herald*, 6 Oct 1877

⁶⁸ General Minute-Book of the Court of Session, vol. 97 (Edinburgh: George Chapman & Co, 1877-78)

⁶⁹ *An Act for the Representation of the People in Scotland* [13th July 1868] cap. 48, part I, 3

provincial based in England who, in 1864, made arrangements for the Jesuits to take over missions in Dalkeith and Edinburgh.⁷⁰

At that time, the Jesuits' activities were focused principally on the needs of the poor. The local Jesuit superior, Fr Robert Whitty, writing from Dalkeith, Midlothian gave details to Strain of the work undertaken by the Jesuits at the Sacred Heart parish in Edinburgh's Lauriston district:

What swells the number of baptisms in the 'Sacred Heart' is the fact of the two Workhouses and Maternity Hospital and other Institutions. I remember well baptising a considerable number myself in one of the Workhouses — mostly I am sorry to say illegitimate children.⁷¹

Strain replied by quickly setting down parameters for the Jesuits' parochial work in Edinburgh.⁷² Whitty received the Bishop's instructions with great sangfroid, adeptly asserting the right of the order to act as it saw fit:

I shall take care that the regulations you have made regarding the parochial work in Edinburgh are made known to the Fathers in Lauriston Street and carried out by them. At the same time I shall give them to understand that your Lordship of course does not mean to interfere by these with the liberty common to the Faithful in every part of the Church of freely choosing their own Confessors and sending for them when sick or dying and likewise of fulfilling the obligation of having Mass in any public Church or Chapel open with the approbation of the Bishop.⁷³

It was not long before the Jesuits' independent frame of mind brought them into conflict with the secular priests of the district. Writing from Wakefield in 1866, Fr Alfred Weld confessed apologetically to Strain: 'I have heard with great pains some mention of an unpleasantness between the secular clergy and our Fathers in Scotland.'⁷⁴ This was part of the on-going conflict between bishops and orders over jurisdiction and authority. On the other hand, Jesuit chaplains well appreciated the value of caution in their affairs and the importance of administrative protocol when dealing with the civil authority. Discussing the format of a forthcoming *Catholic Directory* entry, Whitty complained to Strain:

In the division of work here between Fr Macleod and myself the Greenlaw [Military] Prison falls to my lot. I should, therefore prefer the insertion of my own name. But my chief reason for sending it

⁷⁰ SCA ED3/130/6 Fr R. Whitty to Bp J. Strain, 1 Dec 1864

⁷¹ SCA ED3/130/13 same to same, 4 Jan 1866

⁷² SCA ED3/130/12 same to same, 25 Oct 1865

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ SCA ED3/130/18 Fr A. Weld to Bp J. Strain, 31 Oct 1866

back is that I know from old experience in London how probable it is the War Office authorities would object to the form — namely the word 'appoint.' It is they, they say, who appoint as it is they who pay. The Bishop or VG [vicar general] recommends.⁷⁵

Lay Organisations

Religious orders were not the only means of meeting the challenges faced by the growing Catholic population in the Eastern District. New styles of lay organisation were also needed. On 8 October, the St Patrick's, Edinburgh branch of the Catholic Young Men's Society, Edinburgh, was established.⁷⁶ Its founder was Dean Richard Baptist O'Brien of Limerick (1809-85).

The *raison d'être* of the CYMS can be pieced together from O'Brien's own life-story. Early in his career, he had helped found a Catholic College in Halifax, Nova Scotia and there also championed Daniel O'Connell's movement for the Repeal of the Union. O'Brien was an ardent admirer of O'Connell and evidently had a 'genius for organization'; as a young man of twenty he had seen bonfires on the hills around Limerick to celebrate the greatest triumph of the 'Liberator' — the winning of Catholic Emancipation.⁷⁷

In 1845 O'Brien returned to Ireland and, after a brief period as professor at the Missionary College of All Hallows, Dublin, was appointed curate in a parish in Limerick. In 1849 he founded the 'Young Men's Society of the Immaculate Heart of Mary' in the *upper room* of a house in Limerick. The aims of the Society were 'the fostering, by mutual union and co-operation, and by priestly guidance, the spiritual, intellectual, social and physical welfare of its members; there were three fundamental conditions of membership: monthly confession and communion, no party politics and the Chaplain's veto.'⁷⁸ Having laid the foundation of the Society and drawn up its constitution and rules of governance, O'Brien was sent to Rome to take a doctorate in Theology. There he submitted the constitution and rules to Pius IX who approved them and sent an apostolic blessing to all the 'brothers' of what became the Catholic Young Men's Society.

O'Brien, a poet and the author of three historical novels, absorbed many of the dramatic events he had experienced. His *The D'Altons of Crag* dealt with the Irish famine years of 1848 and 1849 — which he had seen at first hand in Limerick.⁷⁹ Whilst in Rome,

⁷⁵ SCA ED/130/11 Fr R. Whitty to Bp J. Strain, 30 Jan 1865

⁷⁶ SCA GD82/812 MBYMS, 8 Oct 1865

⁷⁷ M. J. Egan, *Life of Dean O'Brien* (Dublin: CYMS, 1948), 15 -16

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 20

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 25

he was able to understand the personality of Pius IX and appreciate the extent of his difficulties. In his novel *Ailey Moore* (1856), O'Brien vividly described the Roman Revolution and the methods of the Revolutionists.⁸⁰ O'Brien was a strong proponent of 'the unity of the Church of St Patrick and the Church of Rome; at the same time, in *Jack Hazlitt, A Hiberno-American story*, he also advocated 'the indisputable advantages of unsectarian education and free thought.'⁸¹

Having finished his doctorate, O'Brien returned to Dublin and was, in 1853, appointed Professor of Theology at All Hallows. He continued, however, to act as director-general of the CYMS, also finding time to promote it in Britain. He preached, for example, in Glasgow on 1 January 1854 on 'Irish emigrants to America' and, four months later, in Leeds on 'The Phases and Dangers of Modern Infidelity.' Some days after, he established the first English branch of the CYMS.⁸² Pius IX continued to take an interest in the progress of the CYMS, in February 1861 sending a letter through O'Brien to all its members. In October 1865 it was this complex, passionate intellectual man of action who came to Edinburgh to help found the St Patrick's branch of the CYMS.

O'Brien had been invited to Edinburgh by a curate of St Patrick's, Cowgate (the 'Irish church') — Limerick-born Fr Edward J. Hannan (1836-91), himself a graduate of All Hallows (1860), a specialist in canon law who had been recruited by Strain to work among the impoverished Irish in the Cowgate. Strain invited Hannan to Edinburgh, in spite of the subversive reputation of All Hallows graduates among the bishops of the Western District.⁸³ At this inaugural meeting at St Patrick's one hundred and seventy-eight members were admitted. Hannan was appointed chaplain and the wealthy advocate, Eneas R. Macdonnell, Esq., of Morar, was elected president, the day to day running of the Society being in the hands of vice-president, John Adair.

There was a marked contrast between the status of the president and that of the vice-president. Macdonnell had a house at Melville Street in the New Town, over a mile from St Patrick's; Adair was a tailor and draper who lived at the North Bridge, just above the Cowgate and may well have had some connection with Adair's Dunedin Temperance Hotel

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 22

⁸¹ Dean O'Brien, *Ailey Moore, A tale of the times, etc* (London, 1856); *Jack Hazlitt, etc* (Dublin: James Duffy & Co., 187-?); *The Church and the Country, a series of lectures, etc* (Cork: John O'Brien, 1854)

⁸² *Ibid.*, 24

⁸³ Bernard Aspinwall, 'Scots and Irish clergy ministering to immigrants, *IR*, vol. 47, No 1 (Spring 1966), 48 and David McRoberts, 'The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy in 1878,' *IR*, vol. 29 (1978), 12-13

at 219 High Street.⁸⁴ In the Cowgate, the effects of alcohol abuse were all too evident. New members of the CYMS had to declare if they belonged to any Temperance body.⁸⁵ Six years later, a Temperance Association was organised for the whole of Edinburgh and the rules of a Total Abstinence Society discussed by the Council.⁸⁶ Finally, in 1872, a Temperance Association was established which was also to include boys and girls under 15, each of whom would receive a medal and a ribbon.⁸⁷

The problem of accommodation for the expanding Society was solved in 1869 when the foundation stone of the new Institute halfway up St Mary's Street (under the Improvement Act of 1867), was laid by Lord Provost William Chambers in the presence of Bishop Strain, the clergy, the magistrates and members of the Town Council.⁸⁸ The close ties between this arm of the Catholic community and the civic authorities can be seen in the ceremonial adopted for the occasion:

Bishop Strain, wearing a stole, read the 136th Psalm and the prayer prescribed for the blessing of houses and thereafter sprinkled the stone with holy water. The Lord Provost then came forward and laid the foundation stone.⁸⁹

In this ceremony there was a certain disappointment, as some dozen bailies and councillors sent their apologies for being absent. The undercurrents of Edinburgh sectarianism were revealed in an address by Thomas Knox JP. Some of the city fathers had resented the Lord Provost's even-handed support of the Catholic community, claimed Knox. Chambers had to stand firm against them and Knox expressed his disapproval of this 'shying-off,' making an appeal for mutual understanding:

Let the controversies be practical controversies with improvidence, intemperance, and vice, and the Protestant jealousies and suspicions and misrepresentations, which too much prevail in the city, will gradually die out, — alike for the advantage of both Catholics and Protestants.⁹⁰

When the Institute was opened in January 1870, however, only the same small number of bailies, councillors and sheriffs was present. This time, however, there were other

⁸⁴ *Edinburgh Post Office Directory*, 1865-1866

⁸⁵ SCA GD82/812 MBYMS, 21 Nov 1865

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 10 Oct 1871

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 16 Jan 1872

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 1 Apr 1869

⁸⁹ Turner, *op. cit.*, 104

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 116

men of influence, including John Ritchie Findlay, proprietor of *The Scotsman*. Chambers (by then no longer Lord Provost) commented that:

He saw no reason why the Catholic young men of Edinburgh should not be in possession of every available means of mental cultivation, so that they might grow up a credit to themselves and the general community. He could not, he added, forget that during the commotion in the country connected with Fenianism the Magistrates were strongly supported by all classes of Roman Catholics in Edinburgh, and that they had not been able to find a single person in the city chargeable with disloyalty.⁹¹

As the CYMS increased in numbers, the question as to whether non-Catholics could be admitted to its clubs was left open. However, when the proposal to allow non-Catholics to join the Hibernian Football Club was raised in March 1877, Fr Hannan turned it down for the time being:

[He] had heard from those gentlemen that they had passed a rule excluding all Catholics from their Club who were not members of the CYMS but they wished to have permission to admit Protestants when well recommended. As however, such a course appeared somewhat inconsistent to the Chaplain, he would not consent to such an arrangement and the question was allowed to lie in abeyance in the meantime.⁹²

In October 1877 the Committee ruled that no professional actor was to be admitted to the Drama Association, except at the instructions of the stage manager or secretary of the Association.⁹³ Later that year, a dilemma arose over the admission to the Dramatic Association of a Mr Ritchie, a young Protestant, without his first being admitted as an honorary member of the Society.⁹⁴ Hannan looked into the matter and then explained to the Committee (to their satisfaction), why Ritchie should continue in the Drama Association.⁹⁵ As spiritual director of the CYMS, Hannan had a controlling role. Dean O'Brien wrote of the Society that 'As an organization based upon religion, our ultimate governing power is the Spiritual Director'⁹⁶ Hannan knew 'how powerful for good as well as for evil is the united action of a multitude of men bound together by the bonds of one common sympathy.'⁹⁷

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 109

⁹² SCA GD82/812 MBYMS, 11 Mar 1877

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 20 Mar 1877

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 20 Oct 1877

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 6 Nov 1877

⁹⁶ Egan, *op. cit.*, 22

⁹⁷ *CDS* (1892), 234

From early in its history the CYMS had vowed to take no active part in politics. In the minutes of the Council meeting of 21 April 1868, it is recorded that 'The Council refuse to allow petitions to Parliament to lie in their premises for signature as being against the spirit of the rules of the Society.'⁹⁸ Political sympathies with Irish affairs could, nevertheless, be quite legitimate. In June 1875, the O'Connell Centenary Committee (which appears to have been composed largely of members of the CYMS), organised a celebration consisting of High Mass, a short trip and a National (ie Irish) Concert under the auspices of the Society.⁹⁹

Hannan's political stance is of no little interest. Had he been a priest in the West of Scotland and not in Edinburgh, he would no doubt have incurred the disapproval of Bishop John Murdoch of the Western District, as much as Hannan's fellow All Hallows graduates, thirteen of whom had protested to Rome over the plight of the Irish migrants.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, Hannan — as a Parnellite — would also have been dismissed by James Connolly (a Socialist member of Edinburgh Town Council in 1894) as middle-class, not 'friendly to the Labour movement and tainted by Leo XIII's condemnation of Socialism in *Rerum Novarum* (1891).'

¹⁰¹

Sensitivity to political extremism on the part of the Church was never far from the surface, even in relatively trivial circumstances. Remarks made in 1877 by vice-president Mr McIvor while in Glasgow caused considerable unrest in the CYMS. McIvor had evidently accused members of a St Patrick's committee led by a Fr Conway of being 'Molly Maguires' (the 'Molly Maguires' were a banned political secret society founded in America by Irish coal miners in Pennsylvania who organised a campaign of physical violence against mine-owners and the police).¹⁰² Other activities took place which had political undertones. In 1870, for example, the treasurer was instructed to pay the expenses of a deputation to Glasgow to wait on G. K. Moore MP.¹⁰³ Flags were also loaned to the Labourers' Society for a Trades demonstration in August 1873.

The majority of the CYMS's political activity was ultramontane — directed at supporting the Pope. In 1871 the CYMS Council proposed 'to present an address to Pope

⁹⁸ SCA GD82/812 MBYMS, 21 Apr 1868

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 8 Jun 1875

¹⁰⁰ McRoberts, *op. cit.*, 12-13

¹⁰¹ Samuel Levenson, *James Connolly: A Biography* (London: Martin Brian & O'Keeffe, 1993), 35

¹⁰² SCA GD82/812 MBYMS, 15 Jan 1878

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 5 Apr 1870

Pius IX expressing their devotion and sympathy towards him in his present affliction.¹⁰⁴ Six years later the CYMS passed a resolution:

That a Protest from the Society embracing the several heads of the recent Papal allocution should be presented to the Government by our senior Member of Parliament, Mr McLaren, calling attention to the present iniquitous proceedings of the Italian Parliament ...¹⁰⁵

Copies of the petition were published in a number of newspapers; this was followed by a meeting of all Catholics in the city.¹⁰⁶ A month later the CYMS Council noted that their petition to the Government over the Clerical Houses Bill (properly 'A Bill [9 February 1877] to abolish Church Rates in Scotland') proposing exemption from rates to the ecclesiastical properties of the Church of Scotland but not to other denominations, had been copied into the official journal of the Pope.¹⁰⁷ The petition was then forwarded to the Earl of Denbigh and James Cavan MP for presentation to both Houses of Parliament, 'printed copies being also sent to several other members of the House of Commons asking their support to the prayer of the petition.'¹⁰⁸

Late in May 1877 the CYMS took part in a demonstration which had three aims: to celebrate the Pope's jubilee; to support the restoration of the hierarchy and to call for the restoration of the Pontiff's temporal sovereignty. One hundred circulars were to be sent directly to *Gentlemen* inviting them to the platform and an additional five thousand handbills distributed at church doors.¹⁰⁹ That June, Hannan himself was in Rome and was reported to have personally presented the Society's address to the Pope.¹¹⁰

Mixed Marriages

The Catholic Church impacted most critically on the Protestant community over the question of 'mixed marriages.'¹¹¹ Writing to his clergy, Strain referred to such unions as 'a troublesome and vexatious matter in our ministry.'¹¹² He went on to add: 'I need not enlarge

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 7 Mar 1871

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 10 Apr 1877

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 17 Apr 1877

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 8 May 1877

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 15 May 1877

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 29 May 1877

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 19 Jun 1877

¹¹¹ see Bernard Aspinwall, 'Baptisms, Marriages and Lithuanians; or, 'Ghetto? What Ghetto? Some reflections on modern Catholic historical assumptions.' *IR*, vol. 51, No 1 (Spring 2000), 55-67

¹¹² SCA ED3/111/4 Bp J. Strain to clergy, nd

upon their condemnation by the Church which has always reprobated them, except under certain conditions, and then merely tolerates them.¹¹³ While such marriages might (at the discretion of the bishop), take place in a Catholic church, the ceremony could not include Mass or nuptial blessing.¹¹⁴ But, mixed marriages were increasingly common. From Stirling, Fr Paul MacLachlan complained in 1867 that:

On looking into my baptismal Register I find that nearly one third of our children here are the offspring of parents who have contracted such marriages as I allude to. One result of this is, that in most cases — especially when the mother is Protestant, the children are at the very best very indifferent Catholic — and sometimes they are not Catholics even in name. I find too that the Protestant mothers are very hostile to our school, and when their children grow up a little, they take them from us and send them to Protestant schools, — some under one pretext and some under another. At present this is all the more annoying, as many of our young men, being engaged in country service, get acquainted there with Scotch girls and end by marrying them.¹¹⁵

Building churches

The ability of a vicar apostolic to build churches as fast as his flock moved or grew was often made possible by funds from the *Cœuvre de la Propagation de la Foi* (known in English as The Association for the Propagation of the Faith — APF) based at Lyon, and founded in 1822 by Pauline-Marie Jaricot to collect money for mission territories. A typical case was a church in Fife which cost £1290 but only £500 could be collected from local Catholics.¹¹⁶ 'When public works are opened or exist such as Factories, mines of coal or Iron which require a great number of hands,' Strain wrote in 1872 to the APF, 'poor Catholics principally from Ireland flock to them for work, and so all at once and not gradually a congregation is formed.'¹¹⁷ In 1872, under the new Education Act, government assistance, which had previously been forthcoming, ceased:

It is true that we have been assisted by the Government to a certain extent and under certain conditions. The extent of the aid has been about one fifth of the whole expense, for example, in a school that cost £700, the government aided us to the amount of £130. But this will now cease, as under the Education Act passed in the last session

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ SCA ED3/171/16 Fr P. MacLachlan to Bp J. Strain, 6 Jun 1867

¹¹⁶ SCA ED3/116/16 Bp J. Strain: draft report to Propagation de la Foi, 5 Dec 1876

¹¹⁷ SCA ED3/116/5 Bp J. Strain to Propagation de la Foi, [no month given] 1872

of Parliament, it is enacted that no grants shall be made in future for building purposes.¹¹⁸

Sometimes devious stratagems had to be adopted for building churches. In 1859, Fr Alexander Gordon at Dalbeattie took care to buy a piece of ground near his church, primarily to prevent the United Presbyterians from erecting a kirk next to it.¹¹⁹ In Blairgowrie, however, the Free Kirk succeeded in buying land in 1862 next to the Catholic church. This made parish priest Fr John Carmont complain '... it will agreeably disappoint me, if he does not try to spoil our lights as much as he can.'¹²⁰

There were also more amicable arrangements such as those obtained in 1866 by Fr Peter Grant of Alloa. He consulted with the Earl of Kellie and the Episcopal Church Committee. The upshot was that the Episcopal church would become a Catholic one. Moreover, in certain cases, the opening of a Catholic church could achieve something of a public relations coup by attracting members of other denominations. John Galvin at Kilsyth wrote in 1867 that: 'I expect the opening to be a great success. The Protestants are buying a great number of tickets.'¹²¹

Secret Societies

During the second half of the nineteenth century the vicars apostolic of Scotland were at pains not to do anything which would alarm the government. This included scrupulously avoiding association with any secret society. From the time of Bishop Gillis priests had been required to warn their congregations against 'Ribbonism.' In a district circular Gillis had reminded his pastors of 'that detestable Secret Society of Ribbonism which has long proved so baneful to the great cause of Catholic Christianity in this Country.'¹²² In similar vein, a decree was issued by the Holy Roman Inquisition in 1870 confirming that the American or Irish Society of the Fenians also fell into the category of secret societies condemned by Pius IX.¹²³ There were also (Protestant) societies originally founded to combat drunkenness but which had developed a social agenda of their own. These groups, such as the Sons of Temperance (founded 1842) and the Good Templars (1851), had been condemned by Rome, as the Archbishop of Baltimore confirmed to Strain

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ SCA ED3/164/7 Fr A. Gordon to Bp J. Strain, 4 Feb 1859

¹²⁰ SCA ED3/174/2 Fr J. Carmont to Bp J. Strain, May 1862

¹²¹ SCA ED3/170/10 Fr J. Galvin to Abp J. Strain, 21 Feb 1867

¹²² SCA ED10/13/11 Bp J. Gillis: circular, 1 Nov 1860

¹²³ SCA ED3/6/1 Fr A. Argenti: decree, 12 Jan 1870

in 1871.¹²⁴ It is not surprising, therefore, to find the St Patrick's Catholic Young Men's Society in Edinburgh refusing to let their upper hall in 1879 to the Thistle Lodge of Good Templars, 'on the grounds of the Society being condemned by some of the Bishops of the Church.'¹²⁵

Negotiating with the Government

But such political caution could also be counter-productive. When, in the later 1860s, the time came to consider new legislation on education, the Catholic authorities attempted to urge moderation on the Lord Advocate, Edward Gordon by private pressure, so much so that the wealthy and influential convert, John Monteith became exasperated by Strain's reluctance to argue his case directly and in public. Writing from the privileged seclusion of the New Club in Edinburgh, Monteith warned Strain:

it appears that communications have been going on between your Lordship and the Lord Advocate on this subject, and that it is conceived that this private effort has a fair prospect of success, the Lord Advocate manifesting favourable dispositions ... Although rather disposed to support the present Ministers I must honestly declare that the Lord Advocate must have undergone a singular change if we are in the least degree safe in his hands. He is at once very prejudiced and very dexterous. And even were he not so he cannot be expected to overlook the advantages of keeping us quiet, and of then founding on that quiet when the other course will be too late.¹²⁶

Prejudice at work

One sector where prejudice against Catholics made itself felt was in the health service. From 1835 to 1841 the Catholic chaplains at Glasgow Royal Infirmary fought a series of skirmishes with the Infirmary directors. In 1836 chaplain Fr Peter Forbes of the Eastern District was called before the directors (who included the Lord Provost of Glasgow) to 'answer charges that Priest Forbes has again improperly interfered with a Protestant patient.'¹²⁷ Forbes had inadvertently administered the last rites to a woman patient whom he believed to be a Catholic but who turned out to be Protestant:

¹²⁴ SCA ED3/106/1 Abp M. J. Spalding to Bp J. Strain, 31 Jul 1871

¹²⁵ SCA GD82/812 MBYMS, 26 Aug 1879

¹²⁶ SCA ED3/124/1 J. Monteith to Bp J. Strain, 20 Feb 1868

¹²⁷ GGHBA HB14/1/7 Glasgow Royal Infirmary Records, 17 Oct 1836

I was under two hours examination last Saturday before the Directors of the Infirmary. I am accused of two crimes — 1. Making Papists; 2. Writing to the Parsons to attend their sick — and then laughing at them when they refused!!!¹²⁸

It required the intervention of Bishop Murdoch of the Western District and the temporary departure of Forbes to his native Banffshire, to ease the situation. That this was no isolated incident is shown by the testimony of a Church of Scotland minister, the Rev T. Drummond who complained to the Infirmary House Committee in 1837 that:

Since entering upon the duties of my office as Chaplain to the Royal Infirmary I have been subjected to no small inconvenience by the Rev Mr Stewart, Roman Catholic Clergyman who intruded upon me while engaged in conducting worship in the ward — and commenced to converse with people of his own persuasion.¹²⁹

This was followed in 1841 by complaints against 'Priest Long' who questioned a patient, Charlotte McDonald as to whether she was a Catholic:

He asked if her mother was a Catholic? She said no. If her father was a Catholic? She said yes, but had become a Protestant. If she was baptized by a priest? She said yes, some of them had been, she was not.¹³⁰

A different but related situation developed at the Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries. This had opened for the reception of 'Lunatic Patients' in June 1839, built with funds bequeathed by Mr James Crichton and founded by his widow. In 1840, a Catholic, Mrs McNab (who had previously worked at Blairs College, Aberdeen), was appointed matron and continued in post till 1844 with no interference. Marmaduke Maxwell, a Board member and a Catholic, observed that 'during the time that Dr Browne was the medical superintendant, a period of twenty years, religious intolerance or sectarian bigotry found no entrance.'¹³¹

However, the appointment of a Mrs Thomson as assistant matron in 1858 and then acting matron (when the incumbent matron took ill and died) aroused the indignation of a large number of eminent Protestants. Mrs Thomson, formerly an Episcopalian, had become a Catholic shortly after her appointment. This antagonised a member of the Board. The result was the 'Protest and Remonstrance' of 5 January 1859, signed by 28 clergymen and 21

¹²⁸ SCA ED3/146/4 Fr P. Forbes to Bp J. Strain, 13 Oct 1836

¹²⁹ GGHBA HB14/6/19 Intimations, 7 Sep 1837

¹³⁰ GGHBA HB 14/6/35, 8 Jun 1841

¹³¹ Marmaduke C. Maxwell, *Religious Intolerance ...* (Edinburgh: Marsh & Beattie, 1859), 7

professors and medical men from Edinburgh, including Dean Ramsay (of St John's Episcopal Church); Dr Thomas Guthrie (of Free St John's); the Rev Robert Rainy (of the Free High Church); Dr John Lee (Principal of the University of Edinburgh); George Bell MD and Alex Wood MD (President of the Royal College of Surgeons). In their statement they declared that:

... we do hereby Protest, most solemnly, against the said appointment of a Roman Catholic Matron at the Crichton Institution ... We Protest against it, in the name of our common country, and our common Protestantism Religion.¹³²

In the event, Mrs Thomson's appointment was rescinded and the post of matron advertised. Board member Colonel Grierson had moved an amendment that it was not desirable for the welfare of the Institution to appoint a Catholic as matron. The vote was carried by four votes to three. Marmaduke Maxwell and a non-Catholic member, Colonel McMurdo, immediately resigned from the Board. About these events, the medical superintendant, Dr W. A. F. Browne (himself not a Catholic), declared:

The decision and its *consequences* are much to be deplored. My *impression* is, that, besides being a retrograde step in civilization, it is calculated to affect the interests of the Institution most detrimentally, not merely as limiting the class from which officers can be selected, and as announcing to the world that creed is regarded as above all qualifications for office, but as appearing to show the introduction of a sectarian spirit, into an Institution intended for purposes of general charity, for the reception of patients of all creeds, classes, and conditions ...¹³³

His enlightened approach suggests that attitudes among some educated people in the professions may have been changing.

Conclusion

Before 1878, the Catholic Church in Scotland laboured under considerable difficulties. The office of vicar apostolic, for example, did not carry enough clout to negotiate from a position of strength with the civil powers. Contrary to expectations, as in the cases of the Crichton Institution and Glasgow Infirmary and the electoral status of the Catholic clergy, prejudice against Catholics was not always directly related to Irish migration.

¹³² Ibid., 38

¹³³ Ibid., 6

Bishops depended not only on funds collected from impoverished migrants or from the APF, but also on the devotion and financial support of a small aristocratic elite — men and women who had been converted to Catholicism, attracted by its Continental connections, its aura of medievalism and the example of John Henry Newman. In their struggles to move the Catholic community ahead, vicars apostolic had also to call on funds from pious associations on the Continent and on orders of nuns from France or priests (such as the Society of Jesus) based in England. Uppermost in the minds of the vicars, however, was the crucial role played by Catholic education in the face of what were seen as the debilitating effects of, for example, alcohol dependency or 'mixed marriages'.

By 1877 a Catholic hierarchy was seen as eminently desirable in order, on the one hand, to cope with the overwhelming numbers of Irish migrants and, on the other, to harness the migrants' potential economic strength. The reorganisation of diocesan boundaries made necessary by a restored hierarchy would also defuse tensions between Irish and Scots Catholics. New boundaries could be drawn so as to correspond more closely with the new population clusters which had sprung up around factories and mines.

The growth of the Catholic population meant that the old, looser structure of vicariates was unable to deal with the demands made upon it. Another administrative level was needed such as could only be provided by archbishoprics. The restoration of the hierarchy would support the growing self-confidence of Catholics in Scotland while, at the same time, liberating their potential more efficiently. An archbishop had greater executive powers; he had a higher public profile and so would give the expanding Scottish Catholic community a much stronger focus — these were the principal benefits which most of the parties concerned looked for in the restoration of the Scottish hierarchy.

2. THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATUS OF CATHOLICS 1878-1965

Introduction

In 1851, at the height of the industrial revolution, with the Great Exhibition open and Britain the 'workshop of the world,' the number of Irish-born migrants to Scotland was at its greatest.¹ During this period, more and more Scottish aristocrats, inspired by John Henry Newman and the Oxford Movement, also joined the Catholic Church — in 1851 Robert Hope-Scott QC of Abbotsford and Henry Manning, future architect of the restoration of the Scottish hierarchy, converted together at Farm Street, the London Jesuit church.

In the years immediately before 1878, however, the Scottish Catholic community is typically described by historians as fragmented, in constant flux and largely defensive and reclusive. John McCaffrey, for example, describes Catholics as deliberately ignoring the society around them: 'Contacts between Catholics and the host society were either limited or negative.'² Anthony Ross, however, notes that the effects of the Oxford Movement (1833-45) were still strong during the period of Irish famine (1846-50), but makes no connection between the two.³ Of course, both events were 'acts of God,' unforeseen and unexpected, but what historians generally pass over is the structural relationship between the migrants and the convert aristocrats. Both made a journey: one group, driven by poverty, the other, searching for faith; both were newcomers to Scottish Catholicism — the Irish enlarged the constituency, while the converts brought money and influence to kick-start the new Catholic order of 1878.

Although both migration and aristocratic conversion were unconnected in origin, both contributed to change the face of Scottish Catholicism. The result of their combined influence was a Catholic ecclesial economy composed of a convert elite (whose strength was their wealth, influence and ability to connect with the Protestant establishment) and a vast base of the migrant poor (with native Scots forming little more than a nascent middle class and a *recusant* remnant). The daunting task confronting the newly-established Scottish hierarchy (at a time of revolutionary change in industry and manufacturing practice), was to

¹ James Darragh, 'The Catholic population of Scotland since the year 1680', *IR*, vol. 9 (1953), 56

² John F. McCaffrey, 'Roman Catholics in Scotland in the 19th and 20th centuries,' *SCHS*, vol. 21 (1983), 289

³ Anthony Ross, 'The development of the Scottish Catholic community 1878-1978,' *IR*, vol. 29 (1978), 34

integrate the disparate elements of the Catholic body and connect them into Scottish society while, at the same time, improving the quality of the lives of the migrant poor. To achieve this, the bishops (as leaders of the community) turned to Catholic education, making use of a system that, by its very nature, pursued a rapidly-moving target and would, for many years to come, be more of a catch-up and rescue operation than any tangible investment in the future.

The long-anticipated restoration of the Scottish Catholic hierarchy early in 1878 focused the attention of the bishops of Scotland on two imperatives, both pulling in different directions. On the one hand, still anxious and unsure of itself, the Catholic Church strove to preserve its own doctrine and practice — the *deposit of faith* — from contamination by the wider Scottish society around it; on the other, the Church was committed to improving the economic and social welfare of its members. As McCaffrey noted, the first aim (to which the higher priority was given) encouraged withdrawal from the culture which surrounded Catholics in Scotland; the second, however, demanded engagement.

The fusion of these two mutually exclusive aims took place in Catholic education. It was into Catholic schools that the Church directed its attempts to preserve the common religious identity of its members while at the same time elevating their socio-economic status. These contradictory loyalties were identified in public at a meeting in Edinburgh shortly before the 1897 School Board elections: 'We sympathize with [the] spread of secular education & try to keep abreast ... But we attach still higher value to relig [ious] Education.'⁴

To resolve this conflict of aims, the Church actively promoted the *integrative* nature of Catholic education, a benefit not always self-evident for ordinary Catholics. Even thirty years later, auxiliary Bishop Grey Graham of St Andrews & Edinburgh still had to remind families that 'by Divine and Natural Law parents are bound to secure a good Catholic education for their children. The Fourth Commandment tells us that ... [canon 1372] ... intellectual education must never be separated from moral and religious education ...'⁵ However (in spite of the Church's good intentions), the relative scarcity of financial resources, the complexity in administering the schools and attitudes formed among Catholics by generations of poverty would make this integration difficult to achieve and even harder to sustain; in Edinburgh, at least, even after the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918, there would be no increase in the numbers of Scottish Catholics attending its University until after the Second World War.

⁴ SCA ED9/20/2 Certain general remarks on the Education question, Mar 1897

⁵ SCA ED10/42/10 Bp H. G. Graham: *Catholic Parents and Education*, Lent 1924

The geography of the province and archdiocese

A fact, often neglected, is the marked contrast between the geographic responsibilities of the two Scottish archbishops, east and west. While the Archbishop of Glasgow (as metropolitan of the western province) need only travel 25 miles to an outlying parish in Lanark or a mere 8 miles to visit his suffragan bishop in Paisley, the Archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh might need to go the 78 miles to Dumfries or the 125 miles to Aberdeen on official business — and even further to reach Shetland or South Uist; unlike his opposite number in Glasgow, he must deal with difficulties of distance which the train or the aeroplane, the telegraph or the telephone cannot entirely mitigate. Even within the archdiocese itself, its strikingly-varied topography meant that communication was never entirely easy. In 1875, the efforts of the St Andrew's Society to meet the needs of Catholics in Doune, Perthshire, were hampered by the difficulties presented by the structure of the agricultural landscape, by the isolated rural way of life and by the wide-flung population distribution, such as were not to be generally found in the much more compact and homogenous western province:

Among the new Missions lately helped by the Society is that of *Doune*, the newest of all; and which has this peculiarity, that it is being undertaken by way of experiment, as it were; that is, to try whether it be possible, in a purely agricultural country, far removed from large towns and manufacturing industries, to collect into a congregation some hundreds of the poorer classes of the Faithful, scattered widely ... over a fertile tract of land, such as that between Callander and Stirling.⁶

As for the peripheries of the eastern province, remoteness could be even more extreme, so much so that 'from 1861 Caithness, Orkney and Shetland were part of a short-lived Arctic Mission.'⁷ Until it closed in 1871, the Mission (which also included Iceland, the Faroes, Greenland, Lapland and Hudson's Bay) was administered by a prefect apostolic based across the North Sea in Copenhagen.

While Lanarkshire's landscape admittedly mixed farmland and fruit orchards with manufacturing towns, and Renfrewshire combined maritime enterprises with agriculture, the

⁶ *CDS* (1875), 63

⁷ Ray Burnett, 'The long nineteenth century: Scotland's Catholic Gaidhealtachd' in Raymond Boyle and Peter Lynch (eds.), *Out of the Ghetto?* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1998), 187, n 7

geographic contrasts in the isolated tracts of the eastern province were far more extreme.⁸ Ray Burnett points out that ‘Argyll and Bute had little in common with the Rough Bounds [the districts of Knoydart, North Morar, Arisaig and Moidart — rugged terrain broken up by sea-lochs], Lochaber and the Isles.’⁹ Moreover, the economic health of each diocese varied considerably. In 1878, for example, the poverty of the diocese of Argyll and the Isles was so extreme and access to parts of the diocese so difficult that effective administration was impossible.¹⁰ The diocese consisted of the counties of Argyll and much of Inverness (Arisaig, North Morar, Lochaber, Fort William, Glenfinnan, Laggan, Moidart), the islands of Bute, Arran and the Hebrides. In 1878 there were 17 missions (each with one priest) for some 10,380 Catholics, many of them subsistence crofters, while the priests often had to shoot or go fishing in order to eat. The island of Eriskay at the restoration of the hierarchy was served once a month from Daliborg in winter and twice a month in summer. There were 500 Catholics, ‘in a state of great destitution,’ notes *The Catholic Directory for Scotland*, which added of the ‘church’, its leaking roof and mud floor, that mass was said ‘in a wretched hovel.’¹¹

The failure of the Jesuits to open a secondary school in Edinburgh

Such logistical difficulties were not the only obstacles facing the organisations which tried to promote Catholicism in Scotland. Many of the problems facing religious teaching orders in post-Reformation Scotland are typified in the experience of the Jesuits in Edinburgh. In August 1688, with James VII’s blessing, the Jesuit order opened a school at Holyroodhouse for both Catholics and Protestants. However, on 18 December, not long after William of Orange landed in England, the school equipment and the library was burned by an anti-Catholic mob led by the Lord Provost and magistrates of Edinburgh as part of their destruction of James’ Catholic *Chapel Royal* and the vandalism of the Royal tombs in the nave of Holyrood Abbey, probably the most violent sectarian gesture since the Reformation.

It was not until 1858 that Jesuit education returned to Edinburgh when Bishop James Gillis invited the order to open a mission. A year later they established communities in Glasgow (11 May) and in Edinburgh (31 July), establishing a temporary chapel at Hunter’s

⁸ David McRoberts, ‘The New Province of Glasgow,’ *St Peter’s College Magazine*, vol. 18 (1948), 102

⁹ Burnett, *op. cit.*, n 8, 188

¹⁰ APF SC Fondo Scozia 7 (1867-1878) Bp A. Macdonald: Statement of certain details regarding the Diocese of Argyll and the Isles, 12 Aug 1878

¹¹ *CDS* (1879), 130

Close in the Grassmarket, mainly with funds donated by Robert Campbell of Skerrington and Robert Hope-Scott (part of the property being also used as a school).¹² At the same time, the foundation-stone of what was to become the Sacred Heart church was laid at Lauriston.

Leading the Jesuit team in Edinburgh was convert (1850) Fr John Wynne, a former Church of England parson, educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, and a Fellow of All Souls.¹³

A girls' primary school was opened in 1859 by the Sisters of Mercy; a boys' school followed four years later (both in the Grassmarket). In 1866 Fr Wynne assumed responsibility for both; six years later, both schools transferred to Glen Street to form the new St Ignatius Primary School, for the construction of which Fr Wynne contributed £6,000 out of his own private family inheritance.¹⁴

In 1886, alarmed that almost all the better-class Catholic boys were going to Protestant secondary schools, the Jesuits approached the diocesan administrators for permission to open a collegiate school along the lines of St Aloysius, Glasgow.¹⁵ Fr Edward Whyte told recently-appointed Archbishop William Smith that his provincial in London had agreed to supply trained Jesuit priests as teachers for the new college. Whyte had even identified the best location as being a flat near the Meadows (which might provide a recreation area for the students) and decided that the curriculum should be aimed at producing future doctors and members of the civil service.¹⁶ But the diocese turned down his suggestion on the grounds that it was already thinking of opening such a school and did not want any competition — an indication that the friction which had long existed between the Jesuits and the secular clergy had not been forgotten.¹⁷ This determination on the part of the diocese to maintain control over their own schools was fulfilled in 1886 when, only a couple of hundred yards away from the Sacred Heart church, the Sisters of Mercy opened St Thomas Aquinas College as a secondary school and teacher-training centre.¹⁸ It would not

¹² ASHL '95 years of faithful service, The History of St Ignatius' School, Glen St., Edinburgh, 'MS, Feb 1969, 2

¹³ ASHL *Society of Jesus and Scotland 'Land o' Caiks'* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Heritage, Lauriston, nd), 1

¹⁴ ASHL *Edinburgh Mission —Edinburgh Parish*, Lauriston Newsletter, vol. 31 (1911), 191

¹⁵ ASHL *Edinburgh Mission —Edinburgh Parish*, Lauriston Newsletter, vol. 31 (1911), 192-193

¹⁶ SCA ED4/130/20 Fr E. Whyte to Abp W. Smith, 24 Sep 1886

¹⁷ ASHL *Edinburgh Mission —Edinburgh Parish*, Lauriston Newsletter, vol 31 (1911), 193

¹⁸ Ian Stewart, 'Teacher Careers and the Early Catholic Schools of Edinburgh,' *IR* vol. 46, No 1 (1995), 63

be until 1907, however, that Holy Cross Academy, Leith (the only Catholic *Higher Grade* school for the 10,000 Catholic boys and girls in the diocese), was opened.¹⁹

¹⁹ SCA ED6/167/1 Abp W. Smith: circular, 1907

Nuns and their role in schools for girls

Religious orders (and especially those for women) offered many advantages to hard-pressed bishops. So profound was the anxiety over the absence of education in the Catholic population in Edinburgh that early efforts at self-help in the 1830s emphasised that every Catholic had a duty to protect the morals of the ‘rising generation’ by promoting the establishment of efficient schools.²⁰ Education and moral improvement was the watchword.²¹ The priority, however, (as in the case of St Patrick’s School in 1836) was to have a serviceable building.²² Matters had moved on by 1886: writing to Archbishop William Smith, Jesuit Fr Edward Whyte emphasised the importance of good teachers and, in his opinion, this meant nuns and priests and not lay people. Whyte summed up the appeal of teachers who belonged to a religious order, as against lay teachers who were ‘very expensive,’ were often ‘troublesome’ because they constantly (and unexpectedly) moved from job to job, making their replacement difficult, and they were not always competent.²³ In other words, teachers who were nuns or priests were cheaper to employ, more dependable in the long term and better qualified — ideally they should also be head teachers because they inspired stability, industry and quality of achievement among the pupils.

It is therefore not difficult to understand why the arrival in Edinburgh of the relatively new Irish order of the Sisters of Mercy in 1858 was so welcome. They came from Dublin at the invitation of Bishop Gillis to improve the quality of the mission schools.²⁴ Founded in 1831 by Catherine McAuley of Dublin (1777-1841), the Mercy order was dedicated to the care of the poor, the sick and the educationally disadvantaged.

In July 1858, Sr Mary Juliana accompanied Mother Mary Clare McNamara to Edinburgh to found St Catherine’s convent, the construction of which was funded by the generosity of Mrs Isabella Hutchison (1782-1866), a woman of substance, a recent (1855) convert, the wealthy daughter of Lord Cunningham and widow of Colonel Hutchison and a longtime friend of the late Dr Thomas Chalmers (who had once actively campaigned for the emancipation of Catholics). In April 1861, on the feast of St Catherine of Siena, the Sisters

²⁰ SCA ED9/23 Meeting of Catholics of Edinburgh, 4 Apr 1836

²¹ SCA ED9/23 Second Annual report, 17 Jun 1838

²² SCA ED9/23 General meeting of subscribers, 24 Apr 1836

²³ SCA ED4/130/20 Fr E. Whyte to Abp, 24 Sep 1886

²⁴ Stewart, *op. cit.*, 54

took formal possession of their new convent at Lauriston, close to the Jesuits' Sacred Heart church, with Sr Mary Juliana as superior.

Over the next 30 years, the Mercy Sisters became the indispensable main providers of Catholic education in Edinburgh, covering a wide spectrum of need from teacher training to developmental work among the homeless, the Sisters preparing the latter for domestic service by training them in a 'House of Mercy.' The Mercy nuns not only offered an advanced curriculum to 190 middle class girls at St Mary's, Lothian Street, but, at St Ann's, Niddry Street (in the Cowgate) they supplied the rudiments of education, warm clothing and a daily allocation of bread to 220 girls of very poor parents; at St Ignatius School in the Grassmarket, they provided a similar service to 100 mostly very poor children of both sexes.²⁵ This was an administrative structure peculiar to Edinburgh; in Glasgow, the distribution of religious teaching orders was different: St Andrew's Cathedral Sunday school, for example, was run by Franciscan nuns and the boys' day and night school by Marist Brothers.²⁶

The 1871 census records that the Mercy convent had 20 nuns (sixteen aged 30 or under), clear evidence of the enthusiasm generated by the vision of Catherine McAuley. The Convent school had a schoolmistress and four pupil teachers (two aged 16, one 17 and one aged 20) for 22 pupils whose ages ranged from 18 to five. Nine of the pupils were aged 13 or over, showing that class sizes and pupil-teacher ratios were very favourable. The young community was, without exception, British. Among the nuns four were Irish (two from the south of Ireland and two from the north), six were English but ten were from Scotland — a similar range of birthplaces was also shown in the case of the schoolchildren. The mix of ages and places of birth gave a cosmopolitan flavour to the community, but it did not match the even greater variety of overseas origins of the pupils which St Benedict's College, Fort Augustus attracted as a part of a long-established international order.

In 1886 the Sisters of Mercy opened St Thomas Aquinas College nearby in Chalmers Street, trumping the Jesuits' plan to open their own establishment, and in the same year the Sisters took charge of St Patrick's Boys School.²⁷ It was not until eight years later that the Sisters of Charity took over the newly amalgamated girls', boys' and infants' schools of the Cathedral parish on the north side of Princes Street, with one of their number as head

²⁵ CDS (1865), 73-74

²⁶ CDS (1873)

²⁷ SCA GD0/59/2 Mgr P. Morris; St Patrick's, notes on its history

teacher.²⁸ Even as late as 1896 the Sisters of Mercy were still in charge of many of the poorer Edinburgh schools: St Patrick's (an average of 261 boys), St Ann's for girls and infants (459) and St Mary's for both sexes and infants (368).²⁹

The Ursuline nuns at St Margaret's Convent in Whitehouse Loan also directed their forces to meet a wide spectrum of educational need. Like the Mercy nuns, as well as running congregational schools for children in lower income groups, they conducted a boarding school for young ladies. In 1901 there were thirteen pupils there between the ages of ten and eighteen: four were Scottish, three each came from Ireland and England, two from British India and one (a British subject) from the United States.³⁰ Three nuns carried out the teaching: an Irish head teacher assisted by two student teachers (one Irish, one from British India, both of whom were studying for their bachelor's degree). Seventeen nuns in total made up the religious community, with an equal number of lay sisters carrying out the domestic chores of the household. Seven of the nuns were retired teachers, ten were teachers still in service. Unlike St Catherine's, most of the nuns came from England (7), with only four from Scotland and three from Ireland; two were from British India and one from Switzerland, the relatively greater overseas representation again reflecting the Continental origins and longer history of the order.

Before the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act teaching nuns received a nominal salary and lay teachers only a minimum — the 1911-12 petty cash book for St Ann's School in the Cowgate lists 14 teachers, each earning £5 a month or less, but no nuns are recorded as being paid from the school account, although the Mercy Sisters were in charge of the school.³¹ After the passing of the 1918 Act, the previous (heavily depressed) salaries of Catholic teachers were brought up to the more favourable levels that applied in those schools that, in 1872, had opted into the state system. There was an even greater benefit for the nuns who, as trained teachers (and, from 1918, local authority employees) now began to be paid the on the same salary scales as all other local authority teachers; in 1924, for example, the eight Sisters of Mercy teaching in Catholic schools under the management of Edinburgh Town Council were paid a total of £2,696 (£337 per annum each); the income of two nuns in the Convent's own private primary school, however, was a mere £182 each.³² This meant that

²⁸ Stewart, *op. cit.*, 59-60

²⁹ *CDS* (1896)

³⁰ Census, 1901

³¹ SCA GD10/11 St Ann's School, petty cash book, 1911-12

³² SCA GD10/77/1 St Catherine's Convent, Financial Statement, 31 Dec 1924

the income of the convent, previously heavily reliant on investments and donations, began to receive a much larger proportion of its income from teaching which, in the case of St Catherine's Convent, was £4,495 in 1924. This compares favourably with the £40 per annum which one Sister received in lieu of dowry in 1916, with £1000 to be paid into the Convent fund at her death: at that date there were 30 choir nuns and 21 lay sisters to be supported, as well as 4 female servants, three laundry women, a sewing maid, a gardener and a dairyman.³³

As the First World War drew to a close the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of Charity nearly came into conflict in their demarcated management of the Church schools, although each was also keen to avoid antagonising the other and potential overlaps of responsibility were eventually successfully resolved.³⁴ Although the Catholic Church tried hard to incorporate a clause into the 1918 Act allowing nuns to continue to be appointed as teachers or head teachers according to *habit and repute*, the government refused. Correspondence between the superior of the Sisters of Charity at Mill Hill in London and Archbishop James Smith three years after the 1918 Act show that the appointment of nuns as head teachers in Edinburgh Catholic school was still a practice and it continued as late as 1927.³⁵ However, without legislative protection, although nuns continued to play an important role in the leadership of Catholic local authority schools, their presence had gradually diminished (in the public sector schools, at least) by the 1960s. Notwithstanding this gradual erosion in the local authority sector, nuns did continue to provide education successfully in their own convent schools such as St Margaret's (Ursulines) in Edinburgh or Kilgraston in Perthshire (Sacred Heart).

By the time of the Second Vatican Council there were few nuns working as head teachers in local authority Catholic schools. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that, without the trained and disciplined body of teachers provided by the female religious orders during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Catholic education could not have been as effective as it was and the wider Catholic community would have faced even greater difficulties than it did in lifting itself out of poverty and obscurity.

³³ SCA GD10/17 St Margaret's Convent: report by Mgr P. Morris, 8 Sep 1916

³⁴ SCA ED6/157/10 Sr Marcelus to Abp J. Smith, 27 Nov 1917

³⁵ SCA GD10/148/3 Sr [Hanner] to Abp J. Smith, 1 Feb 1921; SCA GD10/155 Sr Boyle to Mgr P. Morris, 30 Aug 1927

The 1872 Education (Scotland) Act

For the Catholic community, the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act had its attractions, as well as its dangers. Looking at Catholic schools as they existed at the time, Mgr Patrick Quille (Irish-born, Oxford-educated and a longtime Catholic representative on Edinburgh Corporation Education Committee) observed some seventy years later that:

Generally speaking, the Church Schools in the early post 1872 period were below standard, because the education was poor, the teachers indifferently qualified and miserably paid, the school buildings, shoddy in structure and inefficient in equipment ... payment by results as applied to the teacher and schools of these times might be regarded as a penal enactment.³⁶

The 1872 Act saw the creation of a new Scotch Education Department and a new system of local School Boards. The schools which opted to join the new national system under the 1872 Act would still, however, be governed by the educational norms of the Church of Scotland. Admittedly, ecclesiastical superintendence was abolished by the 1872 Act and the schools' formal connections with the Church of Scotland severed.³⁷ However, the Act 'guaranteed the teaching of religion in schools according to the tenets of the presbyterian faith ...'³⁸ Lessons in Board schools were delivered by teachers who had graduated from training colleges run (until 1906) by the Protestant churches.³⁹ Presbyterian influence was also to be seen in the composition of school boards; their members were chosen through elections conducted by the heritors and the minister of the parish or by the town council of the burgh and therefore tended, with some exceptions, to adhere to the Reformed tradition, although a number of Catholic priests were elected to the boards.⁴⁰

In the eyes of the Catholic bishops 'board schools were seen either as an instrument for advancing the interests of the Church of Scotland or, at worst, as a force for promoting the growth of apathy and leading ultimately to "the possibility of Secularism dominating

³⁶ SCA ED26/30-35 Mgr P. Quille, 'The Church and State in Scottish Education' [MS uncompleted thesis], nd [post-1939]

³⁷ James Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education*, vol. 1 (London: University of London Press Ltd, 1969), 364

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 42

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 51

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 364

National Education." ⁴¹ In Quille's opinion, the ethos of the board schools remained essentially Presbyterian:

Presbyterian School Boards were elected and the result was that instead of a purely secularist system of education there was a strong Presbyterian Denominational system established throughout the land. The teachers appointed were Presbyterians, the whole atmosphere and environment of the schools were Presbyterian and the religious syllabus based on the doctrines of Calvin and Knox. ⁴²

The Catholic community had to struggle to preserve its own distinctive educational ethos and also to better itself. As Thomas A. Fitzpatrick (former vice-principal of Notre Dame College of Education, Glasgow) points out:

... the history of Catholic education in Scotland for almost half a century after 1872 is the story of its survival in an era in which the educational advances of the national system would constantly outstrip the most strenuous efforts of the Catholic community. ⁴³

The Achievement of Catholic Schools 1872-1917

Against all odds, however, Catholic schools did make progress. The number of schools rose exponentially: the 65 Catholic schools with their 18,075 pupils in 1872 had by 1917 become 224 schools with more than 100,000 pupils, making up around one eighth of the school population of Scotland. ⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the high price of being able to control their own religious education was the low economic status of the Catholic body — judged by 'its almost total exclusion from employment in banks, insurance offices or the more skilled levels of engineering. ⁴⁵ The general disadvantages faced by this voluntary sector were compounded by one of the weaknesses of the 1872 Act — its virtual neglect of secondary education for all denominations. ⁴⁶ Educational historian James Scotland described the 1872

⁴¹ AGA Circular of the Education Act Amendment Union (1887). Education Papers 1881-90 quoted in James H. Treble, 'The Development of Roman Catholic Education in Scotland 1878-1978,' *IR*, vol. 29, No 2 (Autumn 1978), 111

⁴² Quille, op. cit.

⁴³ Thomas A. Fitzpatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education in South-West Scotland before 1972* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), 31

⁴⁴ SCA ED9/53/3 W. and H. Considine: Draft Scheme prepared by Committee of Managers of the Archdiocese of Glasgow, 1917

⁴⁵ Fitzpatrick, op. cit., 19

⁴⁶ S. Leslie Hunter, *The Scottish Educational System* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1971), 10



Act as 'disastrous to secondary schools.'⁴⁷ It would not be until 1945 that the systematic organisation of secondary schools was achieved.⁴⁸

The Value of Education

Well into the 1930s, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland judged Catholic education to be essentially subversive. The assembled fathers saw themselves as 'trustees for the general and historic religious opinion of the country' and Catholic schools were threats to the national education policy.⁴⁹ It was not unexpected, therefore, that some believed that the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act 'accomplished ... the separation of the community into two camps based on religious sectarianism.'⁵⁰ Education (in the broadest sense) was valued by the emerging Catholic episcopate as the only sure way to enrich Catholics in material as well as spiritual terms. For the fabric of the Church in general, education also held out the best hope of a sound economic future.⁵¹

In the nineteenth century, the emergent Catholic community needed clearly-defined geographical parameters as well as spiritual ones to help develop their identity. It was not long after the restoration of the hierarchy that the newly-formed archdiocesan authorities of St Andrews and Edinburgh insisted on strict observance of school catchment areas. In a November 1878 circular to school managers, the vicar general, Fr William Smith demanded that:

all children in a school not of their own Parish must be warned immediately to go to their own school; henceforth no child is to be admitted to a school not of its own Parish without express leave from the manager of its own School.⁵²

Educating an Elite

⁴⁷ Scotland, op. cit., vol. 2, 62

⁴⁸ Scotland, op. cit., vol. 1, 5

⁴⁹ SCA ED26/51 The Bonnybridge Case: extracted from the Reports of the General Assembly (1930), 1128 -1133,

⁵⁰ Ibid., 571-577

⁵¹ Bernard Aspinwall, 'The formation of the Catholic community in the west of Scotland', *IR*, vol. 33 (1982), 46

⁵² SCA ED4/170/6 Fr W. Smith: circular to school managers, 7 Nov 1878

Although the majority of Scottish Catholics were far from prosperous, there were some affluent Catholics (entrepreneurs or aristocrats) for the most part, for whose sons and daughters religious orders provided their own schools. The restoration of the hierarchy marked the opening of yet another such school, catering for this exclusive market. Following St Aloysius' College, Glasgow (founded by the Jesuits in 1859) and St Joseph's College, Dumfries (founded by the Marist Brothers in 1875), St Benedict's College was opened at Fort Augustus, Inverness-shire, in October 1878 by the English Benedictine Congregation with the active assistance of the Marquess of Bute, Lord Lovat and other Catholic landed gentry such as the Duke of Norfolk from south of the Border.

The new College, (which fell within the province of the metropolitan, Archbishop John Strain), set out to develop an elite body of cultured Catholics: the College was 'more particularly intended for the education of boys of the upper classes.'⁵³ It was 'designed to provide for the sons of gentlemen a liberal education, and to combine the refining influences of home life with the manly and invigorating spirit of a public school.'⁵⁴ *The Illustrated London News* added that the College:

Is intended for the sons of the higher and more wealthy classes of the Roman Catholic community. Those youths are here prepared for the public competitive examinations, and for their various careers in the world. It is associated with Glasgow University; and, in addition to the monastic professors, enjoys, through the munificence of the Marquis [sic] of Bute, the services of distinguished professors of our national Universities.⁵⁵

Voluntary Schools

But such institutions were the exception. When the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act came into force, there were 950 grant-aided schools in Scotland. According to James Scotland, in addition to United Presbyterian schools, this figure was made up of 462 Free Church schools; 338 Church of Scotland; 81 Episcopal and 69 Roman Catholic (the latter

⁵³ FAOBA Prospectus: The Abbey School, Fort Augustus, nd

⁵⁴ *The Dublin Review*, Oct 1879

⁵⁵ *The Illustrated London News*, 28 Aug 1880

with around 11,000 children).⁵⁶ The Catholic schools had a relative dearth of personnel — 130 masters and mistresses in charge of 148 school departments, with 240 pupil teachers.⁵⁷

Inevitably there was resentment towards Catholic schools, not least because (along with Episcopal schools), they chose to remain outside the new national system of public elementary education set up by the 1872 Act.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, the transfer of the remaining church schools to state control proceeded only slowly and by degrees. By 1915, when the last transfer took place, 'only 118 of the original 519 Church of Scotland buildings had been taken over ... Out of about 600 Free Church schools ... 162 were transferred and about 450 died ... Out of forty-five schools run by the United Presbyterian Church only two were taken over.'⁵⁹

The Duties of Parents

Although the Catholic education sector had chosen independence in 1872, only ten years later Catholic education in Scotland was again in crisis. In a pastoral letter issued in February 1883, Archbishop Strain fulminated in apocalyptic terms, demanding that parents send their children to Catholic schools:

The days are evil for Society from the nature of the education which is being promoted, in which religion is banished from the school, and what is called undenominational education is attempted to be universally introduced ... We deem it a sacred duty to warn parents of their obligation to protect their children from this evil by sending them to Catholic schools, where religion holds its place as it ought to do, and its influence is made to bear upon and guide the whole course of education.⁶⁰

An Apostolic Visitation

In the thirty years following the 1872 Act the voluntary schools had repeatedly attempted to extract better conditions from the government, principally in the form of more favourable financial settlements. In 1906, an Education (Scotland) Act was almost achieved with the new Liberal government, but was at the last moment rejected by the Catholic

⁵⁶ Scotland, op. cit., vol. 1, 242

⁵⁷ Thomas A. Fitzpatrick, 'Scottish Catholic Teacher Education; the Wider Context,' *IR*, vol. 45, No 2 (Autumn 1994), 159

⁵⁸ Hunter, op. cit., 9

⁵⁹ Scotland, op. cit., vol. 2, 43

⁶⁰ SCA ED10/5/9. Abp J. Strain: pastoral letter, Feast of the Purification, 1883

Church. The Scottish Catholic hierarchy's agreement to the terms of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act came only after sustained pressure was applied by the Secretary of State for Scotland in London and by the Curia in Rome, in the person of the apostolic visitor, Mgr (later, Bishop) William F. Brown, a member of the Southwark Division and London Metropolitan School Boards. There was to be no repetition of 1906 when the Church in Scotland had withdrawn its support from the proposed Education Act, effectively killing off the legislation. By 1918 the Secretary of State, Robert Munro, was determined to succeed and a settlement was also seen by Rome as in the best interests of Scottish Catholics.

In May 1917 Mgr Brown received a decree of the Consistorial Congregation appointing him apostolic visitor to all the Scottish dioceses, with a visitation remit that was virtually unlimited in scope.⁶¹ He immediately asked the Scottish bishops to meet him early in June.⁶² That August, the Secretary of State publicly stated that the new Scottish Education Bill would offer unrivalled benefits to the Catholic community, provided they accepted its conditions:

Are they willing to bring their schools under public control, subject to suitable safeguards both in the matter of the choice of teachers and religious instruction, and so enjoy the benefit of rate aid? I cannot hold out any hope, so long as they do so [resist], of any change ... from the moment they assent to that question the Catholic community would never regret having come in on the terms I have ventured to suggest.⁶³

This argument and the urgings of the Scottish bishops' parliamentary adviser, John Boland (MP for South Kerry and chief whip of the Irish Nationalist Party), won over at least one of the bishops. Although admitting he was at that time in the minority, Bishop John Toner of Dunkeld wrote to Archbishop Smith:

I have long ago realised that some such solution is the only one we can hope to get: and if the 'safeguards' offered are found on examination to be real, and if they are guaranteed by Act of Parliament, the sooner we accept the inevitable the better ... Of course I am careful to remember — even in my correspondence with Mr Boland — that I am in the minority.⁶⁴

⁶¹ SCA ED6.38/2 Mgr W. F. Brown to Abp J. Smith, 22 May 1917

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ SCA ED9/53/7 *The Tablet*, 8 Aug 1917

⁶⁴ SCA ED9/53/7 Bp J. Toner to Abp J. Smith, 13 Aug 1917

The Triple Guarantee

In framing the 1918 Act, the government showed enlightened self-interest. Its 'primary concern was the welfare of the nation's Catholic children who were being denied their birthright of equal educational opportunities.'⁶⁵ There was, however, also a desire to create greater stability and cohesion in Scotland, 'to give education to the larger and increasing Catholic population, with a view to good citizenship, and the merging of the Irish element in the population.'⁶⁶ With the passing of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act, the Scottish bishops secured the best terms they could in the fluid political climate at the end of the First World War. Agreement came, but only after the Secretary of State offered the bishops a *triple guarantee* which would ensure that the essentials of Catholic education survived the transfer of the schools to state control.

The *catholicity* of a school was variously described as *ethos, character, tone or atmosphere*.⁶⁷ The first guarantee was that the schools would maintain a Catholic *ethos*. Over and above religious instruction, this meant having a *spiritual motive* running through the school curriculum, delivered by teachers who were convinced and church-going Christians. It also comprised pious exercises (the recitation of a prayer before and after each lesson, for example), the display of objects of devotion (religious pictures or symbols) and the observance of the Church's liturgical year (such as feast days or holy days of obligation). Second, was the power to approve the appointment of teachers provided that their character and personal conduct were in accordance with Catholic belief — a corollary being the power to dismiss teachers who failed to meet these criteria.⁶⁸ Third, was the 'right of entry,' the privilege of the supervisor (normally the parish priest) to have access to Catholic schools.

Use and Wont

Over and above these three core guarantees provided by the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act, there was a fourth, expressed in the phrase *use and wont*. The new Act 'guaranteed the continuance of religious instruction or observance according to the use and

⁶⁵ Brother Kenneth, 'The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, in the making,' *IR*, vol. 19, No 2 (Autumn 1968), 95

⁶⁶ SCA ED26/4 W. Considine: notes re Scottish Education Act 1918, Apr 1934

⁶⁷ SCA ED26/3/3 Fr J. Long: Memorandum on the Education System in Scotland prepared for the Sacred Congregation of Studies, 1931

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

wont of the former management of the schools.⁶⁹ A similar guarantee had also been contained in the preamble to the 1872 Act.⁷⁰

Accordingly, in 1917, the Catholic Education Council, with the support of the bishops, appealed to the guarantee of *use and wont*, and asserted the right of the Church under the forthcoming legislation to establish new or additional Catholic schools in the future.⁷¹ This was certainly seen by Catholics as one of the main advantages of the 1918 Act. Writing to Archbishop Andrew Joseph McDonald in September 1934, Canon Joseph Long emphasised this key principle:

In argument with the local authority and education department, we have always insisted that they [the Scottish Education Department] did not take over a definite number of schools, a mere existing organization, but an organism capable of growth or extinction ...⁷²

This question came to prominence in the long-running 'Bonnybridge case' (1925-29) where the Catholic Church eventually forced Stirlingshire Education Authority to provide a new Catholic school for the community.⁷³ The decision of the House of Lords in the Catholic Church's favour set an important precedent.⁷⁴ But there were other aspects of Catholic Education which also relied on *use and wont* — for example, the continued tenure or appointment of men and women from religious orders (nuns and brothers) to senior posts in Catholic schools.⁷⁵

There were also anomalies. In some parts of Scotland, the education of Protestants and Roman Catholics in the same school caused difficulties. Such was the case in September 1934 at Ardchattan (Bonawe) School attended by 38 Catholic children and 42 Protestant pupils. Bishop Donald Martin of Argyll and the Isles reported to his metropolitan, Archbishop McDonald, that since the opening of the school two weeks before, the Protestant parents had not allowed their children to attend; they wanted the Catholic teacher removed and the Protestant one reinstated — the Catholic parents, for their part, were prepared to strike if the Catholic teacher was removed.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ Fitzpatrick, *Catholic Secondary Education in South-West Scotland before 1972*, 44 - 45

⁷⁰ Scotland, op. cit., vol. 2, 50

⁷¹ SCA ED953/11 Resolutions of Catholic Education Council, Oct 1917

⁷² SCA DE100/14/8 Fr J. Long: notes on Father McSparran's letter, 18 Sep 1934

⁷³ SCA ED9/106 -108 The Bonnybridge Case

⁷⁴ Teresa Gourlay, 'Catholic Schooling in Scotland since 1918.' *IR*, vol. 51, No 1 (Spring 1990), 122

⁷⁵ SCA ED9/54/10 Lord Skerrington: Memorandum, Apr 1918

⁷⁶ SCA DE100/14/1 Bp D. Martin to Abp A. J. McDonald, 5 Sept 1934

Martin suggested introducing a 'Hebridean' system of joint secular education and separate religious instruction, such as had over many years successfully allowed Protestant children in the Isles to attend Catholic schools.⁷⁷ This proposal was vetoed by the Archbishop's special adviser, Canon Joseph Long, who believed that different regions of Scotland required different educational arrangements :

The Hebridean system of joint secular and separate religious instruction is not visualised in the Act ... numbers arguable on the basis of use and wont in Glasgow and Edinburgh would be quite inapplicable in the northern and highland counties ... we have always found our arguments for a new school based on local use and wont telling.⁷⁸

Almost at the same time a problem had arisen over the temporary building housing Cardonald R. C. Primary School. There, Catholics and Protestants had to be taught in separate annexes. Asked his opinion by Archbishop McDonald, lawyer James R. Lyons made the point that ' ... the school is a moral entity, quite apart from the question of where the school is housed.'⁷⁹

Accordingly, McDonald informed Canon Long that the Cardonald proposal was a new concept and had no precedent in law or practice.⁸⁰ Before 1918, he added, Protestant schools did not have organised Catholic classes or schools within their district, nor did Catholic schools have organised classes for non-Catholics in their buildings (as was being proposed at Cardonald); the Cardonald proposals were a departure from *use and wont* and therefore a breach of the Scottish Education Acts.⁸¹

Irreducible Conditions

Before the 1918 Act came into force, the Catholic clergy were apprehensive of what was to come. In October 1917 Archbishop James Smith received a statement from the senior clergy of the archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh setting out what they considered to be the irreducible conditions under which they would accept the new legislation. The imminence of the new Bill led the leaders of the Catholic community to formulate the

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ SCA DE100/14/2 Fr J. Long: Bonawe School case and the General Question, nd (Sept 1934?)

⁷⁹ SCA DE100/15/11 J. R Lyons to Abp A. J. McDonald, 28 Sep 1934

⁸⁰ SCA DE100/15/3 Abp A. J. McDonald to Fr J. Long, 21 Sep 1934

⁸¹ Ibid.

defining characteristics of Catholic education. These ‘essential safeguards for the Catholic character of the Church Schools in Scotland’ also included the right of the parish priest to have complete direction of religious instruction and his right (subject to the approval of HM Inspectors), to choose the books used in a school’s secular teaching — so preventing ‘the introduction by means of Readers and Manuals of history and science, *e.g.* biology, teaching condemned by the Church or in itself untrue.’⁸²

Then the Catholic Education Council (which spoke for the Scottish hierarchy) decided that no time should be lost in coming to an agreement with the government to have the existing Catholic primary schools funded by local rates. The Council urged the bishops to take the initiative in providing a definition of other safeguards. Their view was that two thirds of the managers of every school should be Catholic; that the same managers should have the right of appointment and of dismissal of teachers (subject to a local authority veto); that managers should be able to dismiss teachers on grounds connected with the giving of religious instruction. Additional conditions included the equalisation of pay between local authority and Catholic schools and the extinction by the local authority of all the debts of Catholic schools.⁸³

As the Education Bill moved through its stages, amendments were repeatedly called for by the Scottish Catholic advisers, much to the irritation of the Secretary of State. William Campbell, otherwise Lord Skerrington (a judge of the Court of Session and adviser to the Scottish hierarchy), suggested the addition of the phrase ‘The religious pictures or emblems to be exhibited in any such school and the Church holidays to be observed therein shall be in accordance with the same use and wont.’⁸⁴ Mr Craigen asked for due provision ‘for the observance of religious holidays in accordance with use and wont by the pupils of any such school including the usual Easter and Christmas holidays.’⁸⁵

The Appointment of Teachers

It was the appointment and dismissal of teachers that proved to be the most intractable question. The bishops tried hard to preserve the privileged status of *religious* (orders of nuns and brothers) who had the advantage over the majority of lay teachers of

⁸² SCA ED9/53/9 Statement made to the Archbishop ..., 4 Oct 1917

⁸³ SCA ED9/53/11 Catholic Education Council: Resolutions [Oct 1917]

⁸⁴ SCA DE100/4/ Suggested Amendments of the Bill by The Honourable Lord Skerrington, 1918

⁸⁵ SCA DE100/6/5 Suggested Amendments of the Bill by Mr Craigen, 1918

being highly trained, more dependable and cheaper to employ.⁸⁶ Lord Skerrington suggested that teachers should be appointed from a list drawn up by Catholic authorities 'so as to secure the employment of Nuns and Brothers.'⁸⁷ Indeed, the main reason for the Church's demand for committees of management in schools was their determination for '... securing freedom to have Nuns or Brothers appointed as teachers in existing or future schools...'⁸⁸ Skerrington urged the bishops to obtain guarantees that agreements between religious orders and managers would be continued to be honoured by the new school boards.⁸⁹

The Church would have liked to have included a proviso in the new Bill for 'the explicit mention of nuns with the right to a number of important headships,' but accepted that Parliament would reject such a condition.⁹⁰ However, the diocesan inspector of schools, Fr Thomas Miley, informed the bishops that the Secretary of State had given an assurance that where 'by habit and repute the teachers in certain schools had been Nuns he could see no reason why that should not continue to be the case.'⁹¹

In the end, however, nuns and brothers were not referred to in the 1918 Act. By 1937 only a few religious remained as teachers in Catholic schools:

In the Scottish Education settlement no reference is made to the status of Religious in Schools. They have no legal standing as Religious. Only a small proportion of the teachers in Catholic schools in Scotland are Religious.⁹²

The apostolic visitor, Mgr Brown (who, if not the architect of the Bill, certainly was the master of works), observed that the new legislation of 1918 affirmed the Catholic Church in Scotland to be 'entitled to have security that the religious teaching in public schools set apart for Catholics shall in every sense be in accordance with the doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church.'⁹³ Unlike Catholic schools in England (which, due to the 'Cowper Temple' clause, had to provide their own schools to secure religious instruction), those in

⁸⁶ Ian Stewart, 'Teacher Careers and the Early Catholic Schools of Edinburgh,' *IR*, vol. 46, No 1 (1955), 64

⁸⁷ SCA ED9/54/10 Memorandum submitted by Lord Skerrington, Apr 1918

⁸⁸ SCA ED9/55/10 Observations on ... Interview with the Secretary of State for Scotland, 1918

⁸⁹ SCA ED9/53/15 Lord Skerrington: Memorandum, 1917

⁹⁰ SCA ED9/55/9 Fr T. Miley to Abp J. Smith, 27 Aug 1918

⁹¹ SCA DE100/7/10 Fr T. Miley to Bp H. G. Graham, 23 Oct 1918

⁹² SCA ED9/71/4 Fr J. Long (?): The Scottish Education Solution, 1937

⁹³ SCA ED9/61/1 Mgr W. Brown to Fr T. Miley, 9 Jan 1918

Scotland benefited from the fact that religious instruction had always been provided in public schools.⁹⁴

Prior to the passing of the Bill, Lord Skerrington pointed out that approval of a teacher by the Church should imply *continuous* approval.⁹⁵ It was also suggested at this time that one of the conditions of approval should be 'efficiency in giving religious instruction.'⁹⁶ But this qualification was subsequently extended to include teachers thought to be disloyal, or scandalous Catholics.⁹⁷ Skerrington had, prior to the passing of the Bill, also suggested that Catholic schools should, under the new dispensation, 'be maintained and used primarily and (so far as lawful) exclusively for Roman Catholic children, and the Teacher shall belong and continue to belong to the Roman Catholic religion.'⁹⁸

The mechanism of approval was relatively straightforward. The approval of a teacher was, in the first instance, based on a report prepared by the supervisor (normally a candidate's parish priest). This report was then used by a diocesan committee to sanction the appointment. As Canon Long wrote in 1931 in a Memorandum for the Sacred Congregation of Studies, Rome: 'In practice teacher applicants for a post in a Catholic school usually present their Catholic credentials beforehand and then the local authority proceed to select and appoint the one they consider suitable.'⁹⁹ An Education department could dismiss a Catholic teacher for misconduct or inefficiency, but only the Catholic authorities could call for dismissal by withdrawing their approval.¹⁰⁰ Once given, approval of a teacher in the same school could be withdrawn only if a teacher applied for a post in another school.

The 1918 Act challenged the Catholic Church by the difficulty of its implementation. New faces with new ideas were needed in diocesan administration — especially in St Andrews and Edinburgh where Archbishop James Smith was becoming increasingly incapable of administering the diocese. Accordingly, part of Mgr Brown's wide-ranging remit from the Vatican had been to persuade the Scottish hierarchy to bypass the normal

⁹⁴ SCA ED9/54/10 (1) Lord Skerrington: Memorandum, Apr 1918

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ SCA DE100/4/ Lord Skerrington: Suggested Amendments of the Bill, 1918

⁹⁷ SCA ED9/54/6 Report on The Education (Scotland) Bill to the Catholic Education Council for Scotland, 18 Feb 1918

⁹⁸ SCA ED9/53/15 Lord Skerrington: Memorandum, 1917

⁹⁹ SCA ED26/3/3 Fr J. Long: A Memorandum on the Scottish solution of the Religious Education question, 1931

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ SCA ED26/3/3 Fr J. Long: Report on Scottish Catholic Education System, 1936

episcopal appointment 'pecking order' by accepting an auxiliary bishop for St Andrews and Edinburgh who came from outside the Scottish clerical establishment.¹⁰¹

A year before the Education Bill became law, the new auxiliary bishop took up office. Fr Henry Grey Graham, a former Church of Scotland minister who had been educated at the University of St Andrews and at the Scots College, Rome, was the new auxiliary. He set about his duties with energy and confidence. One of his major responsibilities was education. Graham had misgivings about the 1918 Act and voiced them in a circular letter to all parishes: 'I have the greatest fears that under the new system the Catholicity of the Schools, which is the most precious thing about them, will be interfered with and that we shall find some day that we have made a fatal and inextricable mistake in allowing them to pass out of our hands.'¹⁰²

Graham's principal concern was the supply of Catholic teachers. From the beginning, it was also obvious that the new system of approval had flaws. In October 1919 Graham had to remind his clergy of the need to scrutinise the character of each potential teacher before signing certificates of approval:

In no case can it be done without a well-founded knowledge of the worth of the Teacher as a good, practising Catholic. This carries with it the obligation of making all prudent enquiries, particularly when the Teacher does not reside within your Mission.¹⁰³

In May 1920, only seven months later, it was clear that his warnings had not been universally heeded. The system of approval was only as strong as its weakest link:

Through misunderstanding or carelessness, some cases have occurred of irregularity in the approval and appointment of Teachers to our Schools, involving correspondence between various Education Authorities and ourselves. This is unfortunate ... [the method of approving candidates] must therefore be strictly adhered to, otherwise confusion will ensue, and a failure in our effective control of Teachers as regards belief and character ... Appointments made through any other method of approval will be resisted by us, however worthy the Teacher, as irregular and invalid, as several have already been. (In one instance a Protestant was appointed without approval, knowledge or consent of either the Supervisor or our Committee).¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ SCA ED6/38/9 Mgr W. Brown to Abp J. Smith, 12 Jul 1917

¹⁰² Quille, *op. cit.*

¹⁰³ SCA ED10/43/12 Bp H. G. Graham to clergy, 22 Oct 1919

¹⁰⁴ SCA ED10/43/17 Bp H. G. Graham to clergy, May 1920

The following Easter (1921) Graham warned the 75,000 Catholics in the archdiocese that 'There is an unfortunate scarcity of Catholic teachers in the Diocese.'¹⁰⁵ Protestant teachers had had to be employed in not a few schools, much to the dismay of a number of Catholic parents. Three years later, Graham strove to stem the 'leakage' of Catholic children to non-Catholic schools:

... there are approximately 2000 children in this Diocese attending Protestant schools, chiefly because there is no Catholic school in the Mission or even in the immediate neighbourhood ... Our motto, therefore, or, if you like, our battle-cry must be 'every Catholic child in a Catholic school.'¹⁰⁶

Later that year (1924) Graham reiterated that, according to canon 1374 of the code of canon law, it was forbidden for Catholic children to attend non-Catholic schools — this especially applied to those who proposed to become Catholic teachers; he recalled clause 3 of the 1908 Scottish Bishops' circular which read 'That no teacher shall be eligible for employment in any Catholic school who has been trained in whole or in part in any but recognised Catholic Centres and Training Colleges.'¹⁰⁷

In 1926 Graham once more reminded his priest supervisors that the employment of Protestant teachers in Catholic schools should be discouraged; even the temporary appointment of non-Catholic teachers was only permitted if 'all reasonable possibilities of securing a Catholic have been exhausted.'¹⁰⁸ One of the obvious weaknesses of the approval system was that there was no uniform system of approval; it varied from diocese to diocese.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, according to Canon Long, there had (up to 1936 at least) been no case where the withdrawal of approval had even been attempted.¹¹⁰ Mgr Quille was of the opinion that the Catholic Church (in spite of the guarantees enshrined in the 1918 Act), was, in practice, powerless to remove a teacher once approval had been given:

For some time after 1918, the Catholic Authorities were of the opinion that the only drawback in the Act was the fact that the Church was powerless to remove a Catholic teacher who, after

¹⁰⁵ SCA ED10/42/5 Bp H. G. Graham: The need of more Catholic Teachers, Lent 1921

¹⁰⁶ SCA ED10/42/10 Bp H. G. Graham: Catholic Parents and Education, Lent 1924

¹⁰⁷ SCA ED10/44/16 Bp H. G. Graham to clergy, 23 Oct 1924

¹⁰⁸ SCA ED10/45/1 Bp H. G. Graham to clergy, 10 Feb 1926

¹⁰⁹ Quille, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁰ SCA ED26/3/3 Fr J. Long: Report on Scottish Catholic Education System, 1936

appointment, proved to be unsatisfactory from the religious or moral aspect.¹¹¹

Only one case came close to being fully pursued in Court. This was the 1933 Spillar case concerning a teacher (a convert to Catholicism) at St Ninian's Senior Secondary school, Stirling who had been repeatedly in conflict with the headmaster. Although Spillar's name had been submitted to Archbishop McDonald for approval, the Archbishop had neither approved nor disapproved of his employment. Instead, the headmaster extended Spillar's probationary period. As matters did not get better, the Archbishop finally informed Spillar that he did not have approval.

Spillar consulted his trade union, the Educational Institute of Scotland. However, the EIS lawyer, T. P. McDonald, gave it as his opinion that the Church's representatives had the power to cease to approve of a teacher who renounced his religious creed and that when a teacher did so, the continued employment by the Authority of that teacher in a Roman Catholic school was a breach of section 18 (3) provision (ii) of the 1918 Act.¹¹² The Church's lawyer, W. D. Patrick, not surprisingly, agreed with Mr McDonald. Although the machinery for formal Court proceedings had been put into motion, Spillar resigned his post before the case came to Court. According to Quille, in the light of these legal opinions, it was 'highly probable that if the matter had been fully pursued, the decision would have been in favour of the Catholic Church.'¹¹³

By 1943 the Catholic authorities tackled the problem of continuous approval by deciding that all new promotions should have fresh religious certificates.¹¹⁴ But the problem of approval persisted. In February 1947 Archbishop McDonald issued a circular to diocesan clergy informing them that:

The machinery for the approval of teachers in this Archdiocese has not been working satisfactorily in recent years. As the first step in overhauling this machinery His Grace has appointed a new Approval Committee.¹¹⁵

Eight years later, Archbishop McDonald's successor, Gordon Gray, still faced the same problem. He complained in 1955 to his clergy that 'On occasion teachers have been

¹¹¹ Quille, *op. cit.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ SCA DE100/26/5 Minutes (note form) of an unidentified school meeting, 26 Jan 1943

¹¹⁵ SCA DE100/27/7 Abp A. J. McDonald: circular to representatives of Education Authorities, Feb 1947

appointed to Catholic Schools without certificates of proficiency and of religious belief and practice.'¹¹⁶ The problem persisted. Writing in 1964, vicar general Mgr James Monaghan told the Archbishop of Armagh (who had enquired about the Scottish system of Catholic education) that 'The only weakness in the system that I myself can see is that once a person receives approval there is never any revision or renewal of this over the years.'¹¹⁷ Looking back and assessing the approval system, former archdiocesan adviser on religious education, Teresa Gourlay, pointed to what she called the 'virtual collapse of the other fundamental safeguard in the 1918 Act, the Church's right to approve teachers.'¹¹⁸

The rise of a Catholic middle class

Edinburgh, observes Tom Gallagher, 'was a conservative city ... a stratified and almost caste-like town where the social boundaries were firmly demarcated.'¹¹⁹ Although this may have militated against easy upward mobility through the social classes, it also offered some agreed footholds and entry processes for those with the talent and ambition to better themselves.

A sample from the 1851 Census of 38 Irish-born persons living between Edinburgh University and the Cowgate (College Wynd, High School Wynd, Hastie's Close and Commercial Court) shows that almost all the men and most of the women of working age were able to classify themselves for the Census enumerator with recognisable job titles. While job descriptions entered on the Census forms provide evidence of social stratification in the Cowgate communities, there is also a sense of dynamic integration through traditional career-paths such as trade indenture (apprentice to journeyman) and promotion structures (especially in the Edinburgh police).¹²⁰ In the mid-nineteenth century the migrant Irish of the Cowgate are by no means exclusively trapped in the lowest income levels but show growing ambition to improve their social and economic condition: approaching the upper middle class is a doctor of medicine, while the lower middle class is represented by a schoolmaster, a spirit dealer, two dealers in ceramics, a sergeant of police and four constables.

¹¹⁶ SCA DE115/12/2 Abp G. J. Gray to clergy, 21 Apr 1955

¹¹⁷ SCA DE135/85/5 Fr J. Monaghan to Abp W. Conway, 15 Apr 1964

¹¹⁸ Teresa Gourlay, 'Catholic Schooling in Scotland since 1918,' *IR*, vol. 51, No 1 (Spring 1990), 123

¹¹⁹ Tom Gallagher, *Edinburgh Divided* (Edinburgh; Polygon, 1987), 11

¹²⁰ Census, 30 Mar 1851 (Census Return 685/1)

Catholics in Scotland were working to better themselves: the upper working class of 1851 is represented by journeymen tailors, shoemakers and painters, a dressmaker, a milliner, a laundress and a housekeeper. Among the lower working class are a street porter, a mason's labourer, a china shop worker, a licensed hawkker, a railway porter and house servants. The Census also shows the enterprise of some families in supplementing their income by taking in lodgers and the importance to migrants of developing new career paths. Some of the Irish 'became petty pawnbrokers, then local dealers, and finally established a substantial trade exporting second-hand clothes to Ireland ...'¹²¹

For some, accelerated promotion through the class-structure was possible by other routes: those who had the brains and determination to study for the priesthood or the religious life achieved immediate access to a higher social class by virtue of ordination or solemn profession. One such was Margaret Sinclair (1900-25) who bettered herself by taking a certificate in sewing, cooking and dress-making at the prestigious Atholl School of Domestic Economy, while also working as a messenger in a local business. Between 1914-18 she worked as a French polisher until she was made redundant and then was employed in a biscuit factory; finally, she entered the Poor Clare order as a nun for the rest of her relatively short life. Some parallels can be drawn between her life and the Irish political leader, Edinburgh-born James Connolly (1868-1916), whom Thomas M. Devine describes as a 'famous revolutionary socialist.'¹²² Connolly (whose parents had come from County Monaghan) was educated in a Cowgate Catholic school, after which he worked first as a baker's assistant, then a printer's 'devil' with *The Evening News*; between 1882 and 1889 he served with the British Army in Ireland, then lived as a tramp, a pedlar and a navvy before returning to Edinburgh as a labourer and then a manure carter. Finally, he turned to politics as secretary of the Scottish Socialist Federation where he honed his powers of organisation, oratory and written communication. In 1894 he was elected to Edinburgh Town Council. His strong political convictions then took him to Ireland, where he was later executed in 1916 for his part in leading the Dublin Easter Rising.

Both Connolly and Sinclair came from Irish stock, both were educated at St Patrick's School, both were the children of Cowgate street cleaners ('scaffies'), employed by Edinburgh Corporation to remove dung from the streets; both found their life's work in combatting deprivation — whether political inarticulateness or spiritual mediocrity — and in

¹²¹ C. Desmond Greaves, *The Life and Times of James Connolly* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1961), 11

¹²² Thomas M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2000* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), 495

leadership within their chosen field. The way in which both progressed from the manual to the white-collar skills sector is an indication of their determination to succeed. By the intelligent use of transferable skills the Catholic working class could make effective use of opportunities by combining successive (but quite rudimentary or unrelated) elements of employment experience to gain mastery over new and more complex functions.

That the Catholic community was already socially diversified by 1865 (with at least a nascent middle class) is evident from the syllabus published by the Sisters of Mercy at St Mary's School, Lothian Street, for what *The Catholic Directory* entry describes as '190 middle class girls,' providing a curriculum that was 'more comprehensive and of a higher order than is usual in schools under Government inspection.'¹²³ That a Catholic middle class continued to flourish in the East of Scotland in the next decades can be seen in the declared goal of the Benedictines at Fort Augustus to found a college in 1878 specifically geared to the needs of the upper and upper-middle class and also from the concern of the Jesuits in the early 1880s to open a school in Edinburgh for 'the better-class Catholic boys [who] were going to Protestant schools.'¹²⁴

That there were also adults who had risen in the social scale can be seen in the list of eight men who in June 1888 joined 'A retreat for Lay Gentlemen' at St Mary's, Kinnoull Hill, a Redemptorist monastery overlooking Perth. Thomas Bourke and John Heraughty (both of Perth) were, respectively, photographer and pawnbroker; bookseller John Green and grocer John Sweeney were affluent Dundonians.¹²⁵ Among the six men at a retreat two months later, was James Mullan of Ventnor Terrace, Edinburgh.¹²⁶ That Mullan qualified for middle class status can be seen from his profession — pawnbroker, jeweller and general outfitter; a 'licensed dealer in gold and silver plate, pictures, china, bronzes and articles of vertu,' he owned two premises near the Cowgate and also stocked bed and table napery from the Dunfermline Equitable Loan Office.¹²⁷ Mullan's multiplicity of functions, his intimate connection with the trappings of genteel living and the financial acumen which underpinned it, shows how Catholics of ambition could become people of standing in the wider community.

¹²³ CDS (1865), 73-74

¹²⁴ ASHL *Edinburgh Mission — Edinburgh Parish*, Lauriston Newsletter, vol. 31 (1911), 192-193

¹²⁵ Perth Directory (1887 and 1889-90)

¹²⁶ KMA, Names of clergy and lay retreatants, 1888-1907

¹²⁷ Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory, 1888-89, 124

At the turn of the century, as Catholics rose upwards on the social scale, there was disagreement over where new Edinburgh parishes and churches should be located with respect to the priorities of pastoral care. In 1905 Archbishop James Smith was canvassed on the one hand by André Raffalovich, anxious to build a new church in affluent and cosmopolitan Morningside for his friend Fr John Gray; on the other, older, more populist members of the clergy such as Canon Alexander Stuart, administrator of St Mary's Cathedral, strongly believed that Restalrig (with its sixty military families in the substantial stone edifice of Piershill barracks) or Trinity and North Leith (expanding rapidly with the advent of the new electric trains) should take priority.¹²⁸

The key role of entrepreneurs (pawnbrokers or rag merchants such as the Barrys in Edinburgh) in the development of the Catholic community can also be seen at Kinnoull Hill, where the death in February 1912 of the Perth pawnbroker John Heraughty ('a friend and benefactor of this community') is recorded by the monastic clergy with regret — Catholics from migrant Irish backgrounds often had little choice but to work in employment considered too unpalatable for native Scots (such as pawnbrokers, rag merchants or undertakers). Yet the presence of 22 carriages in Heraughty's funeral cortège unashamedly proclaimed his status.¹²⁹ Similarly, the fact that such a venerable body as the Benedictine community of Fort Augustus chose in the 1930s to employ the services of the director of a Glasgow coal-merchant (with a son studying at the Abbey School) as the investment manager for their funds on the stock market, underlines the importance to the survival of Catholic entrepreneurs of having more than one occupational string to their bow.¹³⁰

Until the 1950s upward social mobility among middle-class Scottish Catholics operated at two levels, one restricted in size, the other more numerous. The small moneyed middle class (built on commerce and entrepreneurship) was gradually swelled with entrants from a better-educated working class — an upward trend given renewed impetus by the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act and the later broadening of educational opportunity which the removal of fees and the influx of other migrants provided after the 1940s. Nevertheless, because of the effectiveness of residual sectarian discrimination in the labour market it would not be until the late 1960s that Catholics could freely enter employment sectors such

¹²⁸ SCA DE58/236/1 André Raffalovich to Abp J. Smith, Rome 17 Feb 1905; SCA DE58/236/2 Canon A. Stuart to Abp J. Smith, 20 Feb 1905

¹²⁹ KMA Domestic Chronicles, 1871-1920; *Perthshire Advertiser*, 28 Feb 1912

¹³⁰ SCA DE167/6/5 Abp D. Mackintosh to Cardinal Lépicier, 30 Mar 1934

as banking, commerce, corporate management or the highest ranks of the legal profession.¹³¹ Dr Rory Williams of the University of Glasgow notes that, according to *The 1972 Scottish Social Mobility Survey*:

... among those born before 1933, 31% of Catholics vs 47% of non-Catholics were currently in non-manual jobs, and among those born after 1933 the Catholic percentage was only a little higher (35% vs 47%).¹³²

The Professions

In 1872 and again, in 1918, the Church in Scotland tried to improve the socio-economic status of its members by providing them with the educational opportunities for white-collar and managerial posts; however, this aim did not produce immediate fruit. Looking back from the late 1940s, Canon Long explained the advantages of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act:

Catholic children have now full opportunities for obtaining bursaries and scholarships, maintenance grants if their home circumstances require them, and hostel allowances — besides the travelling expenses ... The increased efficiency of the teaching plus the other benefits brought to Catholics by the Act has enabled many more Catholics to enter the Universities and to go on into the professions, the civil service and the spheres into which young Catholics of the working classes found it difficult to effect an entrance.¹³³

However, it is difficult to measure to what extent Catholics took advantage of these greater opportunities for access to higher education. Although the proportion of Catholic pupils in *advanced division* classes rose from 8.5% in 1918-19 to 13.09% in 1932-33, it would take twenty years for this to translate into increased university admissions.¹³⁴ Before the 1918 Act, university entrance was, for Catholics, an outstanding but infrequent achievement. However, since Edinburgh (from 1918) was the only Scottish university to ask students a religious affiliation question at first matriculation, the number of Catholics in other Scottish universities can only be obliquely estimated.

¹³¹ Joseph Devine, 'A Lanarkshire perspective on bigotry in Scottish society' in Thomas M. Devine (ed.), *Scotland's Shame* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2000), 103

¹³² Rory Williams, *The Herald*, 13 Aug 1999

¹³³ SCA ED9/71/5 [Fr J. Long?] The Scottish Education Act (1918), nd

¹³⁴ James H. Treble, 'The Development of Roman Catholic Education in Scotland 1878-1978,' *IR*, vol. 29, No 2 (Autumn 1978), 129

It might be supposed that, given the large number of Catholics in Glasgow and the West of Scotland, there would, in Glasgow above all, be a correspondingly sizeable number of Catholic students at university. However, on 4 January 1904, *St Andrew*, the organ of the Church of Scotland, quoted Fr Eric Hanson (the Jesuit Headmaster of St Aloysius' College, Garnethill, Glasgow), as estimating that, of the 2,500 students at Glasgow University, less than a dozen were Catholics.¹³⁵ He claimed that, in Glasgow, employment opportunities for Catholics were severely limited. There were (in the West of Scotland, at least), asserted Fr Hanson, no Catholic employers of labour, no Catholic master engineers or shipbuilders, merchant princes or larger shopkeepers; there were even few Catholic skilled apprentices who could rise to be foremen.¹³⁶

In Edinburgh, one of the few firms owned by Catholics was the rag merchants, John Barry, Ltd., Leith, founded in the 1850s by a family which originated in Ireland and had come to Edinburgh via Orkney and Aberdeen. Speaking in the year 2000, a member of the original family, farmer Peter C. Barry, commented that, in Edinburgh in the second half of the nineteenth century, there were few business opportunities for Catholics. They were restricted to supplying the papermaking industry with trade waste — 'fairly disreputable and therefore suitable for Catholics!' ¹³⁷

In Glasgow the dearth of Catholics at University was precisely measurable. It was not until 1908 that the first Catholic (Archibald MacAlpine) was successfully placed in the competition for University bursaries.¹³⁸ The following year a correspondent in *The Glasgow Herald* complimented Glasgow University on the fact that 'For the first time since the introduction of the Bursar Examination, over forty years ago, the names of five — out of fifty — of the successful competitors in the lists recently published hail from a Catholic training college — viz, that of St Aloysius; and to three of these fall the first, the sixth and the seventh places respectively.' ¹³⁹

In reply, Fr Hanson, pointed out the main underlying causes of the failure of Catholics to better themselves educationally:

Undoubtedly there has been a marked reluctance on the part of the Catholics of Glasgow to send their sons to the University for the Arts

¹³⁵ John V. McCabe, *The History of St Aloysius's College* (Glasgow: St Aloysius' College, 2000), 86

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 86-87

¹³⁷ Peter C. Barry: telephone call to author, 23 Oct 2000

¹³⁸ McCabe, *op. cit.*, 94

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 96

course. The reason for this is ... chiefly due to poverty, to the scarcity of employment for the graduate in Arts, and perhaps to some little want of ambition and enterprise.¹⁴⁰

Higher education: the Catholic presence at the University of St Andrews

The case of St Andrews University demonstrates well why Catholics found it difficult to become undergraduates. In 1885, George Angus, the incoming priest (with the practicality learnt as a former soldier in India), carried out a private survey of his newly-founded mission at St Andrews, Fife (previously served from Kirkcaldy). However, covering the town itself, as well as the outlying areas, his census of the parish catchment area did not contain anyone who was a student at the University.¹⁴¹ While this does not rule out the possibility of Catholic students, it does suggest that their numbers were very small or that they chose not to celebrate their religion in public.

Although Catholics might have been thin on the ground, the Third Marquess of Bute contributed significantly to St Andrews University where he was rector for two terms of office (1892-98). His ambition was to restore the institution to its pre-Reformation structure and he combined with other prominent converts to build up the Catholic presence at St Andrews. Fr Angus's new parish was gifted land by Robert Hope-Scott on which to construct a church; in 1885 the church building was paid for by Lord Bute who was also determined to persuade the bishops to transfer all the Scottish seminaries and Fort Augustus Abbey to St Andrews, combining them there in a 'Catholic invasion.' This ambitious plan was fiercely resisted by the hierarchy who regarded the university at St Andrews as academically moribund and thought acceptance of Bute's proposal would be 'a confession of intellectual inferiority ...'¹⁴²

Nevertheless, Lord Bute was persistent to the end. At his death in 1900, he bequeathed £1,000 to fund Catholic students at St Andrews. In 1904 the first applicant for

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ St James Church Archives, St Andrews: Catholics in St Andrews MS, 1885; Peter King, *The Catholic Church in St Andrews 1884-1984* (privately printed, 1984), 43-47

¹⁴² SCA ED7/33/9 Lord Bute to Rev Doctor, 10 Sep 1881; SCA ED4/23/12. Bp A. MacDonald to Abp W. Smith., 6 July 1886

the scholarship failed to matriculate; the next (1905) was a young man from Cork, but he declined the award as he had won a scholarship to the Royal University, Dublin. In 1906 there were no Catholics at the University — two recommended potential students failed to take up their studies, one because she was unable to matriculate (for unspecified personal reasons), the other through ill health.¹⁴³

Until the Second World War Catholic students were very few in number. In 1939, Fr Gordon Joseph Gray (a curate at St Andrews to his uncle, Fr John Gray) was reputedly the first Catholic priest since the Reformation to graduate from the University.¹⁴⁴ Subsequent clerical graduates included a considerable number of Dundee-based Marist Brothers who went on to follow careers in teaching.

Edinburgh First Matriculation

Information on the religious affiliation of students at matriculation is continuously available only at the University of Edinburgh (from 1918). Neither the universities of Glasgow, St Andrews or Aberdeen made this a requirement for new students. At Edinburgh University in the period before the 1918 Act, although little information is available on Catholic students, it would appear that relatively few Scottish Catholics studied there. This was particularly evident in the key establishment professions of the Law and Medicine. At Edinburgh in June 1883 there were only some sixteen Catholics studying Medicine, at a time when there were around 1748 students in the Faculty of Medicine.¹⁴⁵ The sixteen signatures appear in a letter written to Archbishop Strain wishing him a swift recovery in his illness ('We, the Catholic Medical Students of Edinburgh').¹⁴⁶ A good proportion of this group were not Scots. The Catholic hierarchy had an ambivalent attitude towards the universities, exemplified by Fr John Toner's warnings to Archbishop MacDonald in 1892 of the 'dangers of a close contact with any of our Universities.'¹⁴⁷ Yet, members of the hierarchy seem to have mixed quite freely with senior university staff: Bishop James Smith of Dunkeld reported to Archbishop MacDonald in October 1898 that 'Princ. Donaldson and I had a long chat about Univ. matters.'¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ SCA ED/7/42/9 Bute Mortification

¹⁴⁴ Turnbull, *op. cit.*, 21

¹⁴⁵ Senatus Academicus, University of Edinburgh: *Alphabetical List of Graduates of the University of Edinburgh from 1859 to 1888* (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1888), 134

¹⁴⁶ SCA ED3/123/2 Catholic Medical Students to Abp J. Strain, 30 Jun 1883.

¹⁴⁷ SCA ED5/23/8 Bp J. Toner to Abp A. MacDonald, 189?

¹⁴⁸ SCA ED5/44/19 Bp. J. Smith to Abp A. MacDonald, 27 Oct 1898

By 1918, when new Edinburgh University students were required to state their religion, forty-eight of the students matriculating for the first time declared themselves to be Catholics.¹⁴⁹ Of these, only 14 were Scots — eight were Australian and seven, American. The course of study most subscribed to by Catholics was Medicine, but only 5 out of the 20 new Catholic students in the Medical Faculty were Scottish. There were two Catholic Law students — both American. The Scottish students in 1918 came from a wide cross-section of schools. Six, the largest number, came from Holy Cross Academy in Leith (two from St Thomas of Aquin's, Edinburgh, and two from St Mary's, Bathgate). However, not all came from Catholic schools. Two were former pupils of George Heriot's and one of James Gillespie's; a third had been educated as far away as Rothesay Academy.

In response to the Scottish Education Department's requirement for the training of teachers and for educational provision in the archdiocese, Holy Cross Academy, Leith, was opened in 1907 as the only Catholic Higher Grade school for the 10,000 Catholic boys and girls in the diocese.¹⁵⁰ The new school, which housed both preparatory and secondary, prepared its pupils for the intermediate and the junior student certificate or for university preliminary examinations.¹⁵¹ Fees (supplemented by fee-grants and aid-grants) were paid — elementary (£1-10/ each per annum), higher grade (between £3 and £4) and junior teaching students (£8).¹⁵²

Over the next two decades Catholic schools settled into the State system and might have expected to reap the benefits of greater financial and physical resources. Historian Bernard Aspinwall characterises education as 'the quiet revolution.'¹⁵³ But, between 1918 and 1945, as far as university entrance was concerned, it was a process of dogged consolidation rather than a great leap forward. In 1924-25, there were only fourteen recognised Catholic secondary schools throughout Scotland; by 1932-33 that total had risen to nineteen.¹⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the Advisory Council on Religious Education pointed out that Catholics were still not disposed to develop their abilities to the full:

¹⁴⁹ EUA FMB, 1918-19

¹⁵⁰ SCA ED6/167/1 Abp W. Smith: circular, 1907

¹⁵¹ SCA ED6/167/9 Abp J. Smith: circular, 12 Jun 1907

¹⁵² SCA ED6/167/11 Catholic Higher Grade School and Junior Centre, Edinburgh: income and outlay, 1907

¹⁵³ Bernard Aspinwall, 'Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace by Tom Gallagher (1987)', *IR*, vol. 40, No 1 (Spring 1989), 80

¹⁵⁴ James H. Treble, 'The Development of Roman Catholic Education in Scotland 1878-1978', *IR*, vol. 29 (1978), 130

... the average Catholic child at twelve is in the "Qualifying" and goes to the Junior Secondary School whether he passes the "Control" examination or not ... if Catholics are to maintain the advantages of the Act of 1918, efforts must be made to raise our children from lower categories of achievement.¹⁵⁵

The number of Catholics matriculating for the first time at Edinburgh University in the academic year 1924-25 fell to 36; of these, five were studying Medicine (none of them Scottish); three were studying Law (only one Scottish) — eleven of the students were female.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, a shortfall in university entrance at Edinburgh continued to be evident, suggesting, not barriers put in place by the universities to prevent Catholics matriculating, but reluctance (for one reason or another) on the part of Catholics in their final years at school to go on to higher education — in particular, to study Law or Medicine. Even those who did choose to apply for a university place often did not consider studying beyond the level of an ordinary degree.

Bailie James Doherty, who would go on to serve 37 years on Kilsyth School Board, had gathered considerable experience in handling educational problems.¹⁵⁷ Writing in 1930 he pinpointed one of the main weaknesses in the educational performance of Catholics:

... Quite a large number of our Secondary Pupils go on to the University and get their ordinary degree but few go in for Honours which is most necessary now in order to Staff our Secondary Schools with Catholic Principal Teachers, who will have charge of the Subject being taught. Economic circumstances rather than inability seems to be reason for so few taking Honours, as it means at least one year longer and more intensive study which is impossible in many of the poor homes because of inadequate accommodation.¹⁵⁸

Ten years later (1934-35) the number of Catholics at Edinburgh University had increased marginally to 40 (still less than the number in 1918), only 24 of whom were Catholics from Scotland, although Scots were now the largest national grouping.¹⁵⁹ Of the 19 students in the Faculty of Arts, some 13 were now Scots; of the 6 studying Medicine, 5 were Scottish. There was only one Law student — he also was Scottish.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 133

¹⁵⁶ EUA FMB, 1924-25

¹⁵⁷ SCA DE104/86/8 J. Doherty to Abp A. J. McDonald, 22 Apr 1941

¹⁵⁸ SCA DE104/85/1 J. Doherty: Report on the Catholic Schools in Stirlingshire, 22 Nov 1930

¹⁵⁹ EUA FMB, 1934-35

The schooling of the students took several routes and by no means all followed the Church's repeated appeals for Catholics to send their children to Catholic schools — some, no doubt, did seek official permission to send their children to non-Catholic schools, others did not. A number of students had been educated only at local Catholic state schools such as Holy Cross Academy (5) or St Mary's, Bathgate in West Lothian (2). Others came from the fee-paying residential Catholic sector — the Abbey School, Fort Augustus (Benedictine), joining non-Scottish students from Stonyhurst (Jesuit), the Xaverian College in Sussex or Clongowes Wood College (Jesuit) in Ireland. There were others who had been educated solely at state day schools such as North Berwick High School or Boroughmuir in Edinburgh. Lastly, a number attended the (fee-paying) Edinburgh Merchant Company schools — George Watson's (3), the Edinburgh Institution or George Heriot's. One of the female students had been a pupil first at St George's, Edinburgh, and then at the avant-garde St Trinnean's.

In the years before the Second World War, Catholic student numbers failed to show any appreciable increase. In the year 1937-38 there were 39 students matriculating for the first time; none of them was studying Law and not one of the nine taking Medicine was Scottish.¹⁶⁰ However, a dramatic increase in Catholic student numbers at Edinburgh University came at the end of the Second World War. By the academic year 1946-47 some 90 Catholics entered the University.¹⁶¹ Scottish Catholic students (31) made up a third of this number — closely followed by the 28 students of Polish origin.¹⁶² Catholics, however, were not confined to the student body: during the year 1955-56 there were eighteen Catholic members of staff at Edinburgh University.¹⁶³

Law and Medicine

A new direction in courses of study taken by Catholics seems to have emerged by 1946-47 — the largest group matriculated in the Faculty of Arts. In Law and Medicine, however, the uptake by Catholics was still comparatively low. Of the 10 Law students, only 2 were Scots but 7 were Polish. In Medicine only 3 out of the 6 were Scottish. By 1950-51 there were eleven students taking Medicine or Dentistry (only five of these were Scottish);

¹⁶⁰ EUA FMB, 1937-38

¹⁶¹ EUA FMB, 1946-47

¹⁶² See W. Tomaszewski, *Fifty years of the Polish School of Medicine, the University of Edinburgh: 1941-1991* (Edinburgh: W. Tomaszewski, 1992)

¹⁶³ SCA DE167/50/14 Names of Catholics on the University teaching Staff, 1955-56

of the four taking Law, three were Scottish.¹⁶⁴ In spite of this slight upturn, the reluctance of Scottish Catholics to follow careers in Law and Medicine was clear to see. In early 1955, in preparation for the first visit to Edinburgh of the new apostolic delegate, Archbishop O'Hara, in November, invitations were sent to Catholic doctors in Edinburgh and district. There were twenty-one names on the guest-list.¹⁶⁵ This was at a time when, in Edinburgh, some 366 medical and surgical practitioners lived in Edinburgh and Leith.¹⁶⁶ The guest list of local lawyers numbered ten, at a time when there were 76 advocates, 160 members of the Society of Solicitors of the Supreme Court and 352 members of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet.¹⁶⁷ This absence of Catholics in the legal profession could also be seen at a higher level. Since 1900 there had only been five Catholic Law Lords — Skerrington, Moncrieff, Carmont, Wheatley and Brand — two of them (Skerrington and Moncrieff) being converts.¹⁶⁸ In more recent times, Lord John McCluskey (1929-), educated at St Bede's and Holy Cross Academy, matriculated at Edinburgh University in 1948, later becoming Solicitor General (1974-79).

By 1960-61 there were 168 Catholics matriculating for the first time at Edinburgh University. This represented 6.8% of the First Year total (2,467), although at the time of the previous Census (1951) the adult Catholic population of Scotland aged over twenty was 12.8% of the Scottish total.¹⁶⁹ In Midlothian (of which Edinburgh was a part) the figure was 10.4%, still suggesting that at least 5% of Catholics who might have gone to Edinburgh University did not do so.¹⁷⁰ Even allowing for students going to other universities, it would appear that university entrance, even by 1961, was not yet a universal priority in the eyes of Scottish Catholic school-leavers.

Of the 168 Catholics matriculating for the first time in 1960-61 the largest national group were the 46 Scots, closely followed by the 34 students from England. These were spread unevenly across the Faculties. There were no first year Catholics in the Faculty of

¹⁶⁴ EUA FMB, 1950-51

¹⁶⁵ SCA ED29/50 List of Catholic doctors, 1955

¹⁶⁶ *Edinburgh & Leith Post Office Directory*, 1955-56 (Edinburgh: Morrison & Gibb, 1956)

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ William Campbell (1878 -1927); Alexander Moncrieff (1870-1949) educated at Glasgow (MA) and Edinburgh Universities (LLB), Senator of the College of Justice (1926 - 47), Lord Justice Clerk and Privy Councillor (1947); John F. Carmont (1888 -1965) Senator of the College of Justice (1934 - 65); John Wheatley (1908 - 88) St Aloysius' College, Glasgow, Glasgow University, Lord Advocate (1947-51)

¹⁶⁹ James Darragh, 'The Catholic population of Scotland, 1878-1977', *IR*, vol. 29 (1978), 225

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 228

Divinity; one (educated at Ampleforth) was studying Law; four were in the Faculty of Medicine (three of whom were taking degrees in Dentistry). In Pure Science, however, Scottish Catholics made up the bulk (19) of the 31 students, five of these having been educated at Holy Cross Academy.

The Teaching Profession

While teachers had always been the bedrock of Catholic schools (in a sense both the producer and the product of the educational system), they were often overworked and underpaid. As early as 1906 the Catholic Education Committee for Scotland met with the Secretary of State, pleading for better financial provision:

... whilst we can't even afford to pay an adequate salary to our teachers, how can we be expected to find money to pension them?' asked Canon MacIntosh; Sir John Sinclair replied, evidently squirming with discomfort under the Canon's language ...¹⁷¹

At the same time the Scottish Education Department appeared not to be inclined to let the Catholic Training College 'participate in special grants that would be made to the other College from accumulated funds, and this on the ground that it is not nationalised.'¹⁷² Unrest among the teaching staff was not unexpected. When the teachers combined to air their grievances in bodies such as the Federation of Scottish Catholic Teachers, the bishops felt threatened. Bishop Robert Fraser of Dunkeld, writing to Archbishop James Smith in November 1913, complained:

I also got the Constitutions of the F. of S. C. T. I consider it is formed to be a Trades Union & to act as one by putting the screw on Managers by threatening a strike. At the meeting we saw how they asked new terms by a rising scale. I wrote back that while sympathising much, my managers had not the means to meet the demand. Two days ago they formulated another demand that all the Government grants should go to the Teachers and maintenance and rent & cleaning & lighting & firing should be found from other funds!!! Cool ... I suspect it is composed of a small proportion of

¹⁷¹ SCA ED9/42/13 Deputation of the Catholic Education Committee for Scotland, 5 May 1906

¹⁷² SCA ED9/42/14 Bp A. MacFarlane: Report on interview with Secretary for Scotland, 10 May 1906

teachers. Of course they have grievances: but we are trying to come to terms with the Government & then they will be all right.¹⁷³

Five years later, during the negotiations which would lead to the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act, this paternalist but broadly sympathetic attitude was endorsed by Bishop Aeneas Chisholm — a matter of weeks before he died. To a questionnaire issued from Rome to the bishops, Chisholm replied:

... the School Teachers who are admittedly underpaid are agitating for increased salaries ... The salaries hitherto paid in Catholic Schools have been much lower than in Board and Public Schools, and if the new scale is applied all round it will mean a rise of over 50% on the salaries paid at present¹⁷⁴

There were only two Catholic Teacher Training Colleges in Scotland, and they were both for women — Notre Dame at Dowanhill, Glasgow (opened 1894) and Craiglockhart in Edinburgh (1919). Attempts to set one up in Edinburgh for men came to nothing. Male Catholic teachers had no alternative but to attend non-Catholic centres such as Moray House College in Edinburgh. By 1921 Bishop Graham was complaining of the lack of teachers to staff Catholic schools which served the diocesan Catholic population of 75,000.¹⁷⁵

Typical of the problems facing Catholic schools was the case of St Ninian's Secondary School, Kirkintilloch, where the Headmaster, William Barry, described the dearth of well-qualified Catholic teachers in 1929. In his school there were seven Catholic members of staff and 15 non-Catholic:

There are very few Chapter V [Honours graduates who had completed teacher training] Catholic Teachers coming out yearly. When I ask for a Catholic Teacher, I am told they cannot be procured and the outlook for the future is very gloomy. Our Schools are gradually losing their Catholic atmosphere ...¹⁷⁶

In an end of year address to the assembled staff and students at Craiglockhart Training College in 1931, Archbishop McDonald stressed that Catholic teachers had a vocation of critical importance: 'In the formation of the generation which is to come they can

¹⁷³ SCA ED6/34/4 Bp R. Fraser to Abp J. Smith, 15 Nov 1913

¹⁷⁴ SCA ED9/54/1 Bp A. Chisholm: Answers to Questions from Rome relative to the Catholic Schools of the Diocese of Aberdeen, 8 Jan 1918

¹⁷⁵ SCA ED10/42/5 Bp H. G. Graham: A Pastoral Letter to the Faithful, Lent 1921

¹⁷⁶ SCA DE115/3/11 W. Barry to Principal, Craiglockhart Training College, 1 May 1929

give anchorage and definite ideals and much responsibility rests with them.'¹⁷⁷ Attempts were again made to provide a Catholic teacher training college for men, but, the bishops' Advisory Education Committee decided to abandon the scheme.¹⁷⁸ Later, the bishops considered sending men to Strawberry Hill in London and even in 1932 approached the Benedictine order at Ampleforth to see if they would staff a training centre in Scotland.¹⁷⁹

During the years 1933-35 the preliminary teacher training applications for Catholic men rose from 162 to 559 and then fell to 479 in 1935.¹⁸⁰ Of the 164 admitted in 1933 some 48 had Ordinary degrees, 3 had Third Class Honours and 13 First or Second Class Honours.¹⁸¹ There was considerable variation in the numbers of Catholic teachers between the East and the West of Scotland, but overall there was a shortfall in their recruitment — there was also a difference in the proportion of non-Catholic teachers in Catholic schools. In 1935 there were 423 Catholic women and 104 men employed in Edinburgh as teachers in Catholic schools. Additionally, there were 16 non-Catholic teachers. Glasgow, meanwhile, employed 2,041 Catholic women and 583 men; of these, 30 men and 30 women were not Catholics.¹⁸²

The shortage of Catholic teachers continued to be a problem over the next ten years, particularly during the Second World War. In the autumn of 1944 Archbishop McDonald issued an appeal to his archdiocese entitled 'Our schools in peril.' He declared that:

... the paramount need of the moment is a large increase in the number of our Catholic teachers. Christian education, as various Popes have emphasised, is of supreme importance not only for each individual, or for each family, but for the entire human race.¹⁸³

By 1964, the pressure of a rising school population was felt in the Catholic school system. Plans were already afoot to provide the additional 450 to 500 teacher training places which the Scottish Education Department's estimates suggested would be needed by 1970.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁷ SCA DE115/5 Report on the Religious Inspection of Training Colleges, 1930-31

¹⁷⁸ SCA ED9/102 Bishops' Advisory Education Committee: Minute Book, 7 Jan 1925

¹⁷⁹ SCA DE115/7/5 J. S. Matthews to Abp A. J. MacDonald, 12 Aug 1932

¹⁸⁰ SCA DE100/18/2 National Committee for the Training of Teachers, Central Executive Committee, 1935

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² SCA DE100/17/8 Catholic Education Commission: Fifth Meeting, 11 Feb 1935

¹⁸³ SCA ED14/138/2 Abp A. J. McDonald: Our schools in peril, Advent 1944

¹⁸⁴ SCA DE115/15/1 Teacher Training Facilities for Roman Catholic students, 3 Jun 1964

In the following year, replying to a request from Canada for Scottish teachers, Archbishop Gray confirmed that 'we are very short of teachers.'¹⁸⁵

Holy Cross Academy

In the East, the largest Catholic school which could also provide a higher educational programme for the fourth, fifth and sixth years was Holy Cross Academy in Leith. In 1933, celebrating 25 years of Holy Cross' existence, Archbishop McDonald recalled the goodwill and generosity which the former school board and the subsequent education authority and committee had always shown the school. However, he underlined the urgent need for the construction of new accommodation.¹⁸⁶ The Edinburgh School Board's fair treatment of Holy Cross contrasted with the failure of Leith Burgh Council to contribute from the residue grant for pupils from Leith attending the school. In 1912, for example, a mere £30 had been contributed by Leith compared to the £900 given by Edinburgh.¹⁸⁷

By Edinburgh standards, Holy Cross was not a large school. In 1936 Holy Cross had 346 pupils with a mere 25 in the fourth, fifth and sixth years; this compared unfavourably with the 588 at James Gillespie's and in the upper part of the school (137 pupils).¹⁸⁸ Even by 1945 the school roll at Holy Cross had only risen to 444 (with 73 in the upper school).¹⁸⁹ By 1954, however, the picture had changed radically. There were now 1,130 pupils housed in a new building opened four years before. 'Doctors, lawyers, architects and teachers are numbered among former pupils ... A large percentage of the Catholic clergy of Edinburgh also come from Holy Cross,' announced *The Edinburgh Pictorial*.¹⁹⁰ One of these was Archbishop (later Cardinal) Gordon Joseph Gray, a graduate of St Andrews University. His successor, Archbishop [now Cardinal] Keith Patrick O'Brien, having left Holy Cross, graduated BSc at Edinburgh University in 1959.

Former pupils also had made their mark in sport. Rugby player Maurice Henderson was chosen to play for Scotland; in football, Barney Battles and Jimmy Wardhaugh (both Hearts) and Mike Haughney (Celtic) had were also capped.¹⁹¹ In the Arts, Sir Eduardo Paolozzi (1924-), had trained at the Slade and was already making his name as a sculptor,

¹⁸⁵ SCA DE115/15/8 Abp G. J. Gray to J. T. McIlhone, 31 Aug 1965

¹⁸⁶ *The Evening Dispatch*, 2 Feb 1933

¹⁸⁷ SCA ED6/132/3 H. Considine to Archbishop J. Smith, 15 Oct 1912

¹⁸⁸ SCA DE115/9/6 Edinburgh Corporation (Schools Sub-Committee), 12 May 1947

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ *The Edinburgh Pictorial*, 23 Apr 1954

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

closely followed by Richard Demarco OBE (1930-), who graduated from the Edinburgh College of Art (1954) to carve out a dynamic path in helping make contemporary art better understood and appreciated. Both men were the children of Italian immigrant shop-keepers in Leith. In the world of business, Sir Tom Farmer CBE (1940-) left Holy Cross Academy at the age of 14 to go into the car tyre trade as a store lad. By 1988 he had created his own international motor repair operation.¹⁹²

Catholicism had now gravitated north from its traditional Old Town ghetto — Edinburgh's Cowgate ('Little Ireland') with St Patrick's church and schools which had nurtured people as diverse as the Irish Socialist leader James Connolly (1870-1916) and the 'Edinburgh Wonder Worker', trade unionist and nun, Margaret Sinclair (1900-25) — both with Irish backgrounds, both the children of street-cleaners. Holy Cross Academy, selective in its intake, close to the waterfront in the Burgh of Leith, served a more geographically disparate and, after the Second World War, a more upwardly-mobile population.

The political composition of the Catholic community

Because of their political and economic situation, most Irish Catholic migrants to Scotland identified with the efforts of the Liberal Party after 1886 to bring Home Rule to Ireland. With its Whiggish enlightenment tradition, Presbyterian Edinburgh was also instinctively Liberal. However, after the Parnell divorce case (1890) and the failure of the second Home Rule Bill in 1894, Irish Catholics began to lose confidence in the Liberal Party and turned to the Scottish Labour movement with its roots deep in Glasgow and the West. However, Catholic aristocrats such as the Third Marquess of Bute were innately Conservative; when Lord Bute (nominated by the Conservative Club) stood for the rectorship of Glasgow University in 1883 against a Liberal candidate (Mr Fawcett) and John Ruskin, he was beaten into second place. In 1889 Lord Bute became a member of the Scottish Universities Commission in which he played an active and influential role. He was elected rector of St Andrews University in 1892, where he presided with distinction until 1898). As rector, Lord Bute was keen to restore the University to its ancient form, 'with instruction in Medicine and Law as well in Arts and Theology.'¹⁹³ Lord Bute made his first (and last) speech in the House of Lords on 4 June 1894 with reference to petitions on behalf of St

¹⁹² *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 20 Oct 1988

¹⁹³ Ronald G. Cant, *The University of St Andrews* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1946), 125

Andrews University. In 1886 he bought the periodical, *Scottish Review*, to which he contributed over 20 articles.¹⁹⁴ In an obituary notice, F. W. H. Myers described the extraordinary scope of Lord Bute's vision:

To a fervent Roman Catholicism he joined a ready openness to the elements of a more Catholic faith. That same yearning for communion with the invisible which showed itself in his Prayer-books and Missals, his Byzantine Churches restored ... in the horoscope of his nativity painted on the dome of his study at Mountstuart; and in that vaster, strange-illuminated vault of Mountstuart's central hall.¹⁹⁵

Although, as the twentieth century progressed, Catholics (especially in the west of Scotland) would increasingly identify with the Labour movement as matching many of their values, in the 1930s the Scottish National Party seemed to offer some expression to Catholics' desire for a fuller sense of citizenship and recognition of the inextricable relationship between Catholicism and Scotland in the nation's pre-Reformation history. During the inter-war years most Scottish writers 'were emphatically pro-Irish ... partly because they subscribed to Celtic racial theories of the kind promoted by the Scottish National League in the 1920s.'¹⁹⁶ Authors such as MacDiarmid, Edwin Muir and William Power argued that 'Presbyterianism was irredeemably un-Scottish, and national regeneration could only come about when Scotland became once more a Catholic as well as a Celtic nation.'¹⁹⁷ During the 1930s such leading Nationalist writers described the Reformation as a national tragedy, and Presbyterianism as an un-Scottish 'cultural aberration.'¹⁹⁸ The Catholic novelist, Compton Mackenzie, installed as rector of Glasgow University in January 1932, gives credit for what he refers to as a 'national awakening' to 'the Scoto-Irish students of Glasgow University [who] were in the van of that movement to restore to Scotland her integrity, so prominently indeed that the whole National Party of Scotland was believed by many to be no better than a sinister agent of Popery.'¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ David O. Hunter Blair, *John Patrick Third Marquess of Bute, K.T.* (London: John Murray, 1921), 130

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 245

¹⁹⁶ Liam McIlvanney, 'Literature that upped the anti,' *Sunday Herald*, 9 Apr 2000

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ Compton Mackenzie, *Catholicism and Scotland* (London: Routledge and Sons, 1936), 186

Although some of the rank and file Nationalists disapproved of links with Catholics, the leadership, by and large, did not share Protestant Action's violent abhorrence of Catholics: in June 1935, at the height of the anti-Catholic riots in Edinburgh, Professor Alex Smith of Quebec, appeared at an SNP Bannockburn Day demonstration in Stirling. When a member of the crowd shouted 'Is this a Papist demonstration, or is it not?' Smith answered blithely 'That's all right, laddie, I'm the only Papist here and well able to take care of myself.'²⁰⁰ But SNP sympathisers were not only to be found among Catholic laymen, however eminent. The first post-Reformation resident Scottish Cardinal, Gordon Joseph Gray, was thought to have privately agreed with many of the aims of the Scottish National Party, although he was in favour of devolution rather than separation.²⁰¹

It was James Connolly who once complained that the Catholic Church made marriages of convenience with any political party that reflected Church values: this was certainly the case with the 1918 Education Act settlement hurriedly reached by the bishops with a Conservative-dominated government. In local government, after the 1920s, in the more middle-class Edinburgh wards (unlike those in Glasgow), Catholic town councillors tended to reflect the underlying Liberal character of the city. James Gorman (St Giles and Broughton), James Stone (Portobello) and George Hedderwick (St Giles and Newington) — the latter two both dispensing chemists by profession — were Progressive/Conservative, while Labour councillors (such as Patrick Rogan or Owen Hand, both representing Holyrood) only emerged in the 1950s. In Edinburgh, Catholic councillors did not hesitate to use those local political structures that they considered best matched their middle-class aspirations.

The ethnic composition of the Catholic community

Lithuanians

Although Irish migrants formed the largest ethnic section of the Scottish Catholic community, other nationalities were also significantly represented. The influx of mainly Catholic Lithuanians (incorrectly referred to in the Scottish press as 'Russian Poles') began

²⁰⁰ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 24 Jun 1935

²⁰¹ Michael T. R. B. Turnbull, *Cardinal Gordon Joseph Gray* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1994), 125

in the late 1870s; by 1901, as well as in Lanarkshire, more than a hundred were employed as coal-miners in Midlothian where they were praised for their eagerness to work hard and to co-operate with the trade unions.²⁰² In 1906 the Lithuanians were brought out on strike and 'a stronger or more determined body of men could not have been found fighting for their rights.'²⁰³ But they also attracted resentment from some Scots, such as Bailie Brown of Dalkeith, who in 1906 wanted the Lithuanians to stay at home and work in the mines there, claiming 'the Poles were congesting the mines and producing more coal than was required ...'²⁰⁴ Between 1905 and 1914 the number of Lithuanians in Scotland doubled.²⁰⁵ By 1914, the Lithuanian community had spread to Linlithgowshire [West Lothian] (300), Midlothian and Edinburgh (250), Dundee (110) and Fife (50).²⁰⁶

Poles

Although the first Scottish-Polish society was founded in Edinburgh in the 1830s, the number of Poles in Scotland before 1939 was very small. The 1931 census, for example, lists only 971 persons in Scotland as 'born in Poland,' of these, 483 lived in Glasgow, 143 in Lanarkshire and 68 in Edinburgh.²⁰⁷ Most of these 'Polish-born,' however, were probably Polish Jews, just as most of the 'Russian Poles' working in Scottish coal-mines between 1880 and 1914 were Lithuanians.²⁰⁸ Significant numbers of Poles did not come to Scotland until 1940 when Polish soldiers pitched their tents between Crawford, Douglas and Biggar.²⁰⁹ This rapidly led to the establishment of institutions catering for the troops' spiritual and cultural needs: not long after, a new Polish Catholic Mission at Falkirk provided a residence, club and school, the cult of the Polish Black Madonna appeared at Carfin, the Polish School of Medicine was set up at Edinburgh University (1941), and a dozen Polish ex-combatant associations and other Polish groups opened clubs as far afield as Alloa, Galashiels and Falkirk. The Archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh became an important Polish centre:

²⁰² *Dalkeith Advertiser*, 7 Feb 1901 'Polish labour in the Coal Mines of Scotland'

²⁰³ *Dalkeith Advertiser*, 4 Jan 1906, 'Scottish Miners' Conference: Polish Labour'

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ James D. White, 'Lithuanians in Scotland, 1900-1920,' *Coexistence*, No 29 (1992), 203

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 202-203

²⁰⁷ Thomas Kernberg, 'The Polish Community in Scotland,' *Coexistence*, No 29 (1992), 211

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 211

²⁰⁹ SCA AHC65/51 Leon Koczy, *Haste ye back to Scotland* (Edinburgh: The Scottish-Polish Society, 1977), 10

in 1941, at meeting in Edinburgh's City Chambers, a new Scottish-Polish Society was inaugurated and by 1945 it had 9,800 members, some 3,000 of them located in Fife.

Two years after the end of the War, however, the willingness of Poles to work and take on even the most menial and arduous manual tasks irritated certain sections of political opinion and led to heated exchanges in the House of Commons. In one case, the Communist MP, Phil Piratin, attacked Polish ex-servicemen who were working as barmen, waiters, porters and also as musicians — then latter without being members of the Musicians' Union. The Poles, however, were caught in a cleft stick, arguing (as Conservative Alan Lennox-Boyd also complained): 'Is it not the case in some quarters of the House that if Poles take jobs they are abused, if they do not they are called drones?'²¹⁰ A year later, a meeting of the Scottish-Polish Society in Edinburgh passed a resolution calling on the government to enquire into the illegal prevention of Poles obtaining employment in industries where there was a manpower shortage and also to investigate the motives of the Council for Civil Liberties, the Communist Party, *The Daily Worker* and other groups and newspapers in what appeared to be 'a joint conspiracy to deny human rights to our Polish allies.'²¹¹ MP John McKay complained that a 'number of Poles trained in this country for coalmining, have been refused work.'²¹² Ness Edwards, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, admitted that the districts mainly concerned included Scotland but added that 'On 1st August [1947] 857 Poles who had completed their training, had not been placed. The case is [due to] misunderstanding by local lodges of the provisions of the national agreement, which the national and area officials of the National Union of Mineworkers are assisting to remove.'²¹³ In due course, the resistance against Poles collapsed, they joined the NUM and showed that language was no barrier to integration — with the notable exception of the Wellsley Colliery in the East Neuk of Fife whose NUM lodge consistently refused to employ Polish workers up to its closure in 1967.²¹⁴

In 1948, in a further effort to provide pastoral oversight for the 17,000 Scottish Poles and their eight Polish priests, Fr Louis Bombas (who had been working in Edinburgh for some years) was appointed superior for the Polish Mission in Scotland.²¹⁵ Yet other factors

²¹⁰ Hansard (House of Lords 18 Nov 1947 and Commons 22 Jan and 19 Feb 1948) quoted in Koczy, op. cit., 10

²¹¹ Koczy, op. cit., 27-28

²¹² Hansard (House of Commons), vol 447 (1947-48), 1643-1644

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Letter to author from Dan Imrie, 24 Apr 2004

²¹⁵ SCA DE68/8/10 Abp A J McDonald, Edinburgh to Card A. Hlond, 22 Sep 1948

assisted the Poles: over the following two decades they successfully integrated into the Scottish community through inter-marriage, entering the teaching profession or, like the Edinburgh-based painter Aleksander Zyw (1905-1995), formerly war artist to the Polish forces and member of the 1st (Polish) Armoured Division, contributing to Scottish culture.

Italians

The first Italian immigrants to Edinburgh had come before 1880. However, even after 1960, as Fr Silvio Crestani (chaplain for Italians in Scotland during the 1980s) observed, many of those that followed had not been educated beyond the elementary stage — and could neither read nor write.²¹⁶ While Glasgow's Italians came from two provinces (Toscana and Lazio), those in Edinburgh formed a more integrated group as they were mainly from one province (Frosinone), practising cousin marriage, a custom among the tiny mountain hamlets.²¹⁷ Between 1933 and 1939 the main Italian communities were Glasgow (4,000), Edinburgh (1,500) and Dundee (1,000).²¹⁸ With the dominance of right-wing politics in Italy during the 1920s and 1930s, Edinburgh's Picardy Place *fascio* [fascist club] flourished but Mussolini's declaration of war on 10 June 1940 saw an explosion of xenophobia in which Edinburgh was the most affected city in Britain; in an Italian *krystalnacht* [night of broken glass] some 1,000 protesters assembled in Leith Street and Union Place and the windows of Italian premises all over the city were smashed — vandalism largely instigated by John Cormack and Protestant Action, according to Archbishop Andrew Joseph McDonald.²¹⁹ Intimidation was followed by internment and then tragic loss of life when the *Arandora Star*, carrying political prisoners from Liverpool to Canada, was torpedoed by a German U-boat on 2 July 1940 with the loss of more than 700 lives (including 446 Italian men).²²⁰ Yet, even in the face of tragedy, hope managed to prevail. Several hundred Italian prisoners of war, captured during the North African campaign, transformed two Nissen huts in Camp 60 on Lambholm Island in Orkney into a Catholic chapel decorated with wall-paintings. In December 1945 the repatriation of the 140,000 of Italian PoWs began; by 1946 only 1,500 remained in the agricultural sector; after

²¹⁶ SCA DE68/3/1 Fr S. P. Crestani, nd 1980 (?)

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 77

²¹⁸ Terri Colpi, *The Italian Factor* (Edinburgh; Mainstream Publishing, 1991), 74

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 105

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 115

the war 841 Italian women came to Britain as the 'war brides' of British soldiers in Italy.²²¹ After 1945 there was very little new Italian immigration to Scotland.

Like the Lithuanians and the Poles, the Italians were much more isolated by the language barrier than the nineteenth-century Irish had ever been, as few had the opportunity to study English properly; in spite of this, by the 1960s, the Italian immigrant community was well integrated into the local Church and in Bishop Mario Conti had produced a member of the Catholic hierarchy.²²² Nevertheless, for some change was not easy. For many years the older Italians still preferred to receive the Sacrament of Confession from Italian-speaking priests — as Fr Crestani observed in the 1980s (when there were 10,500 Italians with Italian passports, 600 Italian shops in Glasgow and Edinburgh and 250 Italian restaurants residing in Scotland): 'They very emphatically state that they cannot express themselves as clearly with a British priest as they can with an Italian one.'²²³

Reviewing the situation of the Italians in Scotland, Terri Colpi comments that traditionally there was some resentment directed at Italian missionary priests from the local ecclesial structures and that Italian immigrants were surprised to find that the 'local Catholic hierarchy, in the face of Presbyterianism, has been at pains to calvinise Catholicism.'²²⁴ Moreover, Colpi concludes, Scottish Italians 'have certainly lost all touch with the cultural aspect of Italian Catholicism, and as a consequence have lost contact with much of Italian culture and language.'²²⁵

French

During the Second World War intensive efforts were made to promote French language and culture to Scottish schoolchildren. In May 1940 the Secretary of State for Scotland set up a Franco-Scottish Relations Committee for this purpose.²²⁶ Later that year the establishment of a French Institute was also first mooted.²²⁷ More visible signals of Scotland's support for beleaguered France appeared in October 1942 when a Breton-Scottish demonstration in Glasgow featured a parade through the city of French troops and sailors.²²⁸

²²¹ Colpi, *op. cit.*, 129

²²² SCA DE68/3/1 Fr S. P. Crestani, nd 1980 (?)

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ Colpi, *op. cit.*, 240

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 241

²²⁶ NAS ED48/195/1 Franco-Scottish Relations Committee, 3 May 1940

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1 Nov 1940

²²⁸ NAS ED48/195/1 Franco-Scottish Relations Committee, 6 Nov 1942

By September 1945 the impending visit of the Comedie-Française to Edinburgh and Glasgow brought a plea to Harvey Wood of the British Council that schoolchildren should attend the performances.²²⁹ With the opening of the French Institute in Edinburgh in November 1946, the seal was set on a new era of Scottish-French cultural exchange, developed through language and cultural classes and events. By 1958 there were 308 French nationals living in Edinburgh, over 400 in Glasgow and another fifty French men and women who had settled in Scotland after marrying Scots.²³⁰

Belgians

The Belgians who came to Scotland played both an active and a passive role: among a number of Continental priests who served in Scotland during the second half of the nineteenth century were Belgians such as Fr Francis Beurms (ordained in Edinburgh in 1869 and died in Newport in 1895). Later, during the First World War, groups of wounded Belgian soldiers were cared for in Scotland in locations as diverse as Fort Augustus Abbey or the city of Perth (where they were ministered to by the Redemptorist priests of Kinnoull Hill) and collections were taken in churches across Scotland for their welfare. At the end of hostilities they were repatriated and so had only a negligible impact on the Scottish Catholic community.

Germans

Whereas in 1914 German Catholics in Scotland (such as the lay brothers of Fort Augustus) were interned in England, in the late 1940s camps all over Scotland housed German prisoners of war, many of them (such as the Nazis imprisoned near Perth) regarded by the authorities as highly dangerous. In 1944, Fr Gordon Gray (the future archbishop) was a curate at Hawick in the Borders where he ministered not only to Polish troops but to PoWs at Newcastleton (Italian) and Stobs (German). One of the German PoWs was a Catholic priest; Gray procured a clerical suit and a bicycle so that the priest could attend to his fellow-

²²⁹ NAS ED48/195/1 Franco-Scottish Relations Committee, 3 Sep 1945

²³⁰ SCA DE68/1/12 S. le Camus to Abp G. J. Gray, 23 Feb 1958

prisoners, 'some of whom came each Sunday to sing in the [Hawick] church choir, and one of whom played the organ for Mass.'²³¹ A number of Catholic Germans settled down in Scotland, marrying Scottish girls and in some cases converting to the Church of Scotland.

British Hondurans

One of the most specialised national groups were the (mainly Catholic) forestry workers recruited from British Honduras (now Belize).²³² Beginning in 1941, around 1,000 members of the British Honduras Forestry Unit came up the Clyde and were sent to logging-camps in Dumfriesshire (Kirkpatrick Fleming), Duns, East Linton and to the North of Scotland — Golspie, Ullapool and Lochcarron.²³³ After the war, some 200 stayed behind in Britain (about 50 in the Edinburgh area), secured employment and married local girls.²³⁴ Some went into the Forces, others went to the coal mines or trained as engineers in Paisley with a view to working for Rolls Royce — the latter, however, 'did a complete about-turn and withdrew the offer [of employment] on discovery that the men were Black.'²³⁵ In the Edinburgh area the men found employment with the Scottish Motor Traction Company and the Edinburgh Railway Company.

In religious terms, Scotland was also a culture-shock for them. In Corozal, Ernest Phillips had been educated by American Jesuits in a parish where the church was the centre of community life, with religious services, sports facilities and a library attached; Phillips had been a regular altar-server. Having watched many Hollywood films about the mistreatment of black people in the USA, his ambition was to get out of Honduras and see if other countries were kinder to black people than America had been. He also wanted to join the Royal Air Force.

After arriving in Scotland, Phillips spent a year as a lumberjack, then took a first-aid course at a hospital in Ayrshire, before being sent to the North of Scotland to prepare the logging camps for the arrival of his fellow Hondurans. In 1943, having worked in the camps

²³¹ Michael T. R. B. Turnbull, *Cardinal Gordon Joseph Gray* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1993), 27

²³² *THIS SCOTLAND Tree Fellers* (Scottish Television broadcast, 29 Jun 2004)

²³³ Amos A. Ford, *Telling the Truth — The life and times of the British Honduran Forestry Unit in Scotland (1941-45)* (London: Karia Press, 1985)

²³⁴ Imperial War Museum Photograph Archive — Subject List 269 'West Indians in Britain during the Second World War, 1940-45 (12724D, 12715D, 12728D, 12723D)

²³⁵ Ford, op. cit., 79

for some years, he volunteered for the Royal Air Force and, after training as a rear-gunner in Shropshire and Wales, completed 17 sorties flying as a rear-gunner in Lancaster bombers out of Mildenhall, near Newmarket.

When the war finished Phillips wanted to take a further education course. While in the RAF he had started classes in bookkeeping run by the Colonial Office, but flying duties interrupted his studies. Once demobbed, because he had no permanent address he was still unable to get onto any course and he found it impossible even to get a grant. 'I eventually got married,' recalled Phillips, but there were also clear signs of racial prejudice in Scotland: 'That was some problem getting housed — I didn't expect [it] ... because everyone was so friendly during the war. You see the papers "Rooms to let." You go and ask and they say "It's taken." Families which befriended the Hondurans were given offensive names (*darkie lovers, nigger lovers*) and the girls they went out with were referred to as 'prostitutes' — fortunately, the men also experienced friendliness and comradeship from some Scots.²³⁶ Unable to find housing, Phillips reluctantly became a coal miner: 'I went to the pits because you see adverts "If you go down the mines you get a house." I lived in a mining village and stayed in the pits for 23 years; then I was advised to leave as I had a respiratory disease.'

The Catholic Church in Scotland did not prove to be the caring mother Phillips was used to at home. At Christmas 1941, three weeks after the arrival of the Hondurans in Whittinghame, East Lothian, one of the men died tragically. The parish priest in Dunbar was asked if he would conduct the funeral mass. He refused, saying he'd never seen any of the men in church and didn't know if the deceased was a Catholic. He expected them to send home for documentary evidence of their affiliation — which was well nigh impossible at the time because of the war. So the men asked the Church of Scotland minister and he obliged. The same priest from Dunbar celebrated mass at East Linton on a Sunday, only a mile away from the Honduran camp, but the men would have nothing to do with him. The priest never came to the camp, unlike the local minister. Such problems were not confined to St Andrews and Edinburgh. While Phillips was working in the North of Scotland a local priest put a notice in the camp dining hall 'Priest coming to say mass at 9 o'clock Thursday morning.' However, the men (who were paid by piecework) were reluctant to stay off work as they suspected they would lose a day's pay and mass took place with only Phillips and two cooks attending. The priest was not happy and did not come back, but the Church of Scotland minister visited quite often.

²³⁶ Ford, op. cit., 75

One day during the war, Phillips went up to Edinburgh for mass at St Mary's Cathedral. Back in his home town everything had revolved around the church. Phillips assumed it was the same in Scotland. After mass he went round to the presbytery to introduce himself to the clergy. A priest opened the door, saw him and then excused himself. He returned soon after and made to drop two half-crowns into Phillips' hand. He thought he had come for charity. Phillips, outraged, replied 'That's not what I came here for. I came because I was a Catholic and came to introduce myself and be friendly. But if that's your attitude you can keep your five shillings.' Phillips walked away. After the war, when the forestry camp was disbanded, a hostel for the Honduran workers was opened at No 16, York Place in Edinburgh (not far away from St Mary's Cathedral House), but Phillips never came back to the Cathedral again.

Phillips married in 1947. The priest asked for his baptismal certificate. Phillips said to himself 'Ah, to Hell, I'll not bother' and got married in a registry office instead. When the couple settled down in Tranent, East Lothian, he wrote home for his christening certificate. The subsequent church wedding was conducted with little ceremony: 'We went to the church one night and got married. There were no photographs and no wedding-reception.' Other men from British Honduras had the same difficulty in getting their baptismal records, so they often got married in the Church of Scotland or at the registry office.²³⁷

Migrants and immigrants to Scotland — from the Irish navy to the Lithuanian or Polish miner — increased the Scottish workforce when it was most needed. However, as soon as they seemed to pose a threat to the employment of Scots, their presence was resented. Scots appeared only too eager to repatriate Lithuanians in the early years of the twentieth century, the Irish in the 1920s and the Poles in the 1940s. But for such economic migrants Scotland offered almost the only hope of prosperity, safety and the chance to bring children up in security.

The record of the Catholic Church towards those who came to its shores for legitimate reasons (such as employment, whether temporary or permanent) showed successes but also failures. The Irish, by their sheer weight of numbers and the imminent threat of schism, forced the Catholic Church to restore its hierarchy, so strengthening its ability to administer large numbers of what was a volatile migrant population.

²³⁷ Interview by author with Ernest Phillips, 28 Aug 2004

Poles, Ukrainians and Lithuanians posed no such large-scale threat to the Catholic community, rather they put pressure only on the (almost secularised) 'Protestant work ethic' mainly in primary industries such as coal mining — just as the capacity for hard manual work shown by the (largely Catholic) Irish labourer alarmed those working Scots for whom the industrial status quo brought some financial security and moderate prosperity.

While the Italians worked mainly in the catering industry and in cultural activities, the men of the British Honduran Forestry Unity had a much narrower remit. But, almost like German or Italian prisoners of war, the English-speaking Hondurans were confined to relatively remote work camps by the rural nature of their work. The colour of their skin made it difficult for many Scots to adjust to their inter-marriage with native inhabitants of the host nation, unlike the Italians or Poles whose gallantry in love went before them.

While the migrant Irish in the mid-nineteenth century besieged Propaganda with demands to preserve their own distinctive style of worship, the Hondurans in the 1940s, much smaller in number and visibly different in appearance (beyond the exaggeration of the anti-Irish caricaturists), approached the Catholic Church in Scotland for sustenance and were given a stone. While the Poles had their Mission, the Italians their chaplain and the Ukrainians their own church in Edinburgh, the English-speaking, Commonwealth men of Belize found little recognition from the Catholic clergy or people. In their case, the Catholic community and the hierarchy spectacularly failed them, allowing canon law to come before commonsense and common decency.

Conclusion

Although the Scottish hierarchy strove manfully to raise the aspirations of Scottish Catholics and their quality of life, it would appear that, (in spite of the hoped-for benefits offered by the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act), there was little tangible improvement in either in terms of higher education until after the Second World War. At least one of the 'triple guarantees', seen as a cornerstone of the 1918 Act, proved to be largely built on sand. The price the Catholic Church paid for economic and social improvement was the gradual erosion of the *ethos* of Catholic schools, mainly through the on-going shortfall in Catholic teachers and the weakness of the system of teacher approval — two sides of the same coin.

To some extent, however, Catholic Education in general had been overtaken by events. In October 1965 the Second Vatican Council issued its 'Declaration on Christian Education' (*Gravissimum educationis*) which re-emphasised the interdependence of the internal and external aims of Catholic Education:

... since the Catholic school can be of such service in developing the mission of the People of God and in promoting dialogue between the Church and the community at large to the advantage of both, it is still of vital importance even in our times.²³⁸

This was a realistic acceptance that the position of the Catholic school had changed since 1918, but it was also a re-affirmation of the value of the Church's educational activities. As such it had considerable significance within the Scottish context, as became apparent over the following quarter century. Catholic Education (in the broadest sense, also including parish-based catechetical programmes) at its best, provided an all-round physical, intellectual and spiritual formation, whose core values were morality and imagination. In the practice of the Catholic faith, the symbiotic relationship between Irish migrants and aristocratic converts led to the beginnings of integration with Scottish society. However, it was not until the last decade of the twentieth century that it would be possible to say that Catholics permeated every level of the Scottish social fabric.

The evidence of this full integration would not come until the early 1990s. A breakfast meeting hosted by Lothian Regional Council at the Sheraton Hotel, Edinburgh on Sunday 24 January 1993 had as its eminent guests: Cardinal Gordon J. Gray (the first post-Reformation cardinal of Scotland), Archbishop Keith Patrick O'Brien of St Andrews and Edinburgh, the entrepreneur Sir Tom Farmer CBE, Sir Frank McWilliams (former Lord Mayor of London), Mary Rose Caden OBE (President of Scotland's oldest trade union, the Educational Institute of Scotland) and Gerry Wilson CBE, Secretary and Head of the Scottish Education Department. All had one thing in common — each was a former pupil of Holy Cross Academy in Leith — one was a native-born Irishman, most of the others of Irish stock. In 1965 however, such public achievement on the part of Scottish Catholics was only in its infancy.

²³⁸ Austin Flannery (ed.), *Vatican Collection Vol.1: Vatican Council II. The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents* (Northport: Costello Publishing Company — first publ. 1975; 1988 Revised 8th edition), 733

3. THE LEGAL AND FINANCIAL STATUS OF THE CHURCH 1878 - 1965

Introduction

The late 1870s were a period of worldwide challenge and change — in 1876 Alexander Graham Bell patented the telephone; two years later Edison did the same for the phonograph. In Italy, 1878 marked the death of King Victor Emmanuel II; the following year, in Bavaria, Albert Einstein was born. In literature, the year 1878 first saw the Edinburgh-born advocate Robert Louis Stevenson's 'Edinburgh — Picturesque Notes' in print, a text alive with the atmospheric description of both the beauty and the squalor of the Old Town, home to many Irish labourers and their families. 'Even in the chief thoroughfares Irish washings flutter at the windows, and the pavements are encumbered with loiterers,' is Stevenson's telling description — so different, he concludes, from the 'shrewd Scotch workmen [who] may have paused on their way to a job, debating Church affairs and politics with their tools upon their arm.'¹ This was a stereotype rejected even by native Scots Catholics — their work-ethic was as much the conspicuous creation of wealth as their Protestant neighbours' and in any case, Stevenson's unconscious prejudice fails to do justice to the heroic workload of the Irish navvies, so essential in establishing the infrastructure of the industrial revolution.

The restoration of the Scots Catholic hierarchy in 1878 was one of the first acts of a new Pope, Leo XIII, but this was not so much the inevitable product of a burgeoning, well-developed and well-integrated Catholic community, as a desperate attempt by the Congregation of Propaganda to shore up a Scottish Church which (threatened by poverty and under pressure from accelerating Irish migration), had been almost mortally fractured by ethnic conflict in the West between Scots and Irish Catholics.

For the Scottish Catholic Church, the restoration of the hierarchy, the re-jigging of boundaries and personnel it implied, provided an opportunity to begin to defuse such conflict, by building bridges between the disparate traditions and cultures which had threatened to pull the Scottish Church apart. The new hierarchy urgently needed to establish a sound economic and legal foundation which would form a springboard for a great leap forward of the Catholic community. Bishops and clergy would have taken note of Leo XIII's first encyclical, *Inscrutabili Dei consilio* ('On the Evils of Society') promulgated on 21 April

¹ Robert Louis Stevenson, *Edinburgh — Picturesque Notes*, 7th ed., (London: Seeley & Co, 1900), 33

1878, in which he attacked 'the contempt of the laws which regulate morals and defend justice ... the thriftless administration, the squandering of the public moneys.'² There was also an object lesson about prudent financial controls closer to home — in October 1878, thousands all over Scotland heard the horrifying news of the City of Glasgow Bank failure and followed the subsequent criminal trial; the six directors of the Bank (who had strong Free Church connections), had fraudulently lost some £5,190,983.³

For more than a decade after 1878, however, the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy was dogged by disputes over finance. First (the constrictions of the past), there was the question of how the income of the three former districts should be distributed between the new metropolitan see of St Andrews and Edinburgh (with its four suffragan sees) and the new archdiocese of Glasgow. Second (the challenge of the future), the bishops had to find additional ways of restructuring their sources of funding in order to support their new status and responsibilities.

Although Leo XIII, in his apostolic letter of 4 March 1878 to the Scots bishops, admitted that 'adequate means' did not yet exist for the support of the clergy, he put the onus squarely on the shoulders of the Scots laity ('our beloved sons in Christ'), urging them to contribute 'still more ample alms and offerings.'⁴ Fortified by trusts, bequests and church collections (contributed principally, but not exclusively, by lay people), the bishops' chief concern was the nurturing of missions (through, for example, loans or collections); financial support also had to be found for individual priests and for the bishops themselves; in addition, the Church was involved in maintaining and constructing new buildings (both at home and at its Continental seminaries), in paying and receiving rents and in managing investments through trusts, bonds and legacies.

The key, therefore, to the success of the new episcopal authority was money. At the first meeting of the finance committee of the archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh on 13 September 1878 the lid was lifted on a Pandora's box which would pit the Scots bishops against each other for many years to come.⁵ For almost the next quarter century the bishops were locked in an intense and debilitating legal wrangle as they struggled to consolidate the financial base on which, ultimately, their future stability depended.

² James J. McGovern, *Official Edition of the Life and Life-Work of Pope Leo XIII* (Chicago: Allied Printing, 1903), 311-12

³ Christina Robertson and Grant Baird, 'Serious Money,' *The Sunday Mail Story of Scotland*, No 36 (1984), 989

⁴ SCA ED7/8/3 Apostolic Letter ... by which the Episcopal Hierarchy in Scotland is restored (Edinburgh: J. Miller & Sons, 1878), 14 -15

⁵ SCA DE39/1 First Meeting of the Financial Committee of the Archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh, 13 Sep 1878

Understandably, the Church's financial affairs often had to be conducted by means of legal processes — both ecclesiastical and civil. In Rome, the Congregation of Propaganda continued the supportive relationship developed under the previous system of Scots vicariates, although there were times when the complexities of Scottish affairs were too subtle even for the most ingenious Roman — in 1885, referring to a particularly arcane problem in the western Highlands, Archbishop Charles Eyre of Glasgow observed to Archbishop William Smith in Edinburgh, that 'It will be impossible for Propaganda to comprehend their intricacies.'⁶ When necessary, neither priests nor bishops hesitated to make use of the civil courts to resolve their financial or administrative problems. Indeed, the dispute over the re-division of inter-diocesan funds proved so prolonged, so inscrutable and so intractable that Bishop Bewick of Hexham and Newcastle (who had been appointed as arbiter by Rome), protested in 1886 that the disharmony among the Scots bishops made his position increasingly untenable.⁷

Canon Law

Despite their unshakeable determination to extract the last penny to which they were entitled and their capacity for disagreement, the bishops sometimes found it hard to be masters of their own fate, to get a grip on their own financial systems and reform them in the light of new challenges. One difficulty was that, when dealing with legal matters in Rome, they were seldom able to promote their interests directly or in person — there were many intermediaries. Often, they had to entrust their affairs to a Roman agent (usually the rector of the Scots College). The agent, in turn, would normally hire a local Italian advocate. Only a few of the bishops had the opportunity or the expertise to act directly as the Bishop of Galloway, John McLachlan (who had studied at the Scots College), could; in 1886 he advised Archbishop William Smith (also a former Roman student), to do the work himself if at all possible, so cutting out the middle-man: 'Some years ago I refused to employ an Agent at Rome & did my own Agency there.'⁸

The Scots clergy, even though they might pride themselves on hard-earned *romanità* (Roman sophistication), could seldom escape their own argumentative Caledonian temperament. There were also men such as James Campbell (rector of the College from 1878 to 1897), who, at the end of an increasingly controversial term of office, felt sorely aggrieved at his treatment by Propaganda; retired and infirm, he himself (although still living

⁶ SCA ED4/43/4 Abp C. P. Eyre to Bp W. Smith, 19 Feb 1885

⁷ SCA ED4/59/10 Bp J. W. Bewick to Abp W. Smith, 8 Jun 1886

⁸ SCA ED4/17/18 Bp J. McLachlan to Abp W. Smith, 7 May 1886

in Rome), had to employ an agent for his quarrel with Propaganda over the compensation to which he believed he was entitled. Campbell had retired in 1897, evidently leaving badly kept records, debts and general chaos behind him.⁹ But he would not go quietly. Within a year, Campbell's successor as rector, Robert Fraser, advised Archbishop Angus MacDonald in Edinburgh that:

Mr Campbell's agent has just sent to Propaganda a letter threatening judicial proceedings if his claims are not considered. To finish the business the Cardinal means on his producing names of those who lent him money for the College to pay them but the money will go directly to them & nothing to Campbell.¹⁰

For priests in Scotland, an appeal to Propaganda over the heads of the hierarchy was always an option for those who thought their bishops guilty of mismanagement. Ironically, Campbell had himself written to Archbishop MacDonald in 1894, warning him of the Aberdeen clergy's simmering dissatisfaction over their bishop's financial direction, but adding that he believed there was little justification in their complaint :

Mr Grant informed me that some of the clergy were preparing a remonstrance against some regulations of the Bishop of Aberdeen regarding the administration of certain funds ... I do not think that Propaganda will give them much of a hearing.¹¹

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, pressure intensified to codify canon law out of its disparate collection of documents into a single coherent whole. In July 1908, Robert Fraser, rector of the Scots College, Rome advised Archbishop James Smith in Edinburgh to identify his most able priests and send them to Rome to train as canon lawyers:

Once the new Canon Law comes into force you would do well to get one of your cleverest priests to come & graduate in Law & make him a right hand man. Galloway means my present Decano [deacon] to do Canon Law. Monsignor Melata told me he had been asked to be an Uditore della Rota [auditor of the Rota] but had declined because of his eyesight. He is urging the authorities to have an English speaking priest made an Uditore di Rota [sic]. They are to get each 10,000 lire but they are obliged to have a junior to devil for them & they must pay him.¹²

⁹ SCA ED5/52/2 Fr R. Fraser to Abp A. MacDonald, 13 Jul 1897

¹⁰ SCA ED5/53/8 Fr R. Fraser to Abp A. MacDonald, 11 May 1898

¹¹ SCA ED5/505 Fr J. Campbell to Abp A. MacDonald, 16 Aug 1894

¹² SCA ED6/54/10 Fr R. Fraser to Abp J. Smith, 21 Jul 1908

Being a student in Rome had its compensations but also its dangers. During the autumn of 1908, a number of Scots College men, riding on horseback in the countryside (dressed in their distinctive clerical garb), ran up against some local youths who taunted the Scots. The Italians then produced a knife and one of the seminarians was wounded. After a great deal of prevarication, the police finally brought the assailants to justice. Robert Fraser reported:

I have been following with interest the M [orning]. Post accounts of the trial. Five days before it began the Government told the V.R. [vice rector] it would be very advisable for us to engage a lawyer in order to make sure of the conviction of the villains because they were going to say the students attacked them.¹³

In the same year, a ruling with more profound consequences appeared. At Easter 1908, in the decree *Ne Temere*, the Vatican signalled a change in the older, more lax ways of obtaining dispensations for 'mixed marriages' between Catholics and those of other denominations. Two months later, in the constitution *Sapientia consilio*, Pius X reconstituted the Sacra Rota Romana as one of the three tribunals of the Holy See; it now became a court of appeal from episcopal tribunals — a future dean of which would be Edinburgh-born convert, William Theodore Heard (1884-1973). From the Scots College, Fraser sent a warning to Archbishop Smith that the new structures would almost certainly lead to heavier costs for marriage dispensations:

It is drastic & means heavy expense for Bps & priests for every favour instead of the *grati quacumque solutione*. I went immediately & handed in your demand for 100 mixed marriages & had some talk with Laureate on the new state of affairs. He dropped me the hint that you ought to represent that though Great Britain is rich the Church in G.B. is not rich & ask for reduced charges.¹⁴

Two weeks later, Smith had his dispensations. Those 100 cases were the final ones to be obtained under the old regulations, Fraser commenting that they were 'the last you'll get under the old regime. It will be the Holy Office after this.'¹⁵

The long-awaited revision of canon law was promulgated by Benedict XV on 27 May 1917, the Feast of Pentecost. The new code of canon law was given full binding force from the following Pentecost. At the end of 1918 each Scottish bishop was pressed to send his views on the application of the code to Scotland; in particular, they were to comment on

¹³ SCA ED6/54/13 Fr R. Fraser to Abp J. Smith, 17 Oct 1908

¹⁴ SCA ED6/54/9 Fr R. Fraser to Abp J. Smith, 13 Jul 1908

¹⁵ SCA ED6/54/11 Fr R. Fraser to Abp J. Smith, 27 Jul 1908

canon 216 (dealing with the conversion of existing Scottish missions into parishes), a priority identified by the Congregation of the Consistory.¹⁶

From London, early in 1919, the Apostolic Visitor, Mgr William Brown, wrote to Archbishop Smith. Bishop Toner of Dunkeld had already informed Brown that he had approached Smith regarding Brown's suggestion that some of the bishops go to Rome in the very near future:

... The question of the application of the Canon Law to Scotland is one which should be discussed then and all the various difficulties in the way of its complete adoption gone into carefully. I am convinced that the Holy See will not be satisfied with a policy of remaining in statu quo ... in many missions the new law can easily come into force.¹⁷

In January 1920, having reported to Rome, the Scottish bishops were informed by their Protector, Cardinal Cajetano de Lai that the criteria to be used for the conversion of mission stations into parishes would be the diocesan census figures already submitted by the bishops; those missions which could not be converted (because, for example, their congregations were too small), would remain directly dependent on the bishops.¹⁸

Scots Law

The ownership of property was central to the survival of the Catholic Church in Scotland. Scottish conveyancing law, by providing all that was needed for permanent trusts with ex officio trustees, avoided certain difficulties to be found in the English legal system.¹⁹ Possession of land or housing gave the Church financial muscle and new acquisitions were welcomed. Writing in 1876, Fr John Smith of St John's, Portobello in Edinburgh, reported:

There is a new property fallen into Catholic hands near Aberfeldy — a Majir [sic] Stuart of Ballechie, or some name like that — has died leaving the entail to a sisters son — who is Catholic ...²⁰

The Scots bishops also appreciated the importance of rationalising land ownership so as to avoid future difficulties. In 1886, John McLachlan, the first Bishop of Galloway, warned his metropolitan, Archbishop Smith, about the deeds of the parish church in Creetown:

¹⁶ SCA ED6/36/5 Bp D. Mackintosh to Abp J. Smith, 22 Dec 1918

¹⁷ SCA ED6/38/15 Mgr W. Brown to Abp J. Smith, 4 Jan 1919

¹⁸ SCA ED6/36/14 Bp D. Mackintosh to Abp J. Smith, 4 Jan 1920

¹⁹ SCA ED12/32/16 W. Considine to Mgr W. Brown, nd

²⁰ SCA ED6/87/18 Fr J. Smith to 'Dear James', 1 May 1876

... I confess I am not at all satisfied with the Document. It gives possession of the Creetown Church to a perpetual corporate Trust consisting of the Bp. of the Eastern District & the two priests of St. Mary's & St. Patrick's, Edinburgh, & their respective successors ex officio. This wont do. The property must be made over to our Galloway Diocesan Trustees exclusively.²¹

The sometimes cavalier *alienation* of property (transfer of ownership) and its relationship to canon law exercised the minds of a number of the bishops. 'My dearest Angus,' wrote Bishop Hugh MacDonald of Aberdeen in 1892 to his natural brother Archbishop Angus MacDonald in Edinburgh (both had been born in Borrodale, Inverness-shire and also understood one another well):

The Synod of Fort Augustus [1886] lays down that the beneplacitur of the Holy See is required for the alienation of Church Property in this Country. My chapter [of canons] laughed me to scorn the other day, when I declared it to be my belief that the beneplacitur is needed for feuing — for in this part of the world, they have been feuing right & left without thinking of the Holy See, or even of this Bishop's consent! Most of our Properties are themselves feus, eg at Strichen we have 8 acres for which we pay 1/- a year; which is in truth a more advantageous manner of holding property than feu simple, for we escape a No. of burdens. I wonder if this manner of holding Church property, in feu, instead of in feu simple, would make any difference? Or would hinder such property from being, strictly speaking, a *bonum ecclesiasticum*?²²

The income from feus could also be used as a formidable weapon in ecclesiastical politics and the point was made from time to time that feus held in trust by the bishops were Church not episcopal property.²³ In October 1886, archdiocesan solicitor William Considine hurriedly sent a letter to Archbishop Smith (then in Rome), warning him of the scheming of his colleague, Bishop George Rigg of Dunkeld, who, in Smith's absence, had asked Considine to send him the Trust papers of the Greenhill Estate in Edinburgh:

The demand thus intimated in name of Bishop Rigg and Dean Clapperton is a malicious attempt, in your absence, to take the agency from out of my hands with a view to the collection of the Martinmas feuduties by them in order that I may be unable to meet your Grace's liabilities ... If followed it can only end in ruin to the Diocese and scandal to the Church generally in the whole Kingdom.²⁴

²¹ SCA ED4/17/20 Bp J. McLachlan to Abp W. Smith, 21 May 1886

²² SCA ED5/4/7 Bp H. MacDonald to Abp A. MacDonald, 27 Dec 1892;

²³ SCA ED4/27/7 Bp G. Rigg to Fr W. Smith, 20 Jan 1885

²⁴ SCA ED4/65/2 W. Considine to Abp W. Smith, Rome, 21 Oct 1886. See also APF SC Fondo Scozia 7 (1867-1878), ff 192-297; APF SC Fondo Scozia 8 (1879 -1885); APF SC

There were some donations of money or property which were gifted to bishops in such a way that they were unable to meet the conditions attached to the gift. When the Third Marquess of Bute left £20,000 each in his will to the bishops of Argyll and of Galloway for the erection of churches at Oban and Whithorn, the bishops contested the bequest in 1904 as they were required by its terms 'not to plead immunity from civil proceeding should these arise in connection with their position.'²⁵ The Marquess, somewhat optimistically, had wanted the Divine Office [daily prayer] to be said or sung every day but the bishops could not guarantee this and preferred to use part of the money for the upkeep of the fabric and for the maintenance of other religious services.

The Mitchell Fund

Thomas Mitchell, the Episcopalian son of an estate factor from Kirriemuir in Angus, was converted to Catholicism in 1799 by Bishop George Hay (himself also a convert from the Episcopal Church). Having served as an officer with the Royal Scots in Egypt and later with the Welch Regiment in India, Captain Mitchell was invalided out of the Army and moved into a house at Inverleith Row in Edinburgh. In 1860 he inherited two estates in Angus. Mitchell, a bachelor and a man of profound piety, with great respect for the Catholic Church and its interests, died in 1865, leaving a bequest in trust to the Church of £50,000 (over £2m in 2004 values) as a fund for aged and infirm clergy. This is believed to be the largest ever single donation to the secular clergy of the Catholic Church in Scotland. In his will Thomas Mitchell underlines his motives for the Mitchell Trust benefaction and his awareness of how dependent the bishops were on funds supplied by the laity: 'I thank God whose blessed Providence has enabled me to restore to His Church so much of that property of which it was iniquitously despoiled.'²⁶

These are sentiments largely shared by other substantial benefactors such as Abbot Sir David Oswald Hunter Blair, the industrialist Robert Monteith and John Patrick, Third Marquess of Bute. Hunter Blair's successive donations to the monks of St Benedict's Abbey, Fort Augustus of £72,677 between 1877-79 considerably exceed Thomas Mitchell's generosity.²⁷ Moreover, current on-going research at the Bute Archives, Mount Stuart,

Fondo Scozia 9 (1886 -1892), ff 766-768: 21 Jul 1890; APF SC Fondo Scozia 9 (1886 - 1892), ff 2 - 37

²⁵ *The Scotsman*, 21 May 1904

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ James Darragh, 'Thomas Mitchell: a late eighteenth century convert' *IR* vol. 43, No 1 (Spring 1992), 70-73; SCA FA47/1 Liber Benefactorum monasterii S. Benedicti sub Lacu

strongly suggests that the cumulative contributions made by Lord Bute will almost certainly be shown to be greater by far than any other donations to the Catholic Church in Scotland.²⁸

Because of the critical importance of the inherited wealth of the Church, habits of prudent investment were valued highly by the bishops. Church officials such as Fr James McGregor, newly-appointed rector of Blairs College, Aberdeen, prided themselves on their ability to grow the money in their care. In November 1899 McGregor advised the bishops:

The Aberdeen Water Cooperative offer to renew the mortgages for three years at 3 p.c., but Bishop Chisholm is satisfied that the Trustees would not at this time tie up the money for the next three years at such a low rate of interest. It is proposed to place the money temporarily with the Aberdeen County Council which at present pays 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ p.c. When a likely investment, e.g. by bond over heritable property, is found the proposal will be duly sent round to the College Trustees for their consideration.²⁹

Unsurprisingly, there were risks in making investments, particularly those in new technology. When Sir Alexander Anderson, factor of the Charleston estate near Aberdeen (part of the Church portfolio), was forced to leave his old firm in 1866, Andrew Fleming, procurator at Blairs, unfolded the sorry story to Bishop John Strain:

The cause of the breakdown has been extensive and reckless speculation in Railway Stock, particularly of the Great North of Scotland Railway, which has come to such a bad state, as not to have been able to pay any dividend on its ordinary shares for the last twelve months, and so Sir Alexander and his partner have been ruined in the meantime. In the circumstances, my advice to your Lordship is this, not to go back to the old firm ... to remove the business of the factorship of Charleston, out of the hands of lawyers altogether, and to put it into the hands of a priest properly qualified to do the work ...³⁰

But clergymen were by no means always blessed with financial or legal acumen. Unexpectedly and inexplicably, in 1883 Archbishop Strain decided to dispense with the services of his Edinburgh solicitors, Tods Murray & Jamieson, much to the astonishment of his fellow bishops, principally Bishop McLachlan of Galloway:

... I am asked to enquire of your Grace whether while removing your own Archdiocesan business from Messrs Tods Murray & Jamieson there is any reason why the Edinburgh agency of that particular matter, in which the other Bishops are interested as well as your

²⁸ Email from Andrew McLean (Mount Stuart Archivist) to author, 26 Nov 2004

²⁹ SCA ED6/73/14 Fr J. McGregor to hierarchy, 7 Nov 1899

³⁰ SCA ED3/114/6 Fr A. Fleming to Bp J. Strain 24 Dec 1866

Grace, should also be removed. Archbishop Eyre & Bishop Macdonald say that like myself they were not aware of any proposed change & in view of the unfavourable impression anything of the kind is bound to create, they don't approve of it.³¹

When Strain died at the beginning of July 1883 it soon became clear that his affairs were in a state of confusion, not helped by his haphazard book-keeping.³² Left with the responsibility of rectifying the financial disaster inherited from Strain, administrator Mgr William Smith (who, after an interregnum of two years, in 1885 became archbishop) struggled to turn the affairs of the diocese around. Initially, he proposed to sell off a number of valuable paintings belonging to St Mary's Cathedral in Edinburgh. Smith wrote to the Marquess of Bute, who (then sailing on his yacht near Sorrento), warned against this course of action, fuming over Strain's financial incompetence:

It is plain that the late Abp. was personally responsible for his actions in regard to the Mitchell fund, and that he had no right to involve the Archbishoprick or the Archdiocese for the purpose of relieving himself ... His proper course would have been to place his whole personal estate in the hands of the Court — in fact, declare himself insolvent ... For the executors, however, now, simply to declare the estate insolvent and decline payment beyond the assets, would, I conceive, cause the Bank loudly to proclaim itself swindled ...³³

The Redistribution of Diocesan Income

The shortage of money was a controlling factor in the bishops' relations with each other. For the last quarter of the nineteenth century it was the equitable redistribution of pre-existing Trust funds that proved to be the most wearing source of conflict. It held back the full restoration of the hierarchy and used up much of the bishops' energies which might have been more fruitfully applied to building up the Catholic community and meeting its pressing needs.

In the Scottish Mission, disputes over funding were not a recent phenomenon.³⁴ Difficulties had already been caused in 1827 when the two vicariates were increased to three.³⁵ From at least 1870 the diocese of Dunkeld had financial disputes with St Andrews and Edinburgh; the latter, in turn, had lodged a claim on territory in the West, at Milngavie

³¹ SCA ED3/198/21 - 22 Bp J. McLachlan to Abp J. Strain, 2 Apr 1883

³² SCA ED12/6/2 Abp J. Strain: income, 1880

³³ SCA ED4/146/3 Lord Bute to Fr W. Smith, 22 Jul 1884

³⁴ SCA ED4/156/14 Card G. Simeoni to Fr W. Smith, 23 Apr 1870

³⁵ SCA ED4/39/4 Fr R. Clapperton to Bp J. W. Bewick, 28 Aug 1884

— this was at a time when the dioceses of Galloway and Aberdeen were also struggling to survive, their bishops making sure they received everything that was their due.³⁶ What made a solution more difficult was that two of the Church's biggest trusts — the Menzies Fund (set up in 1838) and the Mitchell Trust (1865) were formed before the restoration of the hierarchy.

The difficulty in implementing the new structure of 1878 emerged early. In the case of the Mission or *Quota* Fund, (distributed annually to the clergy), the fifty-five priests who had served in the former Eastern District now found themselves scattered between different dioceses — twenty-seven in St Andrews and Edinburgh, twenty in Dunkeld, six in Galloway, one in Glasgow and one in Aberdeen.³⁷ Seventy years later, when two new dioceses (Motherwell and Paisley) were formed, the scheme of division of Bishop Hay's Trust Funds also had to be changed to accommodate the reorganisation.³⁸

Uniquely, it was Dr John Carmont of Blairgowrie (a graduate of the Gregorian University, Rome), who, skilfully and single-mindedly, confronted the bishops over what he believed to be their mismanagement of the Mitchell Trust and, after a series of tortuous and acrimonious legal conflicts, saw the grounds of his complaint upheld and fully remedied. Carmont had a personal motive for being disenchanted with the ecclesiastical establishment. In 1865 he had applied to the bishops for a loan to cover his liabilities (which, at that time amounted to £500), but was refused.³⁹ Carmont suspected that he was being victimised because of an ancient disagreement: 'I can easily divine the reason, however, which lies at the bottom of his [Dr McPherson] declining to assist me. It goes back nearly nineteen years; but unpalatable words of truth stick long and fast in some people's gizzards.'⁴⁰

Any notion of consensus or harmony because the hierarchy had been restored was short-lived.⁴¹ Bishops George Rigg of Dunkeld and John MacLachlan of Galloway, for example, immediately dug their heels in over the proposed division of the territory.⁴² Then, as early as the middle of July 1878, Carmont wrote to the bishops urging them to cancel the 'incompetent and illegal ... division of the Mission Fund some years ago.'⁴³ That August, at a meeting of the clergy of the former Eastern District, Carmont read a paper questioning the

³⁶ SCA ED4/156/8 Card G. Simeoni to Fr W. Smith, 14 Jun 1887; SCA ED4/39/8 Fr R. Clapperton to Bp J. W. Bewick, 17 Oct 1884; SCA ED4/156/14 Card G. Simeoni to Fr W. Smith, 23 Apr 1870

³⁷ SCA DE40/13/1 Scheme of Division of Quota Fund of the late Eastern District, 2 Jul 1878

³⁸ SCA DE40/32 W. G. M. Dobie to Bp W. Mellon, 8 Dec 1950

³⁹ SCA ED3/174/8 Dr J. Carmont to Bp J. Strain, 12 Jun 1865; SCA ED3/174/9 Dr J. Carmont to Bp J. Strain, 27 Jun 1865

⁴⁰ SCA ED3/174/12 Dr J. Carmont to Bp J. Strain, 9 Jan 1866

⁴¹ SCA ED6/92/3 Fr J. M. Hare to Rev J. Smith, 18 May 1878

⁴² SCA ED6/40/14 Fr J. Campbell to Fr J. Smith, 5 Mar 1878

⁴³ SCA ED12/92/1 Dr J. Carmont to 'My Dear Lord', 14 Jul 1878

operation of the Mission Fund. Rigg proposed that a copy of the paper should be sent to every priest in the diocese; Carmont's paper warned that:

The Secular Clergy of Scotland possess altogether a Capital exceeding £16,000, the annual profits of which have been for a long time so distributed, as to effect the very smallest amount of good — frittered away, so to speak, in small *ex æquo* dividends to all Priests serving as Missionaries in Scotland although the large majority of them stand in no need of such assistance. And to make the matter worse, these annual profits are thus distributed ... in direct violation of its object and the intention of its Contributories.⁴⁴

In 1879 Carmont again wrote to his superiors condemning the 'criminal squandering' of mission funds by the former vicars apostolic — specifically, those of the Mitchell Trust.⁴⁵ By the terms of this Trust, the sum of £50,000 had been left to the Scottish bishops on the death in 1865 of Captain Thomas Mitchell (a former officer in the 42nd Highlanders, who had become a Catholic), with the purpose of forming a fund for aged and infirm clergy in Scotland.⁴⁶ The bishops, however, had used that money for other purposes.⁴⁷ Carmont challenged the bishops over their disbursements of the Mitchell Trust, scandalised at what he saw as their corruption and mismanagement of funds left by a man whom Carmont considered to be 'the greatest benefactor of the Catholic Church in Scotland since the era of the Reformation.'⁴⁸

As Propaganda was normally the ultimate court of appeal, the 'junior' bishops sent a letter to Rome in the latter half of 1880, criticising Strain. Propaganda (despite its distaste for the secular airing of church controversies), motivated by a pragmatic sense of self-preservation, recommended that this ecclesiastical gordian knot be sliced open in the civil courts.⁴⁹

Carmont formally petitioned the Court of Session in December 1882, claiming that half the accrued Mitchell capital of £52,400 had been lent by the bishops without any security and that the remainder had been invested without the trustees being made creditors in the bonds; there were also accumulations of income which could not be accounted for.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ SCA ED12/44/1 General Meeting of the Clergy of the late Eastern District, 8 Aug 1878

⁴⁵ SCA ED6/94/5 Dr J. Carmont to Fr J. Smith, 22 May 1879

⁴⁶ James Donleavy, *Historical Account of St Mary's Cathedral* (Edinburgh: J & W Meade, 1890), 137

⁴⁷ James Darragh, 'The Apostolic Visitations of Scotland, 1912 and 1917,' *IR*, vol. 51, No 1 (Spring 1990), 27

⁴⁸ SCA ED12/93/1 Memorandum by the Rev John Carmont [printed c 1882]

⁴⁹ SCA DE39/1 Twenty first Meeting of Financial Committee of the Archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh, 7 Dec 1880

⁵⁰ SCA ED12/95/4 Petition of The Rev John Carmont, 2 Mar 1883

Captain Mitchell, complained Carmont, had established one Trust which the trustees had then sub-divided into separate trusts.⁵¹ In essence, Carmont was taking issue with the former bishops of the three pre-existing vicariates who, at the time of Captain Mitchell's death, had divided the capital sum into three unequal parts; equally abhorrent to Carmont was the trustees' neglect in following Mitchell's clearly-expressed intention that the Trust be used, in the first instance, to set up a retirement home for old and sick priests.⁵²

Carmont infuriated the bishops by publishing two pamphlets detailing their correspondence with him.⁵³ By now, he had been forced to take several months' rest at Girvan, suffering, so his doctor asserted (much to the suspicion of the bishops), 'from general aenemia accompanied with a weak action of the heart and great bodily and nervous prostration.'⁵⁴

In his determination to right the wrongs which he so clearly perceived, Carmont had, nevertheless, embarrassed Propaganda by taking out a summons to bring the bishops (including his own bishop, George Rigg), before the civil courts.⁵⁵ At the Court of Session, the First Division ruled that a judicial factor should be appointed to investigate the accounts of the Mitchell Trust.⁵⁶ The appointment of a judicial factor would open the way to restore the Mitchell Trust to the position required by the Decree of Declaration previously obtained by Carmont, so making it possible for the two archbishops to become trustees in a restored and strengthened Trust.⁵⁷

The judicial factor, James A. Molleson CA, duly reported. The accumulating revenue in the Mitchell Trust, he noted, amounted to £10,710 but, he added, 'No separate accounts seem to have been kept for the funds in the Eastern or the Western divisions ... No bank accounts have been kept for the funds of the trust ...'⁵⁸ In the course of subsequent negotiations with Carmont, the bishops suggested a trade-off in return for Carmont's co-operation: they described themselves as 'under a deep obligation to Dr Carmont for being the means of bringing the Fund together'; they promised to apply to Rome for the removal of any 'censures' which he might have incurred.⁵⁹

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² SCA ED12/93/1 Memorandum by the Rev John Carmont [printed c 1882]

⁵³ Ibid. See also SCA ED12/95/1 Memorandum No II by the Rev John Carmont DD as to The Mitchell Fund, 1883

⁵⁴ SCA ED12/9/2 Dr C. S. Lunan: copy of medical certificate, 6 Jun 1882

⁵⁵ SCA ED3/91/1 Fr J. Campbell to Abp J. Strain, 1 Dec 1882

⁵⁶ SCA ED5/16/12-3 Bp J. McLachlan to Bp J. MacDonald, 7 Mar 1883

⁵⁷ SCA ED3/198/20 J. Craik to Abp J. Strain, 20 Mar 1883

⁵⁸ SCA ED12/95/6 Report by J. A. Molleson, 9 Jul 1883

⁵⁹ SCA ED12/95/8 Suggestions for settlement of litigation in petition Carmont, 11 Sep 1883

There was some magnanimous accommodation on Carmont's part; he was driven by a sense of realism. The bishops appealed to their priests; they wrote to 107 of the senior clergy in the six dioceses, asking them if they thought the Mitchell trustees should 'revert to the terms of the Will and erect and endow an asylum?'⁶⁰ Although there were only 56 replies, only three of these supported the bishops. Shortly afterwards, however, a meeting of the clergy of St Andrews and Edinburgh voted 22 to 5 not to erect an institution.⁶¹ For this reason, the residential facilities proposed by Captain Mitchell did not see the light of day.

On 16 January 1885, the Mitchell Trust litigation finally ended. Carmont had achieved all the points he had contested.⁶² Yet the bishops, anxious to save face, continued to grumble. Newspaper reports claimed that, by the very act of serving a summons on the bishops before a court of law, Carmont had violated a constitution of Pius IX, thereby automatically incurring the censure of excommunication.⁶³ In reply, Carmont wrote to the Holy Office, explaining and excusing his actions in terms which infuriated the bishops for what they saw as Rome's leniency over Carmont's letter which quite unequivocally accused the Scottish hierarchy of being 'a parcel of incapables.'⁶⁴ The Holy Office, in turn, supported Carmont and insisted on his rehabilitation.⁶⁵ Moreover, a study of the case conducted by the Roman advocate, Canon Charles Menghini and published in 1886, concluded that Carmont had not, indeed, incurred major excommunication as the bishops contended.⁶⁶

Carmont did not play down his victory, nor in any way understate the pride he felt in his achievements. In 1904, he published a collected edition of all the Mitchell litigation, emphasising that his success at the Court of Session had indeed saved the Trust.⁶⁷ By the time of his death in 1906 he had become a respected part of the ecclesiastical establishment.

⁶⁰ SCA ED12/100/12 Fr W. Turner and Fr D. MacCartney: The Mitchell Trust, 10 Mar 1884

⁶¹ SCA ED12/99 Meeting of the Clergy of the Archdiocese of Saint Andrews and Edinburgh, 11 Mar 1884

⁶² SCA ED12/105/ Opinion of the Very Rev Charles Canon Menghini Advocate ... (Dumfries: J. Anderson & Son, 1886)

⁶³ *The Blairgowrie Advertiser*, 12 Sep 1885

⁶⁴ SCA ED4/11/19 Bp J. MacDonald to Fr W. Smith, 7 May 1886

⁶⁵ SCA ED12/109/3 Bp A. Macdonald, 26 Jun 1889

⁶⁶ SCA ED12/105/ Opinion of the Very Rev Charles Canon Menghini Advocate ... (Dumfries: J. Anderson & Son, 1886)

⁶⁷ SCA DE42/18/3 The Mitchell Trust — Bequest Litigation (Aberdeen: AUP Ltd., 1904)

Episcopal Income

At the restoration of the hierarchy (1878) the inadequacy of their income continued to exasperate the bishops. When, in 1883, they submitted a report for the Congregation of Cardinals on the arrangements necessary for the new hierarchy, they complained that 'On one of the heads the information seems incomplete — provision for the maintenance of the new bishops.'⁶⁸ Three years later, at the first provincial and plenary synod of the restored hierarchy of Scotland held at St Benedict's Abbey, Fort Augustus, the bishops continued to voice their dismay that 'no adequate provision exists for either the personal or the official wants of the Bishops.'⁶⁹ Establishing a substantial bishops' fund (along with an increase in the number of clergy and a more relevant seminary curriculum) was seen as the essential requirement for completing the reorganisation of the Scottish Church.⁷⁰

One solution (received with little enthusiasm) was that the former vicars apostolic should make an offer of a portion of their funds to the new bishops.⁷¹ For Bishop Rigg of Dunkeld, the key question was 'the right of the new Bishops to participate in a benefaction bequeathed to the Vicar Apostolic and their Coadjutors.'⁷²

Rigg, John Carmont's bishop, also tackled the hierarchy over the way in which the Mitchell and the Menzies Fund had been divided, but, in his case, his motives were the welfare of his own diocese, not so much Scotland as a whole. On being appointed in 1878, Rigg found that Dunkeld was in serious financial difficulty.⁷³ Eager to increase the number of his clergy, to build chapels and promote the practice of religion, he applied his considerable energy to finding ways of reclaiming what he believed to be the misappropriated property of the diocese of Dunkeld.

Rigg, who adhorred debt of any kind, had spent nearly thirty-two years as a priest in Edinburgh, many of them as senior administrator at St Mary', the seat of the new metropolitan. Like Carmont, Rigg seized upon the accounting methods used for the division of funds between the new dioceses. In June 1879, at a meeting of the St Andrews and Edinburgh Financial Committee, he asked what share of the Menzies bequest his diocese of

⁶⁸ SCA ED3/91/14 Fr J. Campbell to Abp J. Strain, 20 Apr 1883

⁶⁹ SCA SSI Pastoral Letter (Edinburgh, 26 Aug 1886), 254

⁷⁰ SCA ED4/73/2 Provincial Synod: Draft Allocution, 1886

⁷¹ SCA ED3/85/16 Fr J. Campbell to Abp J. Strain, 1879

⁷² SCA ED4/52/9 Bp G. Rigg to Bp J. W. Bewick, 10 Jul 1884

⁷³ CDS (1888), 182

Dunkeld would receive — Menzies had originally left £6000 to the Eastern District, £2000 to the Western and £2000 to the Northern District.⁷⁴

Initially, Strain tried to deal with Rigg's complaints within the privacy of episcopal meetings; he and the other bishops were anxious to keep Propaganda out of the thorny question of the division of funds.⁷⁵ Warily, Propaganda at first refused to involve itself in what it saw as a local dispute between the Bishop of Dunkeld and the Archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh.⁷⁶ However, by 1885, other bishops (such as John MacDonald of Aberdeen) began to hope that Propaganda would finally settle the argument.⁷⁷

Propaganda appointed an arbiter, Bishop Bewick of Hexham and Newcastle, to settle the dispute. The Scottish bishops, however, then took matters into their own hands, pre-empting the work of the investigative commission. Alarmed at this development, Glasgow archdiocesan solicitor Alexander Munro urged Bewick to rein in the bishops:

Their Agents have sent notice that within fourteen days application would be made by them to the Court of Session for the appointment of a Judicial Factor to administer the fund. In reply, I have sent a formal protest against any step whatever being taken in the matter until the Commission entrusted to your Lordship by the Holy See has been exonerated ... therefore any attempt to change the investment of the fund, pending your work is simply to evade the Roman decision & put into the hands of the lay court a matter which Rome distinctly calls on the ecclesiastical Judge to decide.⁷⁸

However, Rome was reluctant to impose a solution. Perplexed, Cardinal Prefect Simeoni urged that the best course of action was that 'a private & amicable decision ... be got from the Civil Court upon the point.'⁷⁹ But Rigg refused to compromise.⁸⁰ After Strain's death in July 1883, it took more than two years before he was succeeded by Archbishop William Smith, who lost little time in asserting his claim to the whole £6,000 of the Menzies Trust, a claim hotly disputed by Bishops Rigg and McLachlan; nevertheless, in the Court of Session, Lord Fraser ruled in Smith's favour.⁸¹ Rigg immediately appealed and, late in 1886, Lord McLaren gave his judgement: it went against him.⁸² In Rome, Propaganda ordered

⁷⁴ SCA DE39/1 Fourth Meeting of the Financial Committee of the Archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh, 3 Jun 1879

⁷⁵ SCA ED6/139/18 Abp J. Strain to Fr J. Smith, 9 Aug 1879

⁷⁶ SCA ED5/15/10 Bp J. McLachlan to Bp J. MacDonald, 8 Feb 1881

⁷⁷ SCA ED4/43/17 Bp J. MacDonald to Abp C. P. Eyre, 12 Aug 1885

⁷⁸ SCA ED4/43/23 A. Munro to Bp J. W. Bewick, 28 Sep 1885

⁷⁹ SCA ED5/18/18 Bp J. McLachlan to Bp A. MacDonald, 8 Nov 1885

⁸⁰ SCA ED4/58/20 Bp J. W. Bewick to Abp W. Smith, 4 Dec 1885

⁸¹ *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 20 Jan 1886

⁸² SCA ED3/65/11 W. Considine to Abp W. Smith, 25 Nov 1886

Rigg to pay St Andrews and Edinburgh the debt he owed.⁸³ Rigg (who had been suffering a recurrence of ill health brought on by overwork), complied; although he had at least the satisfaction of having taken his case as far as he could, within two months he was dead.⁸⁴

The private means of the new bishops varied considerably. The first metropolitan, John Strain, was the son of an Edinburgh goldsmith who had originally come over from Armagh. Strain was born in Edinburgh and educated at the Royal High School. His successor, William Smith, who became archbishop in 1885, enjoyed a share of income from his family's ownership of Cowdenbeath Collieries, regularly receiving statements on coal production and prices, miners' wages, strikes and lockouts.⁸⁵ In 1886, his brother, Archibald Smith Sligo of Inzievar, having decided to move abroad, made the new archbishop one of the trustees of the colliery, this was an operation whose assets were valued at £225,000 at the time of Smith's death in 1892.⁸⁶

The bishops received their annual *mensa* (household expenses) from the Menzies Fund.⁸⁷ In most cases, the bishops were just able to keep their heads above water. In 1883, for example, Archbishop Strain's annual liabilities were £1,220; the resources available to him to meet his liabilities amounted to £1,491.⁸⁸ Most of the bishops had to fall back on private means to survive — Bishop Rigg came from prosperous farming stock: after his father's death he managed his inheritance with his sisters as a joint family fund. He was said to be 'notoriously generous,' refusing to accept any salary from the diocese after his appointment in 1878.⁸⁹

There were, at times, stark contrasts in episcopal income. At his death in 1902, Archbishop Charles Eyre of Glasgow, an Englishman, left a large estate, including a property in London, the total value of which was around £200,000 — most of which he left to the diocese.⁹⁰ Although Archbishop Andrew Joseph McDonald (the former Abbot of the Benedictine monastery at Fort Augustus), who succeeded as Archbishop in 1929, came from

⁸³ SCA ED6/108/1 Fr P. Macmanus to Fr J. Smith, 24 Nov 1886

⁸⁴ SCA ED5/32/2 Bp G. Rigg to Abp A. MacDonald, 19 Jan 1881

⁸⁵ SCA ED4/157/2 Cowdenbeath Collieries to Fr W. Smith, 30 Apr 1874

⁸⁶ SCA ED4/159/1 Cowdenbeath Collieries: copy of Trust Deed, 1886; SCA ED4/159/12 Messrs Tait and Crichton to Abp W. Smith, 3 Mar 1892

⁸⁷ SCA ED4/58/2 Bp J. W. Bewick to Fr W. Smith, 15 Nov 1884

⁸⁸ SCA ED4/161/1-5 Yearly liabilities of Archbishop J. Strain, 1883

⁸⁹ SCA ED6/10/12 Bp J. McLachlan to Fr J. Smith, 2 Dec 1887

⁹⁰ SCA ED6/16/4 Bp J. Maguire to Abp J. Smith, 20 Apr 1902

a Highland laird's family, he became a monk with a vow of poverty and could not, therefore, own either property or money. However, this did not prevent him (first as abbot and later as archbishop) from managing money. McDonald's financial judgement, however, was questionable: he was fortunate to escape implication in the financial scandals surrounding the Harrison (1932) and Renfrew (1934) cases at Fort Augustus (see Finance and the Religious Orders, below) and also in 1929 supported a grandiose (but under-funded and ultimately fruitless) scheme to move his former Benedictine community and school to the Melville Grange estate just south of Edinburgh.⁹¹

Archbishop (later, Cardinal) Gordon Gray, who followed McDonald, came from a comfortably-off Leith family, his father being works manager in a firm which designed paper-mills for export. Yet, a year after his ordination as Archbishop, his official income was still a mere £341, eventually rising to £2,034 by 1956.⁹²

The Income of the Diocesan Clergy

As with the bishops, there were priests who had considerable private wealth and property. When Fr Peter Forbes died in 1872, he left personal possessions to the value of £11,000 and much more as heritable property, not one shilling of either being derived from Church sources.⁹³ But the accumulation of wealth was something to which not every member of the clergy could aspire. In 1893, Bishop MacDonald of Aberdeen had to deal with the financial incompetence of two of his clergy at once, both cases fraught with complexity:

I am engaged with two lawyers as adversaries; at present, one in Nairn about Fr Andy Chisholm's debts; the other in Edinburgh about Rev. D. Macrae's affairs! The latter signed a legal remuneration of the Property in Braemar & sold his furniture to me for £25 which I engage to employ in paying his debts as far as Aid will go — the debts being about £300 exclusive of servants wages! ... Now Fr Macrae's niece claims wages £30 per annum for 9 years ... In the meantime Rev D. Macrae is at Dornie, boarding with Fr Andy Chisholm who has been soft enough to take him in. I have written to Molleson [lawyer] to get him put on the Mitchell Fund.⁹⁴

⁹¹ see *The Corbie*, vol. 1 (Christmas 1928), No 8, 248 and *The New Catholic Dictionary*, (London: The Universal Knowledge Foundation, 1929), 810

⁹² SCA DE163/48 Abp G. J. Gray: official income, 1952-56

⁹³ SCA ED3/147/21 R. W. Hamilton to Fr A. McFarlane, 25 May 1873

⁹⁴ SCA ED5/4/14 Bp H. MacDonald to Bp A. MacDonald, 5 Jun 1893

Fortunately, there were other ways of supplementing clerical income. In 1886, the bishops' agent in Rome received an annual subsidy of £30; prison chaplains in the late nineteenth century could earn between £50 and £100 per annum, depending on the location of the prison.⁹⁵ Those who did not have such opportunities might sometimes be tempted to increase their income by 'creative accounting.' In 1896, Bishop James Smith of Dunkeld explained his distaste for the term 'parish priest':

The other day I was telling a Priest how, by express authority of the Bps (certainly, to my knowledge, of the 2 Abps of the time of first insertion), the Directory reprobated the use of 'Parish' & 'Parish Priest.' ... it has led to Priests (I have been assured) paying themselves very much more than their £50 per annum, by deducting from the different sources of church income till they had made up the amount they thought themselves entitled to ...⁹⁶

Stipends continued to be minimal and a priest's official basic income was subject to the same financial constraints (low pay and high tax) as many of their parishioners. Just after the Second World War, parish priests had a salary of a mere £120 and curates one of £80.⁹⁷ From the early 1930s a priest's income from his parish (such as Mass offerings) was also required to be included for Inland Revenue assessment.⁹⁸ As late as 1951, even an anonymous annual donation of £300 was a very welcome (but not sufficient) contribution towards a priest's upkeep.⁹⁹

But emergency financial help was not always readily available to priests, even from the bishops. Generally, the bishops, as trustees for the Mitchell Fund, took care to establish the truth of any claim. Bishop McLachlan, for example, wrote to Archbishop Smith in 1886: 'I have signed the application for the Mitchell Fund on behalf of Canon McManus ... the Canon's health is very bad ... But I would certainly have objected to do so merely on a doctor's line. We all know how easily such lines can be procured.'¹⁰⁰

One of the most moving pleas for help came in 1888 from Fr Coll McDonald of the parish of Fort Augustus, when he applied to the Mitchell Fund for aliment. Having first been turned down by the trustees, MacDonald (who had once helped to oppose the Highland Clearances while working at Knoydart between 1851 and 1854) complained that he was

⁹⁵ SCA ED4/17/18 Bp J. McLachlan to Abp W. Smith, 7 May 1886; SCA ED4/16/7-8 Bp H. MacDonald to Abp W Smith, 15 Dec 1890

⁹⁶ SCA ED5/41/8 Bp J. Smith to Abp A. MacDonald, 13 Sep 1896

⁹⁷ SCA DE32/16 Abp A. J. McDonald: ad clerum, 13 Dec 1947

⁹⁸ SCA DE32 Abp A. J. McDonald: ad clerum, 1932

⁹⁹ SCA DE44/5/13 A. G. McBain to Fr J. Turner, 14 Dec 1951

¹⁰⁰ SCA ED4/17/12 Bp J. McLachlan to Abp W. Smith, 25 Jan 1886

crippled 'from rheumatism brought on by hard work & constant exposure to bad weather among the hills & glens of the Highlands during the last 38 years.'¹⁰¹ His plea, however, came too late, for within fifteen months he was dead.¹⁰²

Committees and Friendly Associations

But trusts, however significant, could not be the only source of Church wealth — human resources were equally, if not more, important. Trained manpower for the core task of educating Catholics was always at a premium. More often than not, supply chased demand. Based in London, the Catholic Poor Schools Committee took on the daunting challenge of preparing Catholic pupil-teachers for schools in Scotland and England, examining and certificating them (in 1874, for example, the CPSC had 174 candidates in Scotland), also providing building and support grants.¹⁰³ Although independent and administered by the Church, most Catholic schools depended for their survival on central government funding: in 1875 some 74 out of 83 Western District schools received Privy Council grants, as did 36 out of 43 Eastern District schools.¹⁰⁴

Complementing the formal education system, social services and housing in Edinburgh were also provided by bodies such as the Holy Gild [Guild] of St Joseph's (founded by Bishop Gillis) — in 1843, at the death of John Menzies of Pitfodels (an honorary member) the members of the Guild were given pride of place in his funeral procession from York Place to St Margaret's Convent on the south side of the Meadows. The Guild was a Friendly Society which, in return for a monthly subscription (subsidised by wealthy Protestants as well as affluent Catholics) provided a weekly allowance when members were sick, an annuity fund after the age of 65 and some life assurance. The aim of the Guild was to address the social problems caused by the urban environment and to achieve a common good by breaking down the barriers that separated the rich from the poor.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ SCA ED4/13/6 Fr C. MacDonald to Trustees of the Mitchell Fund, 29 Aug 1888

¹⁰² Fr Coll MacDonald died at Fort Augustus on 30 Nov 1889. See Christine Johnson. 'Scottish Secular Clergy, 1830-1878: The Western District.' *IR*, vol. 40, No. 1 (Spring 1989), 127

¹⁰³ SCA ED9/18/1-2 Report of Catholic Poor School Committee, 1874

¹⁰⁴ SCA ED9/18/4 T. W. Allies to Bp J. Strain, 16 Apr 1875

¹⁰⁵ SCA SM7/120 James Gillis (ed.), *A report of the first annual festival of the Holy Gild of St Joseph, Edinburgh, 21 Oct 1842* (Edinburgh: William Montignari, 1843), 12; 13-14; 48

In Edinburgh, the St Margaret's Association (founded 1848) aimed to protect the Catholic poor and labouring classes in Scotland and improve their social and physical condition. The Association's first report (1851) outlined the practical help given to the Catholic community in Leith where a teacher and teaching materials had been provided, so ensuring the education of up to 200 children.¹⁰⁶ Thus, under the guidance of the bishops, public Church-funded national organisations could be seen to be working towards the same goals as privately-funded local groups — a safety-net of interlocking provision which, nevertheless, struggled to meet the spiritual, intellectual and physical needs of ordinary Catholics by cultivating habits of self-help so as to promote a sense of self-respect and self-worth.

Finance and the Religious Orders

Regular nuns, brothers and priests, unlike the secular priesthood, having promised obedience to the rule of their order, lived in self-governing communities which made use of funds often not accessible by the episcopate. When, in 1883, the Benedictine Abbey at Fort Augustus severed its links with its parent English Benedictine Congregation, one of the bones of contention with the EBC was the £10,000 from the monastery at Lamspring in Hanover, Germany (which had been suppressed eighty years before), to which Fort Augustus had fallen heir. Answering the protests of their former brethren in the EBC, the monks at Loch Ness reminded Archbishop Smith (in whose province they were located) that 'Each Monastery has full ownership & control of its own funds.'¹⁰⁷

Occasionally, there were windfalls. In 1932, when Fort Augustus was in serious financial difficulty, the community's problems were solved at a stroke. Twenty-nine year old John Harrison, a man of enormous wealth (much of it in property in America), died in Turin, in mysterious circumstances, leaving the monastery the sum of £200,000 (approximately £6.5m at today's value). Harrison, a convert, had been received into the Catholic Church at Fort Augustus.¹⁰⁸ His will was immediately challenged by his relatives. They suggested that Harrison had not been of sound mind when he made his will in favour of Fort Augustus. In the event the dispute was settled out of court, the Benedictines receiving a substantial share of Harrison's estate (which saved them from ruin).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ CDS (1852), 122-26

¹⁰⁷ SCA ED4/153/3 Benedictines of Fort Augustus to Abp W. Smith, 22 Jan 1885

¹⁰⁸ *The Glasgow Herald*, 22-23 June 1932

¹⁰⁹ SCA FA45 Harrison Bequest, nd

Nevertheless, the community at Fort Augustus continued to show evidence of some financial naivety.¹¹⁰ In 1934, the director of a firm of Glasgow coal merchants, Alexander Renfrew, appeared at the High Court in Edinburgh, accused by the monks of appropriating some £14,000 (around £48,000 today) which he claimed he had been asked to invest by the monks.¹¹¹ Reports in *The Glasgow Herald* indicated that from 1927 Renfrew periodically acted as the Abbey's financial adviser and had realised profits for the monastery of £50,000 on one occasion and around £30,000 on another. 'Letters sent to Renfrew showed that the officials of the Abbey relied very considerably, if not entirely, on his financial judgement and advice,' reported *The Glasgow Herald*.¹¹² At the High Court, Renfrew was sentenced to five years in Peterhead Prison; having served his sentence, he appealed to Archbishop Mackintosh of Glasgow who then wrote to the Rector of the Scots College, Rome and to the Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Pacelli (the future Pope Pius XII), protesting that he had been unfairly treated.¹¹³ In Rome, his protests fell on deaf ears: the English Benedictine order there consulted the Congregation of Religious who proved unwilling to set up an enquiry into what had been a criminal trial.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ SCA DE167/6 A. Renfrew v Fort Augustus Abbey, 1934

¹¹¹ SCA DE167/6/5 Abp D. Mackintosh to Card A. Lépiciér, 30 Mar 1934

¹¹² *The Glasgow Herald*, 15 Nov 1929

¹¹³ SCA DE167/6/1-5 Abp D. Mackintosh to Cardinal E. Pacelli, 5 Mar 1934

¹¹⁴ SCA DE167/6/8 Fr H. P. Langdon to Abp A. J. McDonald, 8 May 1924

The Salary and Conditions of Teaching Orders

After the Relief Act of 1829 imposed fines and penalties upon those responsible for the foundation of religious orders for men, monastic and secular orders hesitated to come back to England and Scotland. It was not until after the 1850s that, realising 'the law was never enforced, a few came back.'¹¹⁵ However, the Act placed no such restrictions on women's orders, and the Ursuline nuns at St Margaret's Convent in Edinburgh were, in 1835, the first religious order to establish a community in Scotland since the Reformation.

Up to the time of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act most Scottish dioceses found it increasingly difficult to raise money or recruit enough trained lay teachers for parish schools. From its foundation in 1854, the Notre Dame nuns at Mount Pleasant College, Liverpool trained many female teachers for Scotland (a significant proportion of whom went on to join the order as nuns) until the same order opened a convent and training college forty years later at Dowanhill in Glasgow; men, on the other hand, were trained for Scotland elsewhere, such as at St Mary's College, Hammersmith.¹¹⁶ Because of their generally superior training and single-minded dedication, their willingness to go to wherever they were required, nuns who were already fully certificated teachers were put in charge of nearly all Catholic secondary establishments in Scotland — although a mere 4% of all Catholic school teachers were members of religious orders, proof of the latter's dominance at the upper levels of school management.¹¹⁷

In Edinburgh, vicar general Mgr Patrick Morris pleaded for more nuns ('My object is:- 1^o to have as many nuns as possible in each of the schools of the city ...'); as demand for trained teachers outstripped supply, incoming women's orders often negotiated their own terms and conditions from a position of strength.¹¹⁸ In 1881 the Franciscan Sisters in Glasgow agreed to provide three certificated teachers for St John's School, York Lane. Their salary was to be £200 per annum while nuns who were uncertificated assistant teachers would receive £40: but there were other opportunities to add to their income — the nuns insisted that, while the school manager would retain all school fees and government grants,

¹¹⁵ Sr Mary Bonaventure Dealy, *Catholic Schools in Scotland* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1945), 130

¹¹⁶ Bernard Aspinwall, 'Catholic Teachers for Scotland: the Liverpool Connection,' *IR* vol. 45, No 1 (Spring 1994), 47-48

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 130

¹¹⁸ SCA DE170/356 Rev Mother of St Catharine's Convent to Mgr P. Morris, 8 Aug 1917

the Sisters should be allowed to keep ‘all the proceeds arising from teaching the extra branches of Music, Singing, Drawing etc out of Government hours.’¹¹⁹

Some orders won even greater concessions from the bishops. In October 1898, writing from their motherhouse at the Rue du Bac in Paris and setting out their terms for their new Edinburgh foundation to serve St Patrick’s parish in the Cowgate, the Sisters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul (an order founded in France in 1633) drove a hard bargain. They insisted on relocation expenses as well as start-up funding and other domestic benefits to meet the broad and challenging remit proposed by the diocese:

The Sisters shall be provided with a suitable house rent free, rates and taxes paid, and fuel and light supplied, by His Grace the Archbishop ... [who] will give the sum of thirty pounds a year for the support of each Sister ... The Sisters shall visit the poor of St Patrick’s Parish and shall have charge of a Dispensary for the benefit of the poor, and other works of charity that may be needed, and in accordance with the rule.¹²⁰

Gradually, the distinction in salary between certificated and uncertificated teachers (the latter usually training on the job towards certification) diminished. By the end of the First World War differences in pay structures between different religious orders also tended to diminish. The Franciscans’ contract of 1881 contained a much higher differential between the salaries of certificated and uncertificated teachers (£200: £40) than that in the 1917 agreement reached between the Sisters of Mercy and the managers of St Ann’s School in the Cowgate. There the headmistress would be paid only £100 per annum but the assistant teachers £65 to £70 — this came at a time when preparations were already far advanced for Catholic schools to be integrated into the State system.¹²¹

Perhaps it is unsurprising that, as the cost for their services was relatively high, the Franciscans left Edinburgh after only four years’ service. But, by 1917, at the end of a debilitating war, the salary of teachers in Church schools had reduced even further relative to that of teachers in the State system: bishops struggled to raise funding for education, so nuns and religious brothers (with their relatively greater cost-effectiveness compared to lay teachers) were valued more than ever to meet a wide spectrum of need: education, catechesis, social work and community development. In January 1918 the diocesan office in Edinburgh re-negotiated the Sisters of Charity’s contract, with an agreement that they would

¹¹⁹ SCA ED4/115/3 Minute of agreement drawn up by the Very Rev. Dr Smith Vicar General of the Archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh [1881]

¹²⁰ SCA ED5/90/2 Agreement between the Archbishop of Edinburgh and Sr Marie Lamartinie, 5 Oct 1898

¹²¹ SCA DE170/356 Sr M. De Sales to Mgr P. Morris, 8 Aug 1917

provide ‘at least four qualified teaching sisters,’ and supply two others ‘for visiting the poor, taking charge of guilds and similar parochial works.’¹²²

The archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh, while supporting a significant Catholic population (43,200 in 1878), was not the only important Catholic community in the east of Scotland. Further north, in Dundee (part of the diocese of Dunkeld with 27,500 Catholics in 1878), ordinary Catholics generally made their presence felt more publicly than in Edinburgh, partly because the mechanised nature of much local industry (such as the jute mills) tended to encourage group identity and its sometimes unruly public expression.¹²³ In Edinburgh, working-class Catholics (engaged predominantly in service industries or in craft occupations which depended more on individual manual skills pursued in isolation such as jewellery or tailoring) were, by and large, less visible — confined as they were to the less elevated parts of the city, such as the foetid valleys of the Cowgate or to the Port and Burgh of Leith with its transient and often anonymous hustle-and-bustle; moreover Edinburgh Catholics had tended to behave in ways which would not aggravate moderate Protestant opinion.

In Dundee, however, Catholics made their presence felt with less inhibition than in the capital: as early as 1859 an ad hoc Dundee Catholic schools committee besieged Bishop James Gillis with requests to persuade the Marist Brothers (founded in France in 1817) to take over the education of their Catholic youth who, they claimed, had become unmanageable and had developed a degenerate lifestyle that was rapidly deteriorating into criminal behaviour. ‘During the time of Divine Service,’ complained the committee, ‘hundreds may be seen through the town and neighbourhood gambling or otherwise publicly desecrating the Sunday ...’¹²⁴ The committee claimed that it would be impossible for any but ‘teachers clothed with religious character, to obtain their respect, to train them in habits of order and virtue, or to imbue them with the deep religious feelings so necessary to preserve them from ruin in the vicious society in which they live ...’¹²⁵ An added benefit of bringing in the Marists was that, like any religious, they would also make sure that the children (and their parents) attended church regularly and fulfilled their sacramental duties.

On behalf of the committee, Charles Thiebault (one of two émigré French merchants in the group) pledged to raise the money needed for the proposed school and for the upkeep of the Brothers. Introducing the latter, moreover, would make strong economic sense — the

¹²² SCA GD10/144/3 Agreement between Mgr P. Morris and Mother Mary, 29 Jan 1918

¹²³ James Darroch, ‘The Catholic population of Scotland since the year 1680’, *IR* (1953) vol. 9, 57

¹²⁴ SCA ED3/186/4 Committee to Bp J. Gillis, 1859

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*,

Marists would come, the committee assured the bishop, 'not for the sake of worldly gain, nor for any remuneration beyond what is indispensable to procure the bare necessities of life.'¹²⁶ The financial arrangement proposed was that, after all other bills had been met, the Marists and the parish would share the residue from the government grant in equal proportion.¹²⁷ So in 1859 the Marists began their long association with Dundee and some years afterwards (1877) also established themselves in Edinburgh where, with a community of three Brothers, they assumed responsibility for St Mary's parish school at Maryfield in Easter Road where they worked until they left the city twelve years later to focus their efforts on their schools in Dumfries and Dundee.¹²⁸

From this evidence it emerges that, during the nineteenth century, the salaries and conditions of service enjoyed by teaching orders varied widely according to the bargaining powers of the orders, their remit and the ability of school managers, local Catholic businessmen and of the bishops to raise the necessary funding. By the beginning of the First World War the salaries of newly-arrived orders were beginning to be set at the same level as those of lay teachers. The 'Brothers of the Christian Schools' (later known as the De La Salle Order) took over St Joseph's residential school in Tranent with a contract that stipulated that:

... the salaries of the Brothers be fixed by the Committee [of management] ... due regard being had to the salaries received by Teachers doing similar work in the district of Edinburgh, or elsewhere in Scotland.¹²⁹

After 1918, when Catholic parochial schools came under local authority control, both national bargaining and uniform pay gradually structures emerged through the institution, for example, of minimum national salary scales, and so did away with the previous pay differentials between members of religious orders and lay teachers.¹³⁰ However, because of their superior training and focus, religious orders continued to play an influential role in Catholic education up to the 1960s and beyond, partly as teachers in primary and secondary schools but more crucially in the field of teacher training.

¹²⁶ SCA ED3/186/9 C. Thiebault: circular, 30 Dec 1861

¹²⁷ SCA ED3/186/16 Articles of agreement for the liquidation of the Debt on the Marist Brothers' House, Forebank, Dundee, 12 Dec 1873

¹²⁸ Thomas A. Fitzpatrick, 'Marist Brothers in Scotland before 1918,' *IR* No 1 (Spring 1998), 7

¹²⁹ SCA ED6/166/6 Agreement between Abp J. Smith and the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, 13 Mar 1914

¹³⁰ M. Mackintosh, *Education in Scotland, Yesterday and Today* (Glasgow: Robert Gibson & Sons, 1962), 73

Diocesan Fund-Raising

Independent religious foundations could not expect to be funded by the bishops, whose permission the orders needed to start fund-raising in any diocese. The bishops restated their position in 1890 when they warned the monks of Fort Augustus that they would not allow them to 'beg' in their dioceses.¹³¹ The diocesan seminary at Blairs, the property of the Bishops, was another matter — the rector was expected to beg, even if it was an unnerving experience. 'I'll start abegging,' Fr Aeneas Chisholm wrote to Archbishop MacDonald in 1895 with distaste: 'I look forward to it in fear and trembling.'¹³² The following year, Chisholm went down to Liverpool to beg, but was given short shrift, as the English Catholics he approached for donations felt strongly that Blairs was the responsibility of the Scots alone.¹³³

Begging was not universally approved by local authorities. In 1933, a Scottish Office provisional order, promoted by Edinburgh Corporation, threatened the future of charitable house to house collections.¹³⁴ Nevertheless, there continued to be some in religious orders who relished the itinerant life and cold-calling of the door-to-door collector. In 1955, Sister Magdalene, one of the Extern nuns at the Poor Clares convent in Liberton, pleaded to be moved to Workington in Cumberland as she missed the begging and could not settle down.¹³⁵

Begging could be, at best, only a meagre source of funds. The construction of churches depended on an immediate injection of capital such as could only come in the form of a central diocesan loan (to be gradually repaid with the hard-won pennies of the poor) or from the enlightened largesse of the wealthy such as the Duchess of Hamilton (Princess Marie of Baden).¹³⁶ In 1900, for example, the cost of both school and chapel at Bannockburn in Stirling was met by a one-off gift of £2,000 from Mrs Murray of Polmain Castle.¹³⁷ In the same year, the total income of the parish (including door-to-door collections and offerings)

¹³¹ SCA ED4/155/11 Bp A. Macdonald to Abbot L. Linse, 12 Sep 1890

¹³² SCA ED5/67/12 Fr A. Chisholm to Bp A. MacDonald, 8 Nov 1895

¹³³ SCA ED6/72/6 Fr A. Chisholm to Bp J. Smith, 16 Jan 1896

¹³⁴ SCA DE171/90 Catholic Union of Great Britain: Bill promoted by Edinburgh Corporation re bye laws for house to house collections, 1932-33

¹³⁵ SCA DE170/64/7 Sr M. John to Abp G. J. Gray, 19 Oct 1955

¹³⁶ For contrasting views of how church building was funded see Anthony Ross, 'The Development of the Scottish Catholic Community 1878-1978,' *IR*, vol. 29, (1978), 40 and Bernard Aspinwall, 'Faith of Our Fathers Living Still ... The Time Warp or Woof! Woof!' in Thomas M. Devine (ed.), *Scotland's Shame* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2000), 110; Martin Mitchell, 'The Catholic Community in Hamilton, c.1800-1914,' in Thomas M. Devine (ed.), *St Mary's Hamilton: A Social History 1846-1996* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1995), 22-23

¹³⁷ SCA ED17/26/1 Archdiocese of St Andrews & Edinburgh: Statements of Account 1886-1900

only amounted to £67.¹³⁸ Small loans from better-off parishioners (between £100 and £500) were a supplementary source of income — such as augmented the funds of St Mary's Cathedral in Edinburgh at the turn of the twentieth century.¹³⁹

The Third Marquess of Bute (1847-1900) stood head and shoulders above all other Scottish aristocrats in his vision of a medieval Catholic theocracy restored, which he tried to persuade the slightly mystified bishops to accept — with only qualified success. At times, the bishops and the beneficiaries acceded gratefully (as in the case of St Benedict's Abbey, Fort Augustus), or reluctantly (Oban Cathedral and its choir) or rejected totally (the national seminary at St Andrews, Fife). Other members of the aristocracy and wealthy laymen such as John Monteith of Carstairs also contributed direct finance and provided the bishops with well-placed allies who could be relied upon to enlist the support of their peers when necessary.

Major-General Lord Ralph Kerr of Newbattle (1837-1916), for example, wrote to Archbishop MacDonald in 1896: 'I am much interested in Your Grace's desire to establish another parish in the poorest part of Edinburgh — I should esteem it a privilege to be allowed to contribute to such a work.'¹⁴⁰ Brother of the Marquess of Lothian, Kerr was married to a daughter of the Duke of Norfolk. His principal contribution to the Church appears to have consisted of an annual sum of £50 for the education of priests or for schools.¹⁴¹ In similar fashion, James Hope-Scott of Abbotsford made yearly gifts to the parish of Galashiels, while Henry, Sixth Duke of Buccleuch and his wife contributed regularly to various Edinburgh charities.¹⁴² In 1962, Lady Margaret Kerr (daughter of Lord Ralph), was conspicuous in her generosity, leaving the sum of £20,000 in trust to Archbishop Gordon Gray.¹⁴³

It was, however, the cultured Russian émigré and convert, Marc André Raffalovich, who came closest to the Marquess of Bute in his fulsome patronage of the Church and the Arts. In February 1905 he offered Archbishop Smith £3,000 for the establishment of a new parish in the wealthy Edinburgh district of Morningside, on the understanding that his protégé, Fr John Gray, was installed as parish priest.¹⁴⁴ The outcome was that Raffalovich

¹³⁸ SCA ED17/26/2 Archdiocese of St Andrews & Edinburgh: Statements of Account — St Mary's, Bannockburn, 1900

¹³⁹ SCA ED17/162/4-10 Loans to St Mary's Cathedral, 1908-15

¹⁴⁰ SCA ED5/80/3 R. D. Kerr, to Abp A. MacDonald, 13 Jan 1896

¹⁴¹ SCA ED4/130/11 R. D. Kerr to Abp W. Smith, 16 Sep 1886

¹⁴² SCA ED4/128/12 H. Buccleuch to Fr W. Smith, 28 Jan 1885

¹⁴³ SCA DE50/94/1 Lady Margaret Kerr: Trust Bequest, 30 Jan 1962

¹⁴⁴ SCA DE58/236/1 A. Raffalovich to Abp J. Smith, 17 Feb 1905

contributed £4,200 to the new St Peter's church (designed by Sir Robert Lorimer) and also promised to pay the feu duty for ten more years.¹⁴⁵

But there were other communities not as fortunate as those of well-heeled Morningside. Perhaps the most poignant example of the poverty of certain parishes came from the priest at St Mary's, Lochee, pleading with the diocesan offices in 1917:

Dear Monsignor, Your communication fell on Lochee like a bomb. As I know nothing about this £3000 debt — I have placed the matter before the Bishops & Finance Board. Although perhaps impending it has fallen at an injudicious time — when the manhood of my Congregation are fighting & dying in this unprecedented war — & starvation faces those at home.¹⁴⁶

The debt which weighed so heavily on Fr O'Neill's mind was £3,000 derived from a loan out of central diocesan funds on which interest had not been paid for 18 years — fourteen years before he was appointed to St Mary's — another example of the financial inefficiency which would so alarm the apostolic visitor, Mgr William Brown.¹⁴⁷ Needless to say, Fr O'Neill's bishop was quickly persuaded to take over responsibility for the loan.¹⁴⁸

Funding and Finance

Until the last decade of the twentieth century, repeated attempts at restructuring and regulation had failed to reform the diocesan finance in St Andrews and Edinburgh. This was principally because their management continued to be in the hands of the clergy, rather than professional accountants.

Church income was at three levels: some funds, such as the Mission Fund (dating from 1849 and consisting of a bond for £8,955 guaranteed by the Marquess of Bute, fifty original shares of the Bank of Scotland at £83 each and one hundred £1 shares of the Scottish Union Insurance Company) were available for all dioceses in Scotland.¹⁴⁹ The *mensa* was for the personal upkeep of each bishop, whereas central diocesan funds (derived mainly from parish collections) represented the core source of funding for each diocese. Over and above, were a large number of trusts, some national, some diocesan.

¹⁴⁵ SCA DE39/3 Minutes of the Finance Committee, 4 Jul 1905

¹⁴⁶ SCA ED18/74/1 Fr J. O'Neill to Monsignor (?), 10 Nov 1917

¹⁴⁷ Christine Johnson, *Scottish Secular Clergy, 1879-1989* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1991), 59

¹⁴⁸ SCA DE39/3 Meeting of The Finance Committee, 6 Nov 1917

¹⁴⁹ SCA ED12/42/1 Division of Mission property, 6 Aug 1849

At the restoration of the hierarchy, Scotland still depended heavily on the support of the *Ceuvre de la Propagation de la Foi* (Association for the Propagation of the Faith [APF]) founded in 1822 by Pauline-Marie Jaricot to collect money for mission territories and based at Lyon in France. Of the funds allocated by the APF in the period 1877-78, some £2,400 went to the eastern province — Argyll and the Isles (£520), Dunkeld (£480), St Andrews and Edinburgh (£440), Aberdeen (£360) and Galloway (£280); Glasgow, by contrast, only received £320, suggesting that geographical size may have been a criterion in the allocation of grants.¹⁵⁰

In 1877-78, income for the eastern vicariate's St Andrew's Society (to support the development of new missions) was £125. Efforts to reform the Church's finances were prompted by the public scandal over the unjust division of the Mitchell Trust. In St Andrews and Edinburgh a Congregational Debt Fund was established by a pastoral letter of 6 October 1889; its first declared income (1890) from parishes was £869. At the same time the St Andrew's Society was renamed the St Andrews Diocesan Fund. Even its first statements reveal that money had already been moved indiscriminately between accounts — the £82 collected from parishes had been added to by £300, formerly lent to the Mission Fund and then repaid by the procurator of the Mission Fund. Moving funds between accounts, while innocent in itself, was a dangerous practice as it opened the way to confusion and even the possibility of misappropriation of funds.¹⁵¹

The income of the St Andrew's Society at the same period shows how dependent the bishops were on contributions from the aristocracy and gentry. Out of a total income of £125, the largest single donation was from Captain Barré Cunninghame of Hensol (£25); in Doune, the parish managed to contribute £2 (less than half of the £5 given by Mrs Campbell of Doune); St Mary's in Edinburgh gave £5 and St Patrick's £4, although the latter was by far the larger mission. This meant that the total of £33 from three wealthy donors considerably exceeded the £26 raised by four missions.¹⁵² In Glasgow, the picture was reversed; there, the much larger Catholic congregations meant that the 'pennies of the poor' surpassed even the largesse of the rich. Glasgow subscriptions in 1877 by wealthy Catholics such as Robert Monteith (£20) and Archbishop Charles Eyre (£10) were more than matched by parish collections in the west: St Andrew (£24), St Mary's (£24) and St Mary's, Greenock (£22).

¹⁵⁰ CDS (1879)

¹⁵¹ SCA ED12/230 St Andrews Diocesan Fund

¹⁵² CDS (1879)

Diocesan income consisted of central funds (made up of parish levies, rents and dividends), educational funds (generally for the support of seminarians), aged and infirm clergy funds and funds for specific purposes (mass foundations, for example, used to provide stipends). In 1924, congregational collections for the St Andrews Diocesan Fund stood at £94, loans amounting to £447 had been repaid by nine parishes and the interest of sums on deposit receipt was £663; expenditure (loans to four parishes) was £626, the Congregational Debt Fund's balance was £1,841, that of the Income Augmentation Fund was £1,875 (capital) and £84 (income).¹⁵³ In the same period, collections in the archdiocese of Glasgow amounted to £1,638. Because the Catholic population was much smaller in the east than in the west, the financial position of the east was much more precarious: in 1927 the St Andrew's Diocesan Fund, for example, could only muster £127 in collections, while the repayment of mission loans (£136) and other expenditure (£323) resulted in a debt of £1,194.¹⁵⁴ However, the years after 1945 saw gradual financial improvement: by the time the Second Vatican Council ended, standards of living were generally higher and the considerable interest and self-confidence generated by the Council was reflected in rising collections and better filled offertory-boxes. By December 1965 the economics of the archdiocese were relatively healthy: expenditure for St Andrews and Edinburgh stood at £5,765 but income was £8,999.¹⁵⁵ Finance, however, was not the fundamental problem. More difficult than balancing figures was persuading Catholics to take on board the changes being introduced by the Vatican Council.

Conclusion

Money was the mechanism upon which the success or failure of the new Scots hierarchy most depended. It was also the part of the Church's life which most threatened to spin out of control. Fortunately, the increase in the numbers of Catholics in Scotland (due principally to Irish migration) convinced the Government in 1918 that Catholics should be educated on the same monetary terms as the rest of the country.

The bishops, for their part, feared that their financial burdens were insupportable. At the end of the First World War, they faced a budgetary crisis which threatened to engulf the Church. In 1917 (as they prepared to decide whether or not to accept the Government's offer of transferring their schools into the state sector), an apostolic visitor, Mgr William

¹⁵³ *CDS* (1925)

¹⁵⁴ *CDS* (1927)

¹⁵⁵ SCA DE43/119 Report on the Income and Expenditure Accounts ..., 31 Dec 1965

Brown, arrived in the archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh and, with mounting horror, eyed the quagmire which greeted him :

I think you will find that only a first class accountant will be able to unravel the tangle of the diocesan finance ... The fatal practice of lending sums forming endowments to various diocesan undertakings seems to have resulted in the practical alienation of endowment capital.¹⁵⁶

For some time, seventy-six year old Archbishop James Smith had been unable to carry out his episcopal duties efficiently. Smith, who had vision and hearing problems, also suffered from mental confusion.¹⁵⁷ Partly as a result of his lack of oversight, seven or eight missions had heavy debts, three of them giving rise to serious concern.¹⁵⁸ The surplus of Mission valuation over Mission debts had mistakenly been taken as an indication of financial health and little repayment of the capital debts had been made for a number of years. Mgr Brown complained:

I do not consider the mere surplus of Mission valuation over Mission debts as indicating the true financial position of the Diocese ... In the case of the Edinburgh Mission ... little or no repayment of the capital debt has been made for a number of years ... The other serious question is that of making loans from the Central Funds of the Diocese to certain institutions and missions. It is not good finance to sell out securities in which Diocesan Funds have been well invested, and from which the income is regularly paid, and lend the money to Diocesan Institutions, or even Missions ... I think that sufficient proof has been given of the need of immediate financial reform. I would respectfully suggest to the Sacred Congregation that the Auxiliary Bishop should be charged with the duty of calling on the clergy and people to make a resolute and preserving [sic] effort to put the Diocese into a position of financial safety ... No new loans should be sanctioned except in the most urgent cases ...¹⁵⁹

Brown's solution, with the agreement of the Consistorial Congregation, was to appoint Henry Grey Graham as a new auxiliary bishop (without the right of succession), with a remit to implement immediate financial reforms.¹⁶⁰ Graham, a Church of Scotland minister who had become a Catholic, was a son of the manse and nephew of the eminent

¹⁵⁶ SCA ED12/32/12 Mgr W. F. Brown to W. Considine, 3 Sep 1917

¹⁵⁷ For a satirical portrait of Archbishop Smith see Bruce Marshall, *Fr Malachy's Miracle* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1931)

¹⁵⁸ SCA ED6/38/5 Fr P. Morris to Abp J. Smith, 30 May 1917

¹⁵⁹ SCA ED6/38A/5 Mgr W. Brown: Archdiocese of St Andrews & Edinburgh (report on financial position to Sacred Congregation), [1917?]

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

historian, Henry Grey Graham (1830-1911), after whom he was named. A one time lecturer in Hebrew and Oriental Studies at St Andrews University, Bishop Graham would, in his official capacity 'pursue 'high, unwavering, standards of perfection,' although he also suffered from over-scrupulousness.¹⁶¹ He was seen as a man of prudence and courage who waged war for truth and justice.¹⁶² Graham served with great dedication as auxiliary bishop in Edinburgh until 1930, when he returned to the archdiocese of Glasgow as a parish priest.

It is evident that the Scots bishops did not hesitate to make use of the civil and criminal courts. Although the Catholic hierarchy, by deference and preference, generally resolved the majority of its disputes in Rome, there were some cases which required settlement in the civil courts — principally, at the Court of Session, at the Sheriff Court (occasionally) or the Court of Chancery and (exceptionally), the House of Lords. The exception was the 'Bonnybridge case' of 1929, a landmark ruling in the history of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act.¹⁶³ Stirlingshire Education Authority declined to provide a Catholic school for local Catholic children, a decision which the bishops refused to accept and took their challenge to the House of Lords — where they won.¹⁶⁴

In 1917, the new code of canon law demanded several radical changes for Scotland as a whole — diocesan property and revenue were to be treated separately from the bishop's *mensa* (household expenses) and those of the parishes; control of finance was to be taken from cathedral chapters and put into the hands of new administrative councils.

The decree *Ne Temere* (1908) brought into force a law of the Council of Trent which declared marriages invalid unless celebrated before a priest and two witnesses — this had not, until then, applied to non-Catholic countries such as Scotland; the decree also demanded that non-Catholic partners make a written promise to bring up any children as Catholics. The tightening-up of marriage regulations through *Ne Temere* was accompanied by the re-constitution of the Sacred Rota.¹⁶⁵ The introduction of the new code of canon law (1917) underpinned all these changes — including the gradual conversion of missions into canonical parishes.

It was only between 1890 and 1920 that the serious accounting problems facing the Catholic Church in Scotland were finally resolved. By the 1890s a solution had been arrived

¹⁶¹ Hugh G. McEwan, *Bishop Grey Graham* (Glasgow: John S. Burns & Sons, 1973), 122

¹⁶² *CDS* (1960), 335

¹⁶³ Teresa Gourlay, 'Catholic Schooling in Scotland since 1918.' *IR*, vol. 51, No 1 (Spring 1990), 122

¹⁶⁴ SCA ED9/106 -108 The Bonnybridge Case

¹⁶⁵ Anthony Ross, 'The Development of the Scottish Catholic Community 1878-1978,' *IR*, vol. 29 (1978), 44

at in the division of inter-diocesan funds; by 1920, the First World War was over, the Church had divested itself of the burden of paying for Catholic schools (a sum well in excess of the Church's 1897 estimate of £464,268 per annum) and the diocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh, under the watchful eye of Bishop Grey Graham, had put in place controls which would eventually move its financial affairs into solvency. By 1935, Archbishop McDonald had taken additional steps — namely the consolidation and centralisation of all diocesan and Mission loans.¹⁶⁶

The need to provide income and security for the clergy was pressing. A sick priests' fund provided some supplementary assistance — with expenditure of £1,841 in 1933.¹⁶⁷ In 1934 the clergy mission fund paid £2 to each priest; later, it was renamed the diocesan clergy fund.¹⁶⁸ In 1937, Archbishop McDonald ordered that all his clergy should make wills (renewable every five years), should take out a life policy for £100 to cover funeral expenses and supply written inventories of personal belongings and parish property.¹⁶⁹ By the mid-1960s there was even a priests' housekeepers' pension scheme, to which parish clergy subscribed £5 per annum.¹⁷⁰

These legal and financial safeguards, coupled with the lifting of the burden of the upkeep of Catholic schools, would eventually place the Church on a much sounder financial footing, although financial reform was very much an on-going process which required constant review.¹⁷¹ It was this which formed the springboard for the Catholic Church in Scotland to launch itself into the twentieth century by being able, as Tom Devine points out, to 'devote more resources to building churches and the promotion of religious mission.'¹⁷² The cumulative effect of all these measures was to consolidate the moral credibility of the Church, while at the same time providing the legal and financial structures to deal more effectively with the pastoral challenges posed by the 1939-45 War and its aftermath.

¹⁶⁶ SCA ED9/21/2 Scottish Hierarchy to School Managers, 23 March 1897; SCA ED20/10/4 Fr J. Forsyth to clergy, 7 Oct 1935

¹⁶⁷ SCA DE41/3/2 Archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh Sick Priests' Fund, 1933

¹⁶⁸ SCA DE41/3/6 Clergy Mission Fund, 1934; SCA DE42/2 Diocesan Clergy Fund, 1944

¹⁶⁹ SCA ED29/104/4 Abp A. J. McDonald to Fr J. A. Gray, 1937

¹⁷⁰ SCA ED22/183/2-28 Priests' housekeepers' pension scheme, 1964

¹⁷¹ SCA ED9/21/2 Scottish Hierarchy to School Managers, 23 Mar 1897

¹⁷² Thomas M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), 386

4. BISHOPS, SECULARS AND REGULARS 1878 - 1955

Introduction

'Bishops have been annihilated, as a directing and governing power, and no longer stand between their flocks and the Vatican, and now the whole Popish community in Ireland, England, and in every other country, are immediately governed from Rome; that is, they are now controlled solely by the Jesuits.'¹ So warned *Britain and Ultramontanism*, a pamphlet published by the West of Scotland Protestant Association in 1870 shortly after the declaration of papal infallibility at the First Vatican Council. Looking from the outside in (as the pamphlet did), although the analysis was exaggerated in some respects — the power of the Jesuits, for example — clearly, papal infallibility was seen (among extreme Protestants at least), as undermining and confusing the role of the bishops.

It was against this inflammatory legacy that, in 1878, the Catholic hierarchy was restored in Scotland. Although 'ultramontane unity prevailed' (above all in the West of Scotland because of the need to regulate the mobile population and defuse the tensions between migrants and Scots), such unity was not quite so much the norm in the other dioceses.² It is true that every one of the new bishops had strong Roman connections, having been either trained or ordained in Rome. However, the bishops as a whole were not mere ciphers nor did they supinely execute Vatican directives; this can be seen in their endless feet-dragging over the division of diocesan funds (discussed in the previous Chapter) and in their often very proactive stance over key clerical appointments. Here, in practice, the bishops made a clear distinction between arguments with Propaganda over administration (a dialectic allowing legitimate room for manoeuvre — until Propaganda's patience ran out) and any action which would involve disobedience to an infallible pontiff over questions of faith or morals. Bishop Strain, for example, was not averse to putting his case for Edinburgh as the metropolitan diocese personally and forcibly to Pius IX, so much so that it led the latter, according to Strain, to change his mind in Strain's favour.³

In the middle of the nineteenth century the development of the Catholic community in the Eastern District was on a knife-edge. There was 'no large indigenous Catholic

¹ EUL s.n. *Britain and Ultramontanism* (Glasgow: WSPA, 1877-?; London: Hatchards, 1874)

² Bernard Aspinwall, 'Scots and Irish clergy ministering to immigrants 1830-1878,' *IR*, vol. 47, No 1 (Spring 1996), 50; David McRoberts, 'The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy in 1878,' *IR*, vol. 29 (1978), 54

³ SCA ED6/3/1 Abp J. Strain to Fr J. Smith, 13 Apr 1878

population,' while such Catholic enclaves as existed, 'were being reduced to insignificance by immigration, industrialisation and urbanisation.'⁴ This was in marked contrast to the Western or Northern District, the latter 'consolidating its position, replacing old buildings with new churches; and expanding further into the towns ...'⁵

While new churches buildings appeared there were also visible changes in manpower and mission. During the period 1878-1965 the role of the secular clergy in the archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh was slowly transformed from a largely pastoral one (as envisaged by the Council of Fort Augustus, 1886), in search of stability and spiritual nurture for their wandering flock, to that of combatants in the apocalyptic war against atheistic Communism declared in the 1930s by Archbishop McDonald. In both models the role of the clergy was circumscribed: if the bishops were surrounded by Roman canonical restrictions, so parish priests and their junior clergy also laboured under just as many local rules and regulations derived from the decisions of diocesan synods.

The former Eastern District, moreover, suffered severe recruitment problems. Only two-thirds of the 138 priests ordained between 1830-1878 were born in the District (in contrast to the Western District, where 88% were local) — some 32% of them were Irish and 16% were from the Northern District.⁶ The pressures on priests often forced bishops into complicated re-shuffling of manpower to ensure the support and after-care of priests at risk, re-shuffling, it has to be said, which often did not take the needs of the laity very much into account. The clergy (frail and irascible in their humanity — as their laity could also be), at times combined into rebellious cabals, committed public indiscretions of one sort or another, stirred up conflict with their bishops and occasionally even resorted to physical violence towards their parishioners.

As the WSPA rightly observed, the Jesuits did their very best to ensure that their activities were free of episcopal interference, but, ultimately, in spite of the efforts of men such as Robert Whitty, the conflict between bishops and religious (which had begun at Salford between the Society of Jesus and Archbishop Herbert Vaughan in 1874) was nominally concluded in Rome with Leo XIII's pronouncement *Romanos Pontifices* (1881),

⁴ Christine Johnson, 'Scottish Secular Clergy, 1830-1878: The Northern and Eastern Districts,' *IR*, vol. 40, No 1 (Spring 1989), 27

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

which confirmed the primacy of every bishop in his own diocese. In reality, the dispute dragged on for some time after.⁷

Religious orders (ideally, models of harmony for laypeople to wonder at) as well as vying for independence from the bishops, could no less be afflicted with internal division or breakdown of discipline which needed the intervention of the episcopate. Moreover, there was considerable public antipathy to nuns, inflamed by lurid literature such as *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* (1836) and by distaste (both within and outside the Catholic community) at customs such as public begging.⁸ However, both male and female orders also made extremely positive contributions to society at large — the men, mainly in scholarship and education, the women, also in the care of the marginalised and through lives of conspicuous sanctity which, in some instances, translated into mysticism.

The First Vatican Council

The re-organisation of the Catholic Church in Scotland from 1878 was primarily concerned with the visible hierarchy of bishops and priests, but it also had implications for religious orders (*regulars*), both male and female. With its roots in the First Vatican Council, the re-structuring of 1878 was a gradual process, which called for a degree of continual fine tuning in later years. Although a 'top-down' process, the introduction of bishops and archbishops with full authority gradually had its effect on the clergy, most of whom had been consulted prior to the change.

For the secular clergy, the restoration eventually opened the way (later ratified by the new code of canon law) to 'erect' the former Scottish *missions* into parishes, so conferring rights and privileges on the new parish priests. The life of a priest was not easy: although most of the clergy lived lives of heroic service, breakdown was often a distinct possibility and this could be due to physical or psychological causes — in many instances compounded by a search for consolation in alcohol.

The regular clergy — in some cases occupied (as St Benedict's Abbey, Fort Augustus was from 1878) in re-creating what they believed to be pre-Reformation forms of religious life — might experience stresses and strains (which, perhaps simply mirrored the confusions of society at large, as the population moved from the countryside into towns and cities), torn

⁷ Robert O'Neil, *Cardinal Herbert Vaughan* (Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oates, 1995), 220; John Cunningham, 'Church Administration and Organisation: 1878 -1978,' *IR*, vol. 29, No 1 (1978), 77-78

⁸ Maria Monk, *Awful disclosures of Maria Monk, as exhibited in a narrative of her sufferings ... in the Hotel Dieu Nunnery at Montreal* (Paisley: A. Gardner, 1836)

between engagement and disengagement with the world. Convents, on the other hand, also had their internal difficulties in maintaining authority within their communities, sometimes developing extremes of devotional life — exhibiting on the one hand the transformation of physical suffering (as in the case of the Poor Clare, Margaret Sinclair) into miraculous virtue, and on the other hand transmuting psychological trauma (as with the visionary Sister of Mercy, Teresa Higginson) into extraordinary religious experience.

In 1864, upon his consecration as vicar apostolic for the Eastern District and in preparation for the eventual restoration of the hierarchy, John Strain consulted his senior priests over the advisability of re-introducing the hierarchy. The eight replies he received were significant but contradictory. A new hierarchy was seen by some as having clear advantages; by others as a recipe for disaster. The responses also revealed a rather negative attitude towards the contemporary structure of vicars apostolic: they were seen as 'capricious'; they were believed to follow 'their own notions and idiosyncrasies'; worse, the vicars seemed to have an impermanent, 'floating kind of existence.'⁹

Nevertheless, some feared that restoration of the hierarchy would lead to a dangerous weakening of the ties with Rome and a greater (and unwelcome) dependence on local bishops.¹⁰ This view was summed up best by Fr Paul MacLachlan in Stirling, when he observed that 'the more we depend on Rome the better and, therefore, I am against any change that would loosen the bonds that unite us so intimately with the Holy Father.'¹¹ Xenophobically, MacLachlan saw any moves in that direction as a surrender to the Irish: 'it would appear undignified on the part of the Holy See, to seem even to yield to the clamor for a Hierarchy raised by a certain party here.'¹² Pointedly, the heavy cost of restoration prompted another question 'Where are these funds to come from?'¹³

Opinions in favour of restoration ranged from cagey self-interest ('I can only say that I am opposed to it unless the second Order that is Parish Priests with Canonical rights be appointed'), to energetic enthusiasm ('The Hierarchy would give a new impetus to Religion, would bring about unanimity of action; would cut at the root of many abuses').¹⁴ The fact that bishops in a restored hierarchy would have to appoint and consult episcopal councils

⁹ Ibid.; SCA ED3/14/4 Fr A. Gordon to Bp J. Strain, 15 Jun 1864; SCA ED3/14/8 Fr W. Smith to Bp J. Strain, 14 Jun 1864

¹⁰ SCA ED3/14/3 Fr J. Gillon to Bp J. Strain, 15 Jun 1864; SCA ED3/146 Fr P. MacLachlan to Bp J. Strain, 15 Jun 1864

¹¹ SCA ED3/146 Fr P. MacLachlan to Bp J. Strain, 15 Jun 1864

¹² Ibid.

¹³ SCA ED3/14/8 Fr W. Smith to Bp J. Strain, 14 Jun 1864

¹⁴ SCA ED3/14/3 Fr J. Gillon to Bp J. Strain, 15 Jun 1864; SCA ED3/14/7 Fr P. Macmanus to Bp J. Strain, 15 Jun 1864

would ensure good government, wrote Fr Alexander Gordon.¹⁵ Most far-sighted, was the opinion of Fr William Downie who focused on the public relations advantages of a restored hierarchy: 'I do foresee a vast advantage to be realized from a hierarchy in regard to its influence upon the educated classes and even masses of our heretical countrymen.'¹⁶

However, before the restoration of the hierarchy in Scotland could take place (twenty-eight years after the contentious restoration in England), it became necessary for the bishops of the Catholic Church to define and defend the temporal and spiritual authority of the pope. In 1869, summoned to Rome by Pius IX, all three Scottish vicars apostolic attended the First Vatican Council, which opened on 8 December. John Strain (who had been consecrated bishop by Pius in 1864), was accompanied by Bishop John Macdonald of the Northern District and Archbishop Charles Eyre of the Western District.¹⁷ In his political and intellectual conflict with liberal Catholics, it was the visible power of ultramontanism which had given Pius IX the confidence to call the Council.¹⁸ The newly-converted Marquess of Bute (having recently received the sacrament of Confirmation from Pius IX), saw the silver cross he had presented to the new pope carried at the head of the procession during the inauguration of the Council, but feared greatly that a declaration of infallibility 'might result in a serious defection from the Church.'¹⁹

In hindsight, it can be seen that, in spite of the best efforts of the conciliar bishops in 1869-70, the critical task of defining the nature of authority in the Church was not destined to be completed until almost a century later when the Second Vatican Council's *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church* (1964) affirmed the collegiality of the bishops.²⁰ Writing from Rome early in February 1870, Strain (reflecting what many other bishops felt) described the work of the First Vatican Council as unremitting, progressing very slowly and offering little hope of completion before the end of the year.²¹ Fortunately, however, by the end of February, new regulations had been issued to expedite the coming 'very important discussions' (principally on papal infallibility).²² By mid-April the bishops were 'kept to

¹⁵ SCA ED3/14/4 Fr A. Gordon to Bp J. Strain, 15 Jun 1864

¹⁶ SCA ED3/14/1 Fr W. Downie to Bp J. Strain, 14 Jan 1864

¹⁷ Alphons Bellesheim, tr. D. O. Hunter Blair, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, vol. 4 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1890), 291; see also SCA OL5/5/2 Pastoral Letter to the Clergy ..., Lent, 1870 (Glasgow: Hugh Margey, 1870)

¹⁸ O'Neil, op. cit., 182

¹⁹ David O. Hunter Blair, *John Patrick, Third Marquess of Bute*, KT (London: John Murray, 1921), 88 - 90

²⁰ *Lumen Gentium*, sect. 22-23, 21 Nov 1964

²¹ Bp J. Strain to his sister, 2 Feb 1870, quoted in Michael Turner, *Life and Labours of John Menzies Strain* (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1922), 100

²² SCA ED4/2/17 Bp J. Strain to Fr W. Smith, 23 Feb 1870

work in earnest' but resigned pessimism crept into Strain's correspondence and also a tone of detachment over the appropriateness of the proposed constitution on infallibility — the sittings were already due to be interrupted by the functions of Holy Week and Easter; most alarming of all, in Strain's opinion (which reveals him as taking the *Inopportunist* view that the time was not right to introduce papal infallibility), was the Council's heavy financial and personal cost: 'There is no chance of a termination to them [the sessions] before the end of June, if we shall see it then. The expense to the Pope is very great. Whether the Council declares him infallible or not, it will surely make him fail.'²³

During the Council, a number of bishops (most of the Austrians and Germans and the French *gallican* minority), believed that the proposals on papal infallibility must imply that (when the Council reconvened later in the year), they would be balanced by an affirmation of the authority of the bishops; by contrast, the Ultramontane faction was eager to reduce the power of the bishops.²⁴ Among the British clergy, John Henry Newman, along with his fellow Inopportunist, was vehemently opposed by the Ultramontanes led by Archbishop Henry Manning and Herbert Vaughan.²⁵

In the event, the entire French minority assented to the final dogmatic constitution, *Pastor aeternus*, in expectation that, in subsequent sessions of the Council, the role of the bishops would also be examined and also affirmed. However, as a result of the war declared in July 1870 by Napoleon III against Prussia, the French garrison left Rome and the city was invaded by the Italians on 20 September. Exactly a month later Pius suspended the Council — as it turned out, indefinitely.²⁶

The work of the Council thus cut short, the long-term effect of *Pastor aeternus* on the bishops (whether of a Gallican or Ultramontane persuasion) was to assert the authority of the pope, but also to cast the shadow of ambivalence over the authority and status of the bishops.

Restoring the Hierarchy

In spite of the disagreement among the Scots clergy over the need to restore the hierarchy, the movement for restoration gained impetus and focus, in part mainly as a way of defusing the problems of the Western District, but also because members of the clergy (such

²³ SCA ED4/2/18 Bp J. Strain to Fr W. Smith, 11 Apr 1870

²⁴ Margaret O'Gara, *Triumph in Defeat — Infallibility, Vatican I, and the French Minority Bishops* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1988), 153. For the Austrian and German bishops see Cuthbert Butler (ed.), *The Vatican Council 1869-1870* (London: Collins Harvill, 1962), 108 -115

²⁵ O'Neil, op. cit., 80

²⁶ O'Gara, op. cit., 181, note 14

as Bishop Strain, as the son of an Irish jeweller, perhaps also suffering from some class insecurity, as Bernard Aspinwall has suggested) saw it as an opportunity to raise the profile of the Catholic Church while promoting their own penchant for personal aggrandisement.²⁷ As early as 1864, Cardinal Wiseman had advised Propaganda that, in his opinion, restoring the hierarchy to Scotland would correct what he saw as isolationism, a 'little liking for episcopal rule' among the Scots clergy.²⁸ Accordingly, when in May 1877 Pius IX celebrated his episcopal jubilee, Strain led a delegation of Scottish Catholics to Rome, accompanied by members of the Scottish aristocracy. The Scots urged the Pontiff to restore the hierarchy in their native land, and Pius offered the hope that, through the intercession of St Margaret, 'whom he had often invoked,' their aspirations might soon be realised.²⁹ This public papal support triggered increased activity on the part of those clergy and laymen (such as the Marquess of Bute) who were broadly in favour of restoration.

That December, Strain was called to Rome by Cardinal Alessandro Franchi, the Prefect of Propaganda, and asked to help produce an outline structure for the new Scottish hierarchy.³⁰ Not long after, this framework was approved by Pius IX. The Scots bishops then had to decide on the appointment of suffragan bishops and determine the relative status of the two archbishops — a process soured by agitated jockeying for position by some of the episcopal candidates and others who were in two minds, such as Lord Bute.³¹ Both Archbishop Eyre and Bishop Strain evidently entertained 'pretensions' to be metropolitan, while Eyre observed that nine tenths of the Cardinals wanted Glasgow.³² Cardinal Henry Manning pressed the claims of Glasgow as metropolitan, while Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman supported Edinburgh.³³ In his audience with Pius, Strain found that the pope had already been persuaded (by unidentified individuals) that Glasgow should be the metropolitan see; it took all of Strain's diplomatic finesse to persuade Pius to change his mind.³⁴ At the end of January 1878, Strain, in residence at the Scots College, Rome, triumphantly described his struggle to assert the pre-eminence of Edinburgh: 'The Hierarchy is reestablished ... Glasgow is second to Edin. We have had a hard fight to carry the Capital as the Metrop. See.'³⁵

²⁷ SCA ED6/88/17 Fr A. Gordon to Fr J. Smith, 17 May 1877; Bernard Aspinwall: Letter to author, 7 Nov 2001

²⁸ Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, 301

²⁹ *The Tablet* 1877, vol. 1, 627 (quoted in Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, 297-298)

³⁰ CDS (1884), 174

³¹ David McRoberts, 'The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy,' *IR*, vol. 29 (1978), 26-27

³² SCA ED14/134/12 Fr J. A. Smith: excerpts from diary, 7 Feb 1878

³³ Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, 303

³⁴ SCA ED6/3/1 Abp J. Strain to Fr W. Smith 13 April 1878

³⁵ SCA ED14/134/6 Bp J. Strain to Fr W. Smith, 31 Jan 1878

On 7 February 1878, Pius IX died, and, fourteen days later, his successor, Vincenzo Pecci, was elected Leo XIII. By a stroke of good fortune, the Scots had personal links with the new pope — both Strain and the rector of the Scots College, Alexander Grant, had been classmates of his at the Jesuit-staffed Collegio Romano.³⁶ The day after his coronation, Leo signed the apostolic letter *Ex supremo apostolatus apice*, restoring the Scottish hierarchy, the first administrative act of the new pontificate.³⁷

In the text of the letter Leo emphasised that Scotland's restoration was one of a continuing series — the Scots were following the restoration of the patriarchate of Jerusalem (1847), the hierarchy in England (1850) and in Holland (1853) — all of which had led to an increase in the number of Catholics.³⁸ The pope made it clear that the new bishops would not be tied in any way by 'special conditions or privileges or particular customs' — they would start with a clean slate, their authority being henceforwards subject only to common law and the common discipline of the Church.³⁹

By 7 February, when details of the new hierarchy first leaked out, two of the nominees, George Rigg and John MacLachlan telegraphed Rome that they wished to decline — in MacLachlan's case he was piqued because he had been left in the dark by Strain.⁴⁰ There was a strong rumour that Archbishop Eyre had been offered St Andrews and Edinburgh, but had declined.⁴¹ The new bishops shortly afterwards received briefs of appointment, in spite of attempted interference by the regular clergy and their lay protectors, chiefly through members of the powerful and extensive Vaughan family (including Herbert Vaughan) who wished to see their own candidates as bishops — men such as the Irish Jesuit Robert Whitty, who, before he entered the Society of Jesus, had been Cardinal Wiseman's vicar-general and provost of the Westminster chapter.⁴²

By early March, the constitution that Pius IX had previously ratified was also approved by the new pontiff; any 'remodelling' of the structure that was felt to be necessary would be dealt with later.⁴³ As for the method of appointing new bishops, James Campbell, vice-rector of the Scots College, fearing that time was not on the side of the Scots, warned

³⁶ SCA ED6/91/18 Fr W. Geddes to Fr J. Smith, 1 Mar 1878

³⁷ McRoberts, op. cit., 26

³⁸ SCA ED7/8/3 Apostolic Letter of Our Most Holy Father in Christ Leo XIII ... (Edinburgh: J. Miller & Sons, 1878)

³⁹ SCA ED3/102/6 Letter of the English Hierarchy to Scottish Hierarchy, 1 May 1878

⁴⁰ SCA ED14/134/12 Fr J. A. Smith: excerpts from diary, 7 Feb 1878

⁴¹ Ibid., 4 Jun 1878

⁴² SCA ED6/91/18 Fr W. Geddes to Fr J. Smith, 1 Mar 1878; see Robert O'Neil, op. cit., 98 and David McRoberts, 'The restoration of the Scottish Catholic hierarchy in 1878,' *IR*, vol. 29 (1978), 13 n. 23

⁴³ SCA ED6/91/18 Fr W. Geddes to Fr J. Smith, 1 Mar 1878

that if there was too much prevarication, Propaganda would almost certainly step in and impose totally unsuitable candidates.⁴⁴

Within ten days (15 March) three men were translated to the new sees— John Strain (St Andrews and Edinburgh), John MacDonald (Aberdeen) and Charles Eyre (Glasgow). A month later, the clergy and laity of Scotland offered a loyal address and presentation to the bishops.⁴⁵ Strain (still in Rome) had received the *pallium* of his office [a band of white wool worn on the shoulders] on 31 March and returned to Scotland forthwith.⁴⁶ The English bishops, for their part, were quick to offer their congratulations.⁴⁷ Then, on 23 May, John McLachlan (Galloway) and Angus MacDonald (Argyll) were consecrated in Glasgow, in a ceremony which was seen as something of a slight to Strain ('odium cum dignitate' or dignified distaste) — the general impression given was that the new hierarchy 'did not enjoy an abundance of co-operation.'⁴⁸ Finally, on 26 May, the last bishop, George Rigg, overcame his reluctance and was consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld in Rome.

The first meeting of the new hierarchy was on 18 June 1878. Problems immediately appeared: Bishop Rigg refused to take on his diocesan administration before he received a complete statement of its financial position.⁴⁹ Among the other pressing tasks facing the hierarchy was the formation of chapters and the erection of parishes.⁵⁰ By the autumn, the questions of the new diocesan boundaries, the location of pro-cathedrals and the appointment of key personnel were causing unrest among some members of the clergy, aggrieved at what they saw as the 'proposed dismemberment of the diocese.'⁵¹ As October was the holiday month in Rome, there was to be further delay and Propaganda would not meet until November to decide finally on these crucial matters.⁵²

Vicars to Bishops

The change from a system of vicars apostolic to an episcopal hierarchy was a quantitative and also a qualitative one.⁵³ Before 1878 John Strain, for example, held his authority *vicariously* —it was delegated by Rome, with the implication that Strain was not

⁴⁴ SCA ED6/40/14 Fr J. Campbell to Fr J. Smith, 5 Mar 1878

⁴⁵ SCA ED6/91/20 Fr W. Geddes to Fr J. Smith, 16 Apr 1878

⁴⁶ CDS (1884), 174 -75

⁴⁷ SCA ED3/102/6 Letter of the English Hierarchy to Scottish Hierarchy, 1 May 1878

⁴⁸ SCA ED6/92/3 Fr J. M. Hare to Fr J. Smith, 18 May 1878

⁴⁹ SCA ED3/202 Abp J. Strain: scribbling diary, 16 - 17 July 1878

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 18 Jun 1878

⁵¹ SCA ED6/93/9 Abp W. Smith to Fr J. Smith, 21 Sep 1878

⁵² SCA ED6/3/5 Abp J. Strain to Fr J. Smith, 5 Oct 1878

⁵³ SCA ED4/172/4 Abp W. Smith: Introduction of the hierarchy into Scotland, nd

ultimately responsible. With the introduction of an episcopal hierarchy, the substantial balance of decision-making was transferred to the local bishop — with the notable exception of the diocese of Glasgow where the potential for destabilisation was still seen as very real, the diocese remaining (with its honorary archbishopric) directly under Propaganda until 1947, while the rest of Scotland was released from Propaganda's control and made subject to the common law of the Church in 1908.⁵⁴ This explains why, although Scotland was, from 1878, divided into (an 'Eastern') province with an archdiocese and a ('Western') archdiocese (but not a province), it was Archbishop Strain of St Andrews and Edinburgh who was made sole metropolitan, a distinction, nevertheless, still fiercely resented by Glasgow (whose metropolitan from 1878 to 1947 was the pope) as late as the 1930s.⁵⁵

After 1878 the Scottish hierarchy enjoyed relatively greater autonomy than the vicars apostolic. This may explain the reluctance of Propaganda to intervene directly in matters such as the division of funds, preferring to have such questions decided in the Scottish civil or criminal courts. On the other hand, the intensity and duration of Scottish episcopal disputes (especially over money) may well have been evidence of the new bishops' relative inexperience in assuming full responsibility for their own affairs: of the six new bishops, only Strain, Eyre and John MacDonald (Aberdeen) had attended the First Vatican Council.

Dissatisfaction

In the two years' interregnum after the death of Archbishop Strain in 1883 (and before the appointment of his successor, William Smith, in 1885), the new diocesan structure of St Andrews and Edinburgh came under severe pressure. In spite of the requirement to erect a consultative chapter of canons, Strain had neglected to do so, making it difficult to discern who the priests of the diocese regarded as a suitable candidate for the vacant archbishopric. The rector of the Scots College, Rome, James Campbell, complained that 'there is on this occasion no opportunity for the voice of the clergy being heard through a responsible chapter.'⁵⁶ Edinburgh had also been slow in setting up deaneries — these had existed in Glasgow from before 1878, but did not appear in Edinburgh until three years later.⁵⁷ Strain's successor, Archbishop Smith, would quickly erect the first Cathedral Chapter immediately after his consecration.

⁵⁴ SCA ED7/8/3 Leo XIII: Apostolic letter restoring Scottish hierarchy (Edinburgh 1878); John Cunningham, 'Church Administration and Organisation: 1878-1978,' *IR*, vol. 29 (1978), 78

⁵⁵ SCA ED14/134/18 Fr J. A. Smith's diary, 17 Aug 1886

⁵⁶ SCA ED4/94/1 Fr J. Campbell to Fr W. Smith, 6 Jan 1884

⁵⁷ CDS (1882), 72

When it came to finding a replacement for Archbishop Strain, the bishops had their own decided ideas. Writing in June 1884 to Bishop Rigg, Bishop Angus MacDonald of Argyll commented that the bishops were now in favour of making Archbishop Eyre metropolitan of all Scotland:

I heartily agree in thinking that Dr. Eyre is the one solution for Edin., & that it is expedient to tell the Legate our opinion ... I think it is a strong additional motive for appointing Dr. Eyre that in this way they can most easily remodel our hierarchy & make it consist of one Archbishop & five Suffragan bips. I dont believe that we shall ever be right or have a spirit of union & chance of heartly cooperation till that is done.⁵⁸

In November 1884 the bishops of Aberdeen, Galloway and Argyll issued a paper which urged that the Eastern and Western provinces be united under one metropolitan, pointing out that 'between Edinburgh — the historic & aristocratic capital — & Glasgow — the Commercial capital of the Country — there exists a considerable rivalry; & this feeling extends to their respective Congregations ... The advantages then that would result from the rule of a single Archbishop who would be Metropolitan over all Scotland are so obvious.'⁵⁹ This proposal was put forward in spite of the fact that, as soon as the idea had first been floated early in 1883, Eyre 'protested that he would not go to Edinburgh.'⁶⁰

This new plan was forwarded to Rome but the reaction there was highly critical, Cardinal Simeoni informing the rector of the Scots College

that he was perfectly amazed to receive through the Bishop of Hexham a petition signed by all the Bishops requesting that the Archdiocese of St. Andrews should be united to that of Glasgow & governed by Dr Eyre ... The Cardinal however gave his [opinion], condemning the Bishops' proceedings in the severest terms, accusing them of want of fixed ideas, and sacrificing to petty squabbles about money the most sacred interests of the church in Scotland.⁶¹

This effectively killed off the scheme and, late in 1885, William Smith was appointed archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh.⁶² Nevertheless, the resentment felt by Glasgow at the Archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh's use of the title 'Metropolitan of Scotland' rankled for many years to come, and was only eased by the erection of the suffragan sees of

⁵⁸ SCA ED14/134/5 Bp A. MacDonald to Bp G. Rigg, 8 Jun 1884

⁵⁹ SCA ED4/40/10 Bp J. McLachlan, Bp G. Rigg, Bp A. MacDonald to Bp J. Bewick, 14 Nov 1884

⁶⁰ SCA ED4/94/2 Fr J. Campbell to Fr W. Smith, 12 Jan 1883

⁶¹ SCA ED4/94/15 Fr J. Campbell to Fr W. Smith, 19 Dec 1884

⁶² SCA ED5/17/13 Bp J. McLachlan to Bp A. MacDonald, 22 Dec 1884

Motherwell and Paisley in 1947.⁶³ As late as 1932, Archbishop Donald Mackintosh challenged the use of the title at a meeting of the Scottish hierarchy, claiming "That the titles 'Scotiae Metropolitanus' and 'In Scotia Metropolitanus' are both uncanonical, in as much as they turn a qualified title into an absolute one, thus mutilating the Papal Decree ... and thereby conveying to the public a false idea of the juridical relations of the Archdioceses in Scotland, & therefore should not be used "; but Archbishop McDonald rejoined that he was merely continuing a 50-year old custom — the bishops of Aberdeen and Dunkeld declared themselves not competent to judge their superior's title, adding that 'If His Grace of Glasgow had ground for complaint he must lay the matter before the Roman Authorities, to whom alone it belongs to decide it.'⁶⁴

The social and ecclesiastical backgrounds of bishops and clergy

The status of Catholic bishops and priests in Scotland derived to a large extent from their secular and ecclesiastical education. The origins and career-paths of the six archbishops of St Andrews and Edinburgh during the period 1878-1965 do not fall into any easily-discernible pattern. Certainly, most of the bishops came from families which could afford to support them in lengthy clerical studies. Four future bishops were born in Edinburgh: John Strain (1810-83), William Smith (1819-92), James Smith (1841-1928) and Gordon Gray (1910-93), while two were natives of Inverness-shire — Angus Macdonald (1844-1900) and Andrew Joseph McDonald (1871-1950). Six of the eight bishops of Argyll and the Isles came from the 'Gaelic core of the diocese,' with three cousins between 1919 and 1959 succeeding each other as bishop.⁶⁵

Sociologically, the bishops came almost without exception from families that were comfortably enough off to be able to support their children through a good education — gentleman farmers, lawyers, captains of industry. The backgrounds of the bishops varied only in their geographic origin and the profession of their fathers. Strain (the first archbishop) was the son of a jeweller who had emigrated to Edinburgh from Armagh; William Smith's father (a solicitor) originally Presbyterian, had converted to Catholicism, then edited *The Dublin Review* and *The Edinburgh Catholic Magazine*; his mother was a

⁶³ Donald A. Campbell, *Allocutio Synodus dioecesana quarta Glasguensis ...* (Glasgow: P. Donegan, 1946), 15

⁶⁴ SCA ED29/91 SHMB, 10 May 1932

⁶⁵ Ray Burnett, 'The long nineteenth century: Scotland's Catholic Gaidhealtachd' in Raymond Boyle and Peter Lynch (eds.), *Out of the Ghetto?* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1998), 170

cousin of Fr Alexander Macdonnell of Glengarry (vicar apostolic of Upper Canada 1819 and Bishop of Kingston 1826). Angus Macdonald, born in Borrodale, Inverness-shire, was the brother of the Redemptorist Bishop of Aberdeen, Hugh Macdonald (1841-98). James Smith's father was an Edinburgh surgeon, Andrew Joseph McDonald a laird's son from Fort William (who spoke no Gaelic). Gordon Gray's was manager of a firm producing machines for the printing industry.⁶⁶

The bishops all received sound education at good schools: William Smith attended Edinburgh's High School; James Smith was a student at Holyrood School in the Canongate, then Wellburn Academy, Dundee; Andrew Joseph McDonald also attended the High School in Edinburgh but then transferred to the Abbey School, Fort Augustus; Gordon Gray was a pupil at Holy Cross Academy, Edinburgh, whereas Edinburgh-born Francis Thomson, Bishop of Motherwell was educated at George Watson's, one of the prestigious Merchant Company schools. Their educational routes suggest a degree of pragmatism on the part of the wealthier and better-educated Catholic parents and reflects their desire to send their sons to distinguished Protestant establishments with high academic standards where local schools in the over-stretched Catholic system might be relatively poorly-staffed and badly-equipped.

The location of the *junior* seminaries the bishops attended were in Scotland, England and Continental Europe (chiefly in Rome). To Aberdeenshire went Bishops Strain (Aqhuorties), William Smith and James Smith (both Blairs); Andrew Joseph McDonald studied in the monastic *alumnate* at Fort Augustus. To England (where some Scottish bishops felt the education was better and broader) went Angus Macdonald (to Ushaw near Durham) and Gordon Gray (Mark Cross, Sussex).

Three of the bishops did their *senior* seminary training at the Scots College, Rome — Strain (additionally at the Gregorian University and the Propaganda College) and his successors William Smith and James Smith. Andrew Joseph McDonald was sent to Bonn and Cologne for further studies; Angus Macdonald studied at Ushaw (Durham) and Gordon Gray at Womersley (Guildford), later taking a degree in English at St Andrews University, protesting even to his dying day that his grasp of Latin and of theology was only rudimentary — a far cry from the deep erudition of his predecessor, William Smith. Francis Thomson (a future Bishop of Motherwell) was educated at the universities of Edinburgh and Cambridge and in Rome. Clearly, in their own different ways each future bishop was exposed to diverse but thorough intellectual training, some more heavily weighted towards pastoral or towards legal or theological concerns. Students who trained on the Continent were not, after all, a

⁶⁶ SCA CB5/1014 James Smith: certificate of baptism, 9 Jul 1855

new phenomenon for Scots — during the seventeenth century, for example, there was a long tradition of Scottish medical men taking their degrees at Leyden or in Paris.

For some of the clergy the junior seminary at Blairs College in Aberdeen gave an opportunity not only to develop teaching skills but also offered practical administrative experience on the home dairy farm, in growing cereals and vegetables and rearing livestock, much of which went to feed the College community. Four future bishops held the post of rector at Blairs, where running the farm helped to broaden management skills: Gordon Gray 1947-51 (St Andrews and Edinburgh), Stephen McGill 1951-60 (Argyll), Francis Thomson 1960-64 (Motherwell) and Keith Patrick O'Brien 1980-85 (St Andrews and Edinburgh).

Whether by accident or design, student priests were given opportunities to develop expertise which would be of benefit in meeting the needs of the Church and the Catholic community, not least of these being a command of ancient or modern languages (the former relevant to liturgy or theology, the latter needed for mission work). Bursaries available at the Royal Scots College in Spain (first at Valladolid and then at Salamanca) or in France (derived from the revenues of the Scots Colleges in Paris and Douay) opened the door to additional educational advantages for the student who showed potential and was prepared to work. And it must not be forgotten that the overwhelming majority of prospective students (particularly those at junior seminaries), did not complete their further clerical training but left to become theologically-articulate laymen, capable (by argument or example) of forcefully promoting the interests of the Catholic Church.

The Army of God

In their pastoral letter issued at the Council of Fort Augustus (1886), the assembled bishops of Scotland defined the role of the secular clergy as one of shepherding, a role that was peace-loving and agrarian ('feed the flock of God'), adding that 'the priest has now to establish associations of different kinds, for the promotion of piety, temperance, and intellectual progress among his flock.'⁶⁷ Fifty years later, after the trauma of the First World War and in the shadow of a second world conflict, the locus in which the Catholic Church lived and breathed was seen, not as a hill-pasture but as a battlefield. Here was ranged the *Church Militant* where 'Saintly priests who will lead their flocks to saintliness' was the first requirement; but plough-shares now needed to be turned into swords — God looked for priests (proclaimed former Benedictine monk, Archbishop McDonald, at his diocesan synod

⁶⁷ Pastoral Letter of the Archbishops and Bishops of Scotland ..., August 1886 (Edinburgh: T & A Constable at the Edinburgh University Press, 1888)

of 1934), who would serve wholeheartedly and with both hands —'With an army such as this we can re-make the world,' he concluded.⁶⁸ Later, after the Second World War, there was still fighting to be done: in November 1948, McDonald delivered the following battlefield address:

Whether our role in this struggle will be as persecuted slaves under totalitarian tyranny, or as members of a free bulwark, damming back the rising tide of Communism, is in God's hands. Certain it is that nothing but sanctity on the highest possible level will suffice to sustain us in this battle with the satellites of satan [sic].⁶⁹

One of the forces widely seen as insidiously evil, was *Modernism*. Defined in 1910 by Pius X as 'the synthesis of all the heresies,' Modernism was perceived as one of the highroads to atheism and the annihilation of all religion.⁷⁰ One of its chief proponents, Abbé Alfred Loisy, used modern Scriptural scholarship to show how he believed dogma developed from primitive Christianity to the sophisticated Catholicism of his own period.⁷¹ Modernists asserted the reality of the divine, but did so relying on their own subjective experience.⁷²

From Paris in 1904, the convert aesthete and financier André Raffalovich complained to Archbishop Smith that 'Everyone has been reading Loisy. My mother read 'Autour d'un petit livre' and was struck by the asperity and resentment of the writer's tone. She told me she thought it a dangerous work for Catholics, more dangerous than Renan.'⁷³ Three years later a decree of the Holy Office (*Lamentabili*) condemned a list of sixty-five propositions containing the chief errors of leading Modernists— soon after, the encyclical *Pascendi* expanded on these errors, prescribing remedies.⁷⁴ By the motu proprio, *Sacrorum antistitum*, an anti-Modernist oath (*Professio fidei contra Modernism*) was required to be taken by every priest. The Scottish bishops decided that each bishop should act for his own diocese, 'if and when any case should arise requiring intervention.'⁷⁵ In St Andrews and Edinburgh, of the

⁶⁸ Andrew J. McDonald, *Allocutio Synodus dioecesana sexta Sancti Andreae et Edimburgensis ...* (Edinburgh: privately printed, 1935), 24 - 25

⁶⁹ Andrew J. McDonald, *Allocutio Synodus dioecesana Sancti Andreae et Edimburgensis septima* (Edinburgh: privately printed, 23 Nov 1948), 4

⁷⁰ William E. Addis and Thomas Arnold, rev. T. B. Scannell and P. E. Hallett, *A Catholic Dictionary* (London: Virtue & Co. Ltd, 1952), 575

⁷¹ *Time Magazine*, 28 Jul 1967

⁷² Addis and Arnold, op. cit., 573

⁷³ SCA ED6/134/14 A. Raffalovich to Abp J. Smith, 10 Mar [nd 1904?]

⁷⁴ Addis and Arnold, op. cit., 573

⁷⁵ SCA ED29/90 SHMB, 11 Oct 1910

456 secular priests listed in the Catholic Directory for 1911, a mere sixty-two put their names to the document, perhaps a sign of an underlying scepticism as to its relevance.⁷⁶

Parish Priests

As the Scottish bishops struggled to grow into their new roles, a similar process of adaptation was taking place among the secular clergy. In the 1880s, the bishops informally distinguished between the 'senior' and 'junior' members of the hierarchy, reflecting the more formal stratification which already existed among the parish clergy.⁷⁷ Although parishes could not exist before the hierarchy had been restored, nevertheless, in the previous decade, the term 'parish priest' had been routinely used to describe a priest in charge of a mission.⁷⁸ 'Parish priest' was a title widely abused, the Catholic Directory for 1890 noted, warning its readers that, while *missionary rectors* (appointed for life) would be introduced in certain parishes which were to be administered 'in some respects, like real Parishes', the 'terms *Parish* and *Parish Priest*, which has recently become very frequent among us, is both unauthorised and misleading, and ought to be carefully avoided.'⁷⁹

It was not surprising, therefore, that Bishop James Smith in Dundee should complain to his archbishop, explaining the dangerous legal difficulties to which misuse of the title could lead:

The use of P.P. has been strongly reprobated, because, by being so much used in the South & Centre, 1. It is said to have got into Deeds, wh. may be bothersome some day; 2nd it has led Priests to regard practically their faculties as Ordinary, & so disregard withdrawal (& go on exercising them in cases where the suspension of a P.P. wd be (in their opinion) invalid; of which I myself know one certain case.⁸⁰

As part of the restoration of 1878 it was implicit that missions would eventually be erected into parishes; after 1918, the new code of canon law (canon 216, dealing with the erection of parishes in former mission dioceses) further alerted the bishops to the need to convert missions into parishes.⁸¹ Parishes, however, required a formal document of erection, and parish priests an instrument of appointment. The increase in the number of quasi-parishes (missions) led to the question being studied in detail by the time of the diocesan

⁷⁶ SCA ED6/181 Motu Proprio Sacrorum antistitum: Professio Fidei Contra Modernism, 1 Sep 1910

⁷⁷ SCA ED5/21/11 Bp J. McLachlan to Bp A. MacDonald, 7 Nov 1888

⁷⁸ SCA ED6/76/13 H. McDonald to J. Smith, 16 Aug 1864

⁷⁹ CDS (1890), 88

⁸⁰ SCA ED5/41/8 Bp J. Smith to Abp A. MacDonald, 13 Sep 1896

⁸¹ SCA ED6/36/5 Bp D. Mackintosh to Abp J. Smith, 22 Dec 1918

synod of 1934, when instructions had already been received from Rome, as the process of formal erection of parishes was evidently not far off.⁸² Partly, the delay arose because Rome wanted to be sure that the requirements of canon 1415 had been met, namely, that a stable and sufficient endowment with revenues which accrued perpetually had been ensured; this concern was uppermost in the minds of the bishops, who cited the 'uncertain industrial condition of the country, the present instability of many Missions ...'⁸³ However, to strengthen diocesan administration, a new office of *vicar forane* (a rural dean to supervise a section or district of the diocese) was introduced to co-ordinate the work of the deans, as visualised by the new code of canon law: 'those who have been intimately connected with the management of the diocese,' explained Archbishop McDonald, 'will readily understand the value of this office. The steady growth of parishes makes the assistance of the deans a matter of vital importance for the smooth running of diocesan machinery.'⁸⁴

Nevertheless, it was to be 1939 before the first canonically-erected parishes appeared in Scotland: the 28 missions in St Andrews and Edinburgh which existed in 1880, had grown to 71 by then, but only in that diocese and in Aberdeen were parishes first erected — the other dioceses were obliged to continue with their *missions* until 1947.⁸⁵

Curates

The daily lives of the secular clergy (and those of the *regulars* — priests, monks, lay brothers and nuns) within each diocese, were strictly regimented by a growing corpus of legislation — not only canon law, but also the acts and decrees of the Council of Fort Augustus, as well as the statutes issued by diocesan synods, intended, not to supplement the common law of the Church but, 'by descending into more minute details, to harmonise local customs and conditions with the legislation of the Universal Church.'⁸⁶ These local administrative norms operated even before the restoration of the hierarchy. In 1869, for example, Bishop Strain advised the priests of the Eastern District that:

In all Missions where there is more than one priest in a Chapel house, the Senior priest of each establishment is entrusted with the whole

⁸² Andrew J. McDonald, *Allocutio Synodus dioecesisana sexta Sancti Andreae et Edimburgensis ...* (Edinburgh: privately printed, 1935), 27

⁸³ John Cunningham, *op. cit.*, 77-78; SCA DE133/14/4 Extracts from Minutes of Hierarchy Meetings, 12 Oct 1925

⁸⁴ Andrew J. McDonald, *Allocutio ... Synodus dioecesisana sexta Sancti Andreae et Edimburgensis ...*, (Edinburgh: privately printed, 1935), 27

⁸⁵ *CDS* (1880), 77; (1939), 159; (1940), 159

⁸⁶ Andrew J. McDonald, *Allocutio ... Synodus dioecesisana sexta Sancti Andreae et Edimburgensis ...* (Edinburgh: privately printed, 1935), 25

management of it, and the junior clergymen are to consider themselves bound to comply with such regulations as he may deem it necessary to make for the good government of the congregation, and the management of the chapel house.⁸⁷

The subordinates of this ecclesiastical body were the junior priests, curates who could expect very little freedom of action and were often made aware that they had only a modicum of rights. In frustration, John Maclusky, writing in 1876, complained about his own lowly position and the proliferation of dignities in the Church, especially the high status of Roman graduates:

I am taking energetic steps to found a Curate Defence Association. The teachers, Inspectors, Professors, Regulars & Board men are going beyond all bounds & if life here is to be worth living some effectual curb must be put upon the notabilities. Some recommend the starting of a curates Review & General Advertiser, others go in heartily for my scheme of petitioning Mr Grant [rector of Scots College] to send Jack Ritchie & every little sprout from Rome back to Scotland with Doctors caps. The system will then fall into discredit & die a natural death.⁸⁸

A young curate was often powerless, subject to the whims of his senior priest. When, in 1885, Fr Edward Hannan of St Patrick's, Edinburgh, discovered that he had a surplus of curates — more than he could afford to support — he applied to the diocesan office to have one of them removed; Hannan (who was beginning to suffer the effects of old age) had done the same the previous year before the summer vacation and, by the end of the vacation, had brought a curate from Ireland to replace the one taken away.⁸⁹

But, senior priests also shared some of the same restrictions as their curates. In 1873, Bishop Strain informed his clergy that all priests wishing to go on holiday had to submit a request to the bishop and receive his permission and that none could be absent from his mission for more than three weeks.⁹⁰ As for junior priests, none should be absent for so much as a day, without the permission of their senior.⁹¹ A year after the restoration of the hierarchy, there were even those who warned ominously of the 'moral hazards in vacation excursion', especially for students studying abroad.⁹²

⁸⁷ SCA ED10/15/7 Bp J. Strain to clergy, 12 Nov 1869

⁸⁸ SCA ED6/87/8 Fr J. Maclusky to Fr J. Smith, 18 Nov 1876

⁸⁹ SCA ED4/30 Fr W. Grady to Fr W. Smith, 16 May 1885

⁹⁰ SCA ED10/51 Bp J. Strain to clergy, 29 May 1873

⁹¹ SCA ED7/14/9 Proposed Decrees — Discipline [nd, c 1878-83]

⁹² SCA ED5/64/190 Fr J. Rogerson to Bp A. Macdonald, 12 Dec 1879

Other leisure pursuits were off-limits for the clergy. In 1869 Bishop Strain decreed that he would allow 'No Priest of the Diocese to go to the Theatre for any Dramatic performance or opera.'⁹³ As late as 1938 Archbishop McDonald's secretary issued an *ad clerum* emphasising his disapproval of the motion picture as a form of public entertainment for the clergy, confirming that this ruling applied even to visiting priests who belonged to other dioceses.⁹⁴

However, in August 1948, with the advent of the Edinburgh International Festival, McDonald saw that the old restrictions were increasingly irrelevant, and by November had modified his position: 'The recent Festival in Edinburgh raised many questions in regard to educative films, plays, etc. It is, of course, in order to seek permission to attend such shows. If circumstances seem to justify it, permission may be given in individual cases.'⁹⁵

As social conditions changed so did attitudes towards other recreational activities. In 1934, Archbishop McDonald warned his priests that 'Under the existing conditions of depression and unemployment there are districts in which golfing can not be indulged in, even in moderation, without considerable loss of influence on the part of the parish priest.'⁹⁶ By 1961, however, the pendulum had swung the other way, Bishop Francis Walsh of Aberdeen urging his clergy that 'I think it is a pity that Monday golf is going out of fashion. The proper place for a priest to relax is in the company of his fellow clergy.'⁹⁷

Problems — physical and mental

Candidates for the Catholic priesthood varied greatly but stability of character, intelligence and an ability to relate to people were basic entry requirements for seminary training. There were several impediments to the reception of Holy Orders — determining the suitability of a candidate was an inexact science which attempted, usually with reasonable success, to identify personal characteristics (through referees or observation) and match them to a developing understanding of the role of the priesthood. Typical, perhaps, of candidates at the turn of the last century, is a young man described in 1901 by Bishop Angus Macfarlane to newly-appointed Archbishop James Smith:

⁹³ SCA ED10/15/7 Bp J. Strain to clergy, 12 Nov 1869

⁹⁴ SCA DE32/10 Fr J. J. Hodgson: *ad clerum*, 1938

⁹⁵ Andrew J. McDonald, *Allocutio ... Synodus dioecesana Sancti Andreae et Edinburgensis septima* (Edinburgh: privately published, 23 Nov 1948), 11

⁹⁶ Andrew J McDonald, *Allocutio ... Synodus dioecesana sexta Sancti Andreae et Edinburgensis ...* (Edinburgh: privately published, 1935), 29

⁹⁷ Francis Walsh, *Allocutio ... Synodus dioecesana septima Aberdonensis ...* (Glasgow: John S. Burns, 1961)

... there is a Dundee lad recommended by the Monsignore or rather by his assistant who might do well enough especially for another Diocese. His name is Davis; he is about 16; was not sent to any of the Academies [Protestant schools] for fear of his taking harm from them; has had a desire for the priesthood for some years; the father is a whale fisher who is at sea most of the year but goes to his duties when on shore; the mother and other members of the family are good pious and steady.⁹⁸

Untainted by Protestant education, committed to religion, from a stable Catholic family environment and with inherited strength and endurance, such candidates met the criteria and offered a good hope of successfully completing seminary training. Nevertheless, there were those such as Canon Michael McManus of Blairgowrie who, in spite of a weak constitution, managed to slip through the net, received his training at Blairs, Douay, Issy, St Sulpice and Valladolid (where he was ordained in 1882), but four years later proved unable to continue. 'His health has been for years notoriously bad,' wrote Bishop McLachlan of Galloway to Bishop MacDonald of Argyll, 'in fact, he should never have been ordained. He is a victim to the falling sickness, of which, singular to say, the Doctor says not one word!' ⁹⁹ Others, such as 'Priest D'Eremao', a young Indian who had studied at the Propaganda College, proved unsatisfactory in his post, giving trouble to the bishops, seeming to have 'lost the ecclesiastical spirit altogether.'¹⁰⁰

Loneliness or depression were factors which might afflict priests both at the start or in the middle of their ministry. 'I felt somewhat lonely and strange at first,' wrote one debutant in 1876, 'but I am now beginning to feel at home. I have written to my Father and asked him to come and stay with me during the winter months at any rate. It would be a comfort for me to have him in the house.'¹⁰¹ Archibald McDonnell, moving to Alloa in 1878, was daunted by the task of replacing a well-respected predecessor: 'I am spiritually ailing as well as bodily ... I have very little feeling of loneliness [sic], my petty miseries are company. I feel somewhat disheartened at the length of time it will take me to work for and interest myself in, and influence the congregation as Fr Don did ... Nothing like temperance, prayer, zeal, method!!!'¹⁰²

Priests who broke down were a continuing problem. Some, such as Bernard Eardley in 1901, seemed quite unable to work, incurring the wrath of their superiors. 'I asked him to help me with the altar,' raged William Grady at St Patrick's, Edinburgh, '& he did for a short

⁹⁸ SCA ED6/30/9 Bp A. MacFarlane to Abp J. Smith, 16 Aug 1901

⁹⁹ SCA ED5/19/2 Bp J. McLachlan to Bp A. MacDonald, 26 Jan 1886

¹⁰⁰ SCA ED4/132/13 Bp J. Persico to Abp W. Smith, 1 May 1888

¹⁰¹ SCA ED6/87/3 Fr D. McIntosh to Fr J. Smith, 16 Oct 1876

¹⁰² SCA ED6/92/4 Fr A. McDonnell to Fr J. Smith, 20 Jun 1878

time but now leaves me to do it myself. The other priests tell me he does not associate with them, but spends his time with lay people not in this mission. I would submit his removal.' ¹⁰³ Generally, the solution was to persuade the brokendown priest to retire to the Continent for recuperation and, perhaps, eventual re-employment.¹⁰⁴

Poor mental health seemed to be particularly prevalent among the clergy of Aberdeen. George Forbes of Glencairn (1831-69), who had once shown high promise of talent, holiness and zealousness, had to be permanently committed to the Aberdeen Lunatic Asylum in 1866; Alexander Forbes (1843-1919), who had to leave his studies in Paris at the outbreak of the Franco-German war in 1870, sixteen years later was dismissed for 'gross public scandal' at his parish in South Uist.¹⁰⁵ The local minister, Angus Macdonald, recalled Forbes, somewhat unsympathetically, as 'a drunken priest of the name of Forbes, a wild fellow whom I remember riding on a horse in a drunken condition.'¹⁰⁶ Forbes also managed to infuriate the bishops by having his exploits reported in the press; his behaviour was construed as evidence of insanity and he was ordered into an institution in 1884 by the bishops but managed, after much heart-searching on their part, to escape incarceration, and was instead put out to pasture at his birthplace, Eskdale near Beauly, where he lived out the rest of his days, 'an enthusiastic Celt, and a man of marked ability and kindly, genial disposition,' as his obituary in *The Inverness Courier* noted.¹⁰⁷

Pressures on the clergy often took their toll. Writing of the Western District clergy in 1860, Bernard Aspinwall notes that 'Two priests, both Scots-born, were found in a Glasgow brothel; others both Scots and Irish developed weaknesses for women or drink.'¹⁰⁸ Not even the episcopate itself was free from the taint of wrong-doing — John McLachlan, bishop of Galloway (1812-93), was the victim of a piece of character-assassination which alleged he had a long-standing relationship with a female teacher.¹⁰⁹ It was indeed the potentially lethal effects of alcohol on their priests which most troubled the bishops. Although Bishop Strain had something of a track-record for putting his head in the sand over priests and their problems, in 1869 he advised his clergy that:

¹⁰³ SCA ED6/121/6 Fr W. Grady to Abp J. Smith, 25 Apr 1901

¹⁰⁴ SCA ED6/30/9 Bp A. MacFarlane to Abp J. Smith, 16 Aug 1901

¹⁰⁵ SCA ED6/76/16 Fr H. MacDonald to Fr J. Smith, 3 May 1866; SCA ED5/15/12 Bp J. McLachlan to Bp J. MacDonald, 13 Nov 1881

¹⁰⁶ EUL MS 132A A. Macdonald: South Uist MS: a sketch of its history

¹⁰⁷ SCA ED5/15/12 Bp J. MacLachlan to Bp J. MacDonald, 13 Nov 1881; *The Inverness Courier*, 20 Jun 1919

¹⁰⁸ Bernard Aspinwall, 'Scots and Irish clergy ministering to immigrants,' *IR*, vol. 47, No 1 (Spring 1996), 55

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 68

I have noticed that in some Chapel Houses, wine and spirits are left for indiscriminate use in an open press or sideboard. I desire that in future they be kept locked up in every Chapel House, and the key must be in charge of the Senior Priest.¹¹⁰

The pangs of remorse can be vividly felt in a movingly rhetorical letter of 1885 written by a priest recuperating in Ireland to the administrator of St Andrews and Edinburgh, pleading (vainly, as it turned out) to be taken back:

I am perfectly sensible that a grave misdemeanour calls for a grave censure, but I can assure you truly, that if ever misdemeanour such as mine has been adequately atoned for, it has in my case by the pain I have endured from the withering chastisement so justly inflicted upon me by you Mgr and which has been intensified by the bitter recollection of the past; by remorse of conscience and by the thoughts of blighted hopes ... My shibboleth henceforward will be Temperance ... If therefore Mgr you will allow me a last chance ...¹¹¹

The bishops were especially concerned lest the intemperance of an older priest be communicated to the junior clergy 'on account of the risk of their learning to look on beer-swilling as an accomplishment to be acquired.'¹¹² But the lengths to which bishops would go to support their priests is well illustrated in the case of Fr Harris in Dundee in 1896, Bishop James Smith reporting that:

On Wedn. Night Fr. Harris was found drunk in his room, breaking pledge of total abstinence made to myself some several months ago. Yesterday morning I went to see him but he had slipped away before 8 a.m. & has not turned up yet. Many years ago, when he was in charge of Arbroath, he was in money difficulties (I think) & depressed in mind, & left without any warning. Bp. Rigg recd. him again. Xmas before last he bolted from Ballichin in the same way. We traced him to Glasgow, then Liverpool, & after many weeks found his address in London. Holder (with my full concurrence) went & brought him back & took him as Curate. He has many good points, and is not hard to deal with, but what can I do with him ... This is the 2nd breakdown during his 18 months or so at St Joseph's.¹¹³

Sixty years later, the problem of drinking was primarily related to the motor car. In 1958, a priest still needed permission from his bishop to purchase a car.¹¹⁴ But Archbishop

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 58-59; SCA ED10/15/7 Bp J. Strain to clergy, 12 Nov 1869

¹¹¹ SCA ED4/128/11 Fr W. Berkery to Mgr W. Smith, 4 Aug 1885

¹¹² SCA ED4/24/5 Bp J. McDonald to Abp W. Smith, 9 Jun 1887

¹¹³ SCA ED5/41/7 Bp J. Smith to Abp A. MacDonald, 28 Aug 1896

¹¹⁴ SCA DE32/27/5 Abp G. J. Gray: ad clerum, 18 Apr 1958

Gordon Gray's greatest concern was that priests should not drive less than four hours after consuming alcohol, 'to avoid scandal breaking forth.'¹¹⁵

Problems — Behavioural

From time to time pressure-groups within the Scottish clergy made their opinions known to the bishops; one such in 1888 was what was described by Archbishop William Smith as 'the Northern clique of Clergy.'¹¹⁶ Such entrenched positions could grow into outright opposition, as happened in Argyll in 1897, one bishop writing to another that 'From a number of sources, I hear that the Argyll Priests are in rebellion against the Bp. for not sending Eccl. [esiastical] Students to College!'¹¹⁷ Another source of irritation towards the end of the nineteenth century were those priests who continued to minister, in spite of being forbidden to do so.¹¹⁸

Indiscretion, in critical sermons from the pulpit, caused difficulty, as in the case of James Donleavy at St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, in 1885.¹¹⁹ There were also certain missionaries, neither 'discreet or sensible' (as Bishop Maguire put it to his counterpart in Edinburgh), who, being preachers 'of the rather ferocious type' seemed to have a knack of stirring up conflict.¹²⁰ Occasionally, priests (such as William Costigan in 1904) could also give way to weakness of another kind by being goaded to take up fisticuffs, so causing scandal among his parishioners and incurring the possibility of instant dismissal.¹²¹

Importing Priests

The loss of priests through death or illness put greater strain on the bishops, Bishop McLachlan of Galloway, for example, complaining in June 1880 that: 'I lose 4 priests before this year is out, & know not under heaven how or whence I am to supply their places.'¹²² Increasingly, replacements were imported from Ireland, to the unconcealed delight of the

¹¹⁵ SCA DE32/27/6 Abp G. J. Gray: ad clerum, 18 Apr 1958; ad clerum, 19 Sep 1958

¹¹⁶ SCA ED5/1/4 Abp W. Smith to Bp A. MacDonald, 17 Feb 1888

¹¹⁷ SCA ED5/10/2. Bp H. MacDonald to Abp A. MacDonald, 4 Jul 1897

¹¹⁸ SCA ED6/12/14 Bp J. Maguire to Bp J. Smith, 1 Nov 1897

¹¹⁹ SCA ED6/106/2 Fr P. Morris to Fr J. Smith, 1 Oct 1885

¹²⁰ SCA ED6/16/6 Bp J. Maguire to Abp J. Smith, 14 May 1902

¹²¹ SCA ED6/127/6 Fr J. Murphy to Abp J. Smith, 9 Jun 1904

¹²² SCA ED5/15/6 Bp J. MacLachlan to Bp J. MacDonald, 6 Jun 1880

Scottish administrators: 'We have got 4 stout boys from Ireland.'¹²³ Many of these in the 1880s came from Maynooth or Waterford.¹²⁴

Fortunately, the numbers of priests quitting the ministry (for whatever reason) from St Andrews and Edinburgh in the period 1878-1965 were generally not more than one a year — a mere ten left between 1886 and 1921; however, after that date, the numbers leaving slowly rose: four left in 1931, three in 1941 and a large group of ten in 1947 — (presumably, the latter being in some way one of the after-effects of the Second World War); then, between 1957 and 1964 there seems to have been a period of relative stability, with no leavers recorded.¹²⁵

The social base, spread and popularity of religious orders

Between 1828 and 1885, the Catholic Church in Scotland experienced a considerable expansion of activity. The number of secular priests rose from 50 to 273. Where there had been no priests belonging to a religious order in 1828, by 1885 there were 51; the number of religious houses for men jumped from zero to 13 and for women, from zero to 23.¹²⁶

The advantage which a religious order had over the secular clergy was their instant transferability, not just from one part of a diocese to another (as with the seculars), but from nation to nation. Religious orders had a uniform spirituality and each had developed its own particular strategy for problem-solving. In the main, their spiritual formation tended to be better-structured and more focused than that of the diocesan clergy who sometimes regarded members of the orders as fly-by-nights and mountebanks with their own agenda. But to the diocesan bishop a religious order, free from the liturgical or sacramental duties of the parish clergy, was a phalanx of trained and motivated men or women who could be relied upon (at minimum cost) to apply maximum pressure to the solution of problems such as ignorance, poverty or crime. They were a relatively quick fix and generally more amenable to carry out specific remits: Jesuits to combat ignorance, Sisters of Mercy to alleviate poverty and Christian Brothers to reform those who had fallen into anti-social patterns of behaviour such as theft or extortion.

¹²³ SCA ED6/82/16 Fr D. Mackintosh to Fr J. Smith, 19 Sep 1873

¹²⁴ SCA ED4/33/16 Fr R. Clapperton to Abp W. Smith, 17 Apr 1889

¹²⁵ Christine Johnson, *Scottish Secular Clergy 1879-1989* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1991)

¹²⁶ APF SC Fondo Scozia 8 (1879-1885), 745-746: W. Smith, 28 Jun 1885

As the pressure of Irish migration mounted, so the bishops turned to the religious orders to save the day by supplementing the already over-stretched parish clergy. In St Andrews and Edinburgh the Oblates of Mary in Leith were the first male order to be invited to the diocese (1859).

First of the orders for men in St Andrews and Edinburgh were the Oblates of Mary who came to Leith in 1859; in the same year the Jesuits arrived in Edinburgh, later spreading to Dalkeith (1861) and Galashiels (1863). They were followed by the Marist Brothers (1877). Among the orders for women, the Ursulines at St Margaret's Convent predated their male counterparts, coming to Edinburgh in 1835; it was not until 1858 that the Sisters of Mercy followed, then the Little Sisters of the Poor and the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (both 1863). This meant that when the hierarchy was restored in 1878, there was already in place a substantial infrastructure of active Church agencies ready (and qualified) to support the work of the new bishops.

By 1925 St Andrew and Edinburgh had 17 regular and 88 secular priests (a ratio of 1 to 5); Glasgow had around three times as many clergy — 48 regular and 288 secular (1:6). By 1964, St Andrews and Edinburgh had 95 regulars and 199 seculars (1:2); Glasgow had 43 regulars and 325 seculars (1:7). By 1964, therefore, nearly half of Edinburgh's clergy belonged to religious orders. This suggests either that Edinburgh had difficulty in recruiting secular priests or that Glasgow had difficulty in attracting regular clergy. The geographically widespread nature of the eastern diocese may also explain why religious orders, with their strong sense of community, might be better suited to the terrain.

Other orders followed: in 1914, for example, Archbishop Smith made an agreement with the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools (later known as the De La Salle Brothers) to staff St Joseph's Industrial School and Orphanage at Tranent, East Lothian which, after 1933, was designated an 'Approved School,' this being the first of a number of such schools in Scotland staffed by the order and catering for children at risk or who were involved in breaking the law.¹²⁷ In 1953, at the other end of the social spectrum, the Irish Christian Brothers (an order founded in 1802) opened fee-paying Scotus Academy in Edinburgh.

¹²⁷ SCA ED6/166/6 Agreement between Abp J. Smith and the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, 13 Mar 1914

Religious Orders — Men

The varied lifestyles and diverse activities of religious orders in Scotland from 1878 have been comprehensively summarised by Mark Dilworth.¹²⁸ Periodically, the religious orders (*regulars*) found themselves out of step with their local bishops. Even ten years after the issue had been formally resolved in 1881 by Leo XIII's pronouncement, *Romanos pontifices*, there continued to be episcopal protests against the independence of the regulars.¹²⁹ In 1891, discussing the proposal that Benedictines take over the parish of Jedburgh, Bishop McLachlan complained that regulars should not be in charge of missions:

I was under the impression that the mind of the Holy See — ever since the issue of the *Romanos Pontifices* — was that Religious Parishes or Missions ought to be discouraged & reduced & that the existing number of such Missions should not be increased ...¹³⁰

However, in this respect, it was the Society of Jesus who, with their high profile and proactive style, mostly frequently came into conflict with the bishops. In St Andrews and Edinburgh, the Jesuits served Loanhead, Dalkeith, Galashiels and Selkirk. In Edinburgh during the 1880s, as well as their own Sacred Heart parish, they supplied chaplains to the Royal Infirmary, the Craiglockhart workhouse, the Morningside Asylum, the Children's Hospital and two large convents.¹³¹

Difficulties arose with the Jesuits because the Border parishes they served had been set up with financial assistance from a number of aristocratic converts — James Robert Hope-Scott, Cecil Marchioness of Lothian and Charlotte Duchess of Buccleuch. When the Archbishop examined the parish title deeds, he found that they had been put into the trusteeship, not of the names he had put forward, but those of the Jesuits, by the authority of the Pope and at the instance of Lady Lothian.¹³² There was also secular resentment that religious orders such as the Jesuits (or the Oblates in Leith), were contravening papal directives by not submitting financial returns for their parishes.¹³³ A petition to Propaganda in 1895 sent by the titled Border families kept the Jesuits in the Borders until 1902, when these parishes were brought under the control of the archdiocese, leaving the Society of Jesus only in Dalkeith and Edinburgh.¹³⁴

¹²⁸ Mark Dilworth, 'Religious Orders in Scotland, 1878-1978,' *IR*, vol. 29 (1978), 92 -109

¹²⁹ SCA ED5/32/3 Bp G. Rigg to Abp J. MacLachlan, nd

¹³⁰ SCA ED4/21/3 Bp J. McLachlan to Fr W. Smith, 21 Oct 1891

¹³¹ SCA ED4/126/18 Fr E. Whyte to Fr W. Smith, 8 Jul 1883

¹³² SCA ED6/92/1 Fr W. Grady to Fr J. Smith, 16 May 1878

¹³³ SCA ED4/129/12 Fr J. Magini to Fr W. Smith, 30 Mar 1885

¹³⁴ *CDS* (1903), 71-2

Changes within a religious community could be sudden — for example, when Archbishop Strain unexpectedly delivered the papal brief in 1883 at the Benedictine monastery of Fort Augustus, the monks dramatically severed their connections with the parent English Benedictine Congregation and adopted the supposedly 'authentic' severity of the German monastery at Beuron. The monastic chronicle noted that one of the first results was the adoption of the Italian pronunciation of Latin. The Fort Augustus monks' habit was changed to one with a longer hood and a leather belt round the waist instead of one made of cloth. Their hairstyle was also changed from a simple tonsure to a *corona* (double cut round the head). Later that Spring a wall and a bank planted with trees was constructed between the monastery and the school to emphasise the finality of separation and the inviolability of the enclosure (to no part of which women were henceforth permitted to enter).¹³⁵

But religious communities such as Fort Augustus also made significant contributions to Scottish culture. Fr Odo Blundell (1868-1945), who had investigated the *crannog* (pile-dwelling) on Loch Ness known as Cherry Island in August 1908, was behind an initiative for the systematic investigation of Scottish pile-dwellings first proposed to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and subsequently funded by them.¹³⁶ It was later also taken up by the British Association. Fr Odo sent out a preliminary circular to local antiquarians as a result of which about fifty new sites were added to the one hundred known to exist.¹³⁷ Other cultural contributions came in 1932 with the publication of Fr Cyril Dieckhoff's (1869-1950) *Gaelic Dictionary* (1932) and Fr Ninian Macdonald's (1887-1972) *History of Shinty*.¹³⁸ How far a monastic community could push its boundaries can be seen in the work of the itinerant researcher into experimental monasticism, Fr Denys Rutledge (1906-97), who spent three years of missionary activity in an *ashram* (spiritual centre) at a small community of Benedictines near Poona in India.¹³⁹

Other religious orders such as the De La Salle Brothers (1914) and the Franciscans, with their apostleships for the poor, had settled in Tranent, East Lothian and Edinburgh

¹³⁵ see SCA FA13/2 Fort Augustus Chronicle (deposited at Downside Abbey, Bath)

¹³⁶ SCA Odo Blundell, 'Crannogs,' (unpublished and uncatalogued typescript), 2 -3

¹³⁷ Hugh A. Fraser, 'Investigation of the artificial island in Loch Kinellan, Strathpeffer,' *PSAS* vol. 51 (1916-17), 48-99; Odo Blundell, 'Notice of the examination ...,' *PSAS*, 43 (1908-09), 159 -164

¹³⁸ Henry Cyril Dieckhoff, *A Pronouncing Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic* (Edinburgh: W. & A. K. Johnston Ltd, 1932); J. Ninian Macdonald, *Shinty: a short history of the ancient Highland game* (Inverness: R. Carruthers, 1932)

¹³⁹ Among his publications are: *Catechism through the Liturgy* (London: Douglas Organ, 1949); *Cosmic Theology: The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of Pseudo-Denys* (Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1964); *The Complete Monk. Vocation of the Monastic Order* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966); *Basic Christian Communities* (London: CTS, 1993)

respectively by 1925, but it was during Archbishop McDonald's time that the Dominicans (1931) established themselves in the city (later developing a university chaplaincy service), followed by the Cistercians (1945) at Nunraw in East Lothian, engaged in farming and rearing livestock; in Archbishop Gordon Gray's time the Christian Brothers (1952) were invited to the city to set up a private fee-paying day school and the Passionists brought in 1954 to Prestonpans, East Lothian for parish work, missions and to chaplaincy work at an American Air Force camp in West Lothian.¹⁴⁰

Fort Augustus and its contribution to Scottish culture

With the closure of the Benedictine Abbey at Fort Augustus in 1998 it has become possible to begin to evaluate the role of this pioneering institution, in 1878 the first monastic foundation in Scotland since the Reformation. As a spiritual resource, Fort Augustus contributed towards the development of Catholicism in Scotland by being the first post-Reformation foundation to provide the Divine Office and the monastic liturgy and, in 1886, hosting the first national provincial council of the Catholic Church in Scotland. Partly set up as the Abbey was to minister to the Gaelic-speaking Highland community, monks — such as the lexicographer Cyril Dieckhoff (1869-1950) — who, by their scholarship, helped to ensure the survival of the Gaelic language. By providing electricity to fifty homes in the west side of the village, the monastery established what is believed to be the first public electricity supply in Scotland. In 1890 the monks ‘constructed an 18 kW [kilowatt] water turbine on one of the streams draining Inchnacardoch Forest to supply the abbey and ... the village of Fort Augustus.’¹⁴¹

For many years the Abbey Press printed liturgical and historical texts; the archaeologist Odo Blundell (1868-1945) studied and recorded the crannogs (artificial islands); while the last Abbot of Fort Augustus, the late Mark Dilworth (1924-2004), added immeasurably to the understanding of medieval monasticism and the Reformation in Scotland. In the second half of the twentieth century, a number of musicians at the Abbey, such as Gregory Ould (a leading authority on Gregorian plainchant) and the popular hymn-writers Bernard Sole, Gregory Brusey and Fabian Duggan produced material for worship which was widely used in Scotland and elsewhere. Lastly, the monks brought other economic and cultural benefits by providing continuous employment in the Abbey complex

¹⁴⁰ SCA DE167/55; DE167/47; DE167/40; DE167/38-39; DE167/112; DE167/112/18; DE167/112

¹⁴¹ Peter L. Payne, *The hydro ...* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), 3

for the villagers at Fort Augustus; the Abbey School (with the assistance of the monastic community) brought the plays of Shakespeare and the light operas of Gilbert and Sullivan to the local district; the monks maintained a Met Office weather-station (a tradition for which the late Fr Andrew McKillop, a History graduate of Edinburgh University, was awarded the MBE in 1995) while both monks and generations of boys at the Abbey School promoted shinty, cricket and rugby throughout the Highlands and also contributed for many years to Scottish tourism.

Religious Orders — Women

Religious orders for women reflected the social structure of the society out of which they had sprung. In December 1891 eight well-bred would-be postulants came to Fort Augustus (most of them English), planning to establish a community of enclosed Benedictine nuns. One of the postulants, Edith Weld, was appointed superior and the community included two lay-sisters (one a local girl from Inverness) whose role would be that of domestic servants; each of the six young ladies brought a £50 pension and a number of these brought a dowry of more than £1,000.¹⁴²

Many of the orders (such as the Ursulines) had their origins in France; not all of them were engaged in teaching or social work — some were purely contemplative. The moving force behind the opening of St Margaret's Ursuline Convent, Whitehouse Loan in Edinburgh, was Agnes Trail, the daughter of a Church of Scotland minister. Described as having 'masculine strength of mind and a highly cultivated intellect' she became a Catholic in Rome in 1828.¹⁴³ Along with Margaret Clapperton, a 21-year 'cradle-Catholic' from Fochabers, Trail went in 1833 to Chavagnes, France to start a novitiate at the mother house of the Ursuline Sisters. Meanwhile, John Menzies of Pitfodels had bought Greenhill Cottage close to Edinburgh's exclusive Churchhill, making it his permanent residence and taking Fr (later Bishop) James Gillis with him as his private chaplain.¹⁴⁴ On 26 December 1834, along with other converts (including Elizabeth Witham from the north of England) twenty-eight religious took possession of the new St Margaret's Convent. Menzies later bought the extensive Greenhill Parks, feued them for buildings, and 'rows of villas ... were erected

¹⁴² Moira M. Butler, 'Events leading to the foundation of St Scholastica's Priory ...' (typescript of paper delivered at the English Benedictine Congregation History Commission Symposium, 2000)

¹⁴³ no author given, *History of St Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: John Chisholm, nd), 16-17

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 22-23

opposite the new St Margaret's Convent' and their ownership later transferred to the Church.¹⁴⁵

But, even with the financial investment and moral support of the local Catholic gentry and aristocracy, the survival of religious communities was often on a knife-edge. In October 1896, Carmelite nun Sr Marie Antoinette, a convert and a Scot, arrived in Fife to found a *carmel* (enclosed convent) and was lent a house by Mr Smith Sligo (brother of Archbishop Smith) at Oakley. Thirteen French nuns from Lourdes joined her shortly afterwards but the building was clearly too small, so they all moved to Edinburgh. There they soon found that no one came forward to join the community, so the French nuns left Scotland and Sr Marie went to Italy. It was not until 1910 (after many vicissitudes) that their benefactor, Mr Smith Sligo, finally built St Marie and her colleagues a *carmel* at Oakley.¹⁴⁶

To the general public, the perception of nuns was soured by lurid fiction such as *Maria Monk's daughter*, published in 1880.¹⁴⁷ Much of this literature was sheer invention: 'I made the acquaintance of 'Maria Monk's Daughter' about twelve years ago' (confided James Campbell, rector of the Scots College, Rome to Bishop Angus MacDonald), 'that is, I came to know the writer of the book. She was a Mrs St. John-Harper. I do not remember her name before her second marriage ... She was an American, notoriously eccentric ... Mgr Chatard, now Bp of Vincennes, told me that her account of herself was false, and that the romantic story of her early life was all a fiction.'¹⁴⁸

Not surprisingly, the attitude of some of the bishops towards nuns who left their convents could be severe. Of a former nun at Crieff in 1899, Bishop James Smith of Dunkeld fumed to Archbishop MacDonald: 'The latest is that Rev. Mother's sister (half), who put off the Habit on 12 January, is engaged to be married to a Protestant Music Teacher ... I am shocked and disgusted.'¹⁴⁹ In some instances (such as a case in 1927), parents might refuse to accept a daughter's decision to become a nun, and challenge the hierarchy and the religious order all the way to Rome, complaining of 'the high handed & ruthless methods by which a religious Order can deflect the loyalty, affections, gratitude and benefactions of children ...'¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 202

¹⁴⁶ SCA DE170/38/1 Sr Marie Antoinette: Carmelites in Scotland, 9 Jun 1925

¹⁴⁷ L. St John Eckel, *Maria Monk's daughter, an autobiography* (London, 1880) a sequel to: Maria Monk, *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* (Paisley: A. Gardner, 1836)

¹⁴⁸ SCA ED5/49/13 Fr J. Campbell to Abp A. MacDonald, 17 Apr 1893

¹⁴⁹ SCA ED5/45/12 Bp G. Smith to Abp A. MacDonald, 6 Apr 1899

¹⁵⁰ SCA ED19/10/5 - 23 C. Doig to Bp G. Graham, 1927

From time to time, religious communities for women might suffer a breakdown in discipline. Such was the case with St Catharine's Convent of Mercy, Edinburgh in 1870, when Bishop Strain reported that 'the community is in a most disorderly, irregular and disreputable condition ... MMA [Mother Mary Agnes] who is only Bursar, is in reality the Superior of the House. She has gained ascendancy over the majority of the Sisters. They go to her for advice and instructions passing over the Rev M. G. [Grant].'¹⁵¹ The result of Strain's enquiries was that, from Rome, Cardinal Alessandro Barnabò informed the superior of the convent that the Bishop of Birmingham would be coming north to carry out a formal visitation to remedy the situation.¹⁵²

Internal conflict of a different kind existed in the mid-1930s among the Poor Clares at Mount Alvernia, Edinburgh. Not only were the intern sisters at war with the externs, the latter were also in conflict with Archbishop McDonald. 'Distrust of Ecclesiastical authority was pronounced,' Fr Patrick McGettigan reported to the Archbishop.¹⁵³ In July 1936, a juridical enquiry was set up, as a result of which the Sacred Congregation for Religious in Rome ordered the expulsion of one of the sisters who refused to acknowledge the authority of the Archbishop — in December 1937, formal permission was given to close down the convent.¹⁵⁴

When it came to defining the demarcation-line between the work of different orders, some delicacy was required on the part of the bishops. The work of the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of Charity at St Patrick's parish in Edinburgh's Cowgate in the early part of the twentieth century almost led to open conflict, with Sister Marcelus writing from London to Archbishop Smith that 'the superiors in Paris do not want the sisters to take charge of St Pats as this would involve the withdrawal of the Sisters of Mercy.'¹⁵⁵ Other orders such as the Sacred Heart nuns (1903), the Carmelites (1924) and the Little Company of Mary (1930) also set up communities in the city — but care was taken that there was no overlap between their respective areas of operation.¹⁵⁶

The road to beatification, even for a member of a religious order, was a long one. Margaret Sinclair (1900-25), the 'Edinburgh Wonder Worker,' of humble parentage from Edinburgh's Cowgate, was an active member of her trade union. Working as a French-polisher (and later in a biscuit-factory), she eventually became a Poor Clare nun but died

¹⁵¹ SCA ED3/125/16 Bp J. Strain: St Catharine's Convent, Edinburgh, 15 Jun [nd]

¹⁵² SCA ED3/125/12 Card A. Barnabò to superior of St Catharine's, 17 May 1871

¹⁵³ SCA DE170/432/11 Fr P. McGettigan to Abp A. J. McDonald, 16 May 1936

¹⁵⁴ SCA DE170/434/4 Fr P. Connolly, Dec 1937

¹⁵⁵ SCA ED6/157/10 Sr Marcelus to Abp J. Smith, 27 Nov 1917

¹⁵⁶ SCA ED6/126/1-2; DE170/9; DE170/196

from tuberculosis only two years later. Her saintliness led to the setting up of a committee not long after her death to promote her beatification.¹⁵⁷ The bishops sanctioned the distribution of mementoes, carefully adding 'so long as there is no public cultus [veneration] ...'¹⁵⁸ By 1927 the first signs of a miraculous cure in Margaret's name from an advanced form of tuberculosis had appeared.¹⁵⁹ At the height of the Second World War, an 'Introduction' had been obtained in Rome with the Congregation of Rites for the cause of Margaret Sinclair, opening the way to the process of beatification.¹⁶⁰

Less easily understood was the case of a Sister of Mercy, Teresa Higginson, later known as the 'Lancashire Stigmatist', who lived at St Catharine's convent from 1888 to 1900. Evidence given by a Mrs McVey related to the year 1888:

I was attending the school attached to St David's Church, Dalkeith ... I heard a loud creaking noise from the roof at the back of the Church. A golden flash of light came from the same part, alighted on her eyes, she caught the bench with her hand, a second light came from the left side, touching her mouth, a third light came from the right brightening her whole face ... I saw a Host (white) floating in the air ... It floated up gradually, becoming larger until it reached Miss Higginson's face. Standing then upright The beauty and elunimation [sic] from the Host and Teresas face was beyond description.¹⁶¹

According to Lady Cecil Kerr, Higginson (a visionary who had a devotion to the Sacred Head of Christ and claimed to receive revelations from God) had performed miraculous acts such as cooking raw fish by making the sign of the Cross and had even foretold the submarine and aerial warfare of the First World War.¹⁶² The paranormal researcher, Joe Nickell, however, dismisses Higginson as a charlatan who had evidently been accused of drunkenness and dismissed from her post as a teacher.¹⁶³ In the 1950s, a former Carmelite postulant was also believed to have been a mystic and stigmatist.¹⁶⁴ Mysticism was not confined to nuns: Archbishop Gordon Gray, half in disbelief, described a priest who had come to see him:

From his pocket he took a metal crucifix about eight inches high 'when we were praying' he said — and I believe he was speaking the

¹⁵⁷ SCA DE142/1/1 Fr T. Agius to Abbot A. J. McDonald, 29 Nov 1926

¹⁵⁸ SCA DE14/1/3 Abp D. Mackintosh to Fr T. Agius, 1 Dec 1926

¹⁵⁹ SCA DE142/1/6 T. Nugent to Abbot A. J. McDonald, 16 Jan 1927

¹⁶⁰ SCA DE142/7/3 Fr F. Sapioni to Abp A. J. McDonald, 30 Oct 1945

¹⁶¹ SCA ED24/14/3 B. McVey: The Deathbed of Fr Chomberg Kerr MS, Apr 1888

¹⁶² Lady Cecil Kerr, *Teresa Helena Higginson — Servant of God* (London: Sands & Co., 1927), 239

¹⁶³ Joe Nickell, *Looking for a Miracle* (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 1993), 223

¹⁶⁴ SCA DE170/42 Carmels, 1952 - 53

truth — 'I have seen the Sacred Host come from nowhere and rest in this crucifix. I have seen blood flowing from the wounds on the hands of Our Lord in this crucifix. I have seen the stigmata on Mary's hands.' He was not the only one who told me that.¹⁶⁵

Gray was puzzled: 'God works by mysterious ways ... And I myself will remain curious — until I enter eternity — to know what it was all about, how it happened and why? And — just a little sceptical when I read of people — apparently holy — who have received the stigmata! and seen visions!¹⁶⁶ Just as Modernism had been formally condemned by the Church, so other expressions of personal religious experience (such as mysticism) were downplayed by the cautious commonsense of the bishops.

The extent and frequency of parish and other missions

The word 'mission' has a number of distinct and different (though related) meanings. Until 1908, the whole of Scotland was still an ecclesial unit comparatively unstable and unstructured, as the relatively inexperienced hierarchy was only beginning to understand the full implications of their role. Scotland, in spite of the restoration of the hierarchy, was still defined as *mission* territory, administered from Rome by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide; even after that date, the archdiocese of Glasgow did not have canonical independent status, being under the direct jurisdiction of the Holy See until 1947 (when the Archdiocese of Glasgow was erected into a second Scottish Province). Using the word 'mission' in a more global context, in 1957 Archbishop Gordon Gray of St Andrews and Edinburgh became the first bishop in the world to respond to Pope Paul VI's appeal for *missionaries* in his encyclical *Fidei Donum* by sending a number of his diocesan clergy to Nigeria. Up to 1937 there were no canonically-erected *parishes* in Scotland and no *parish priests* — church communities were served by 'missioners' or 'missionary rectors.' At a more specific level, *missions* refer to initiatives held every five or ten years in parishes, programmes delivered by religious orders in order to re-energise and motivate the community.

One of the most influential and active missionary orders in Scotland were the Redemptorists, based at Kinnoull in Perth. In 1884 they gave 20 missions in Scotland, hearing 27,065 confessions, giving 29,447 communions and 1183 confirmations; in addition, they made 7 converts at home and 107 in the mission field.¹⁶⁷ By 1933, such activities had

¹⁶⁵ SCA GD54/160 Card G. J. Gray: Autobiography 1962-1963 (A) The interim between Session One and Two, [MS] (1990), 3

¹⁶⁶ SCA GD54/160 Card G. J. Gray: Autobiography 1962-1963 (A) The interim between Session One and Two MS (1990), 3-4

¹⁶⁷ KMA Synopsis of Apostolic Labours, 1856-1937

doubled, with 47 missions (to 113,153 persons) and 39 retreats (to 2,454).¹⁶⁸ At this period, the clergy of every diocese in Scotland went to Kinnoull for their periodical and canonical retreat.

In 1954, the Redemptorists continued to cover the mission circuit, sometimes with spectacular success, as in Kilsyth where the Catholic population was 2,000 (mainly coal-miners) and the last mission had been 50 years before. With 1,500 confessions and 10,000 communicants (a figure revealing that the majority received communion on several occasions), only 43 people did not attend the mission, so resulting in a 98% success rate!¹⁶⁹ In the same year, by contrast, the Redemptorists also ministered to much smaller communities, such as Thurso (300 Catholics), Wick (80), and Brora (16). By 1965 the order was delivering 123 missions and retreats all over Scotland.¹⁷⁰

Conclusion

The restoration of the hierarchy, begun in 1878, was a gradual, sometimes painful and often unnerving experience for the bishops; some problems took more than half a century to solve as structures were slowly built up by trial and error and formal working relationships properly established. It was not until 1947 that the simmering sense of injustice between the archbishoprics of Glasgow and Edinburgh was given some permanent healing. The new hierarchy of 1878 brought in its wake additional layers of administration (such as chapters and deaneries) which would result in better-articulated and better-focused management of the archdiocese, which had inherited the former Eastern District's legacy of 'new situations, new problems and an ever-increasing demand on its resources, both of men and money.'¹⁷¹

The life of a priest was never an easy one; priests suffered from impossible workloads, lack of resources, loneliness, poor physical health, breakdown, psychiatric disorders and, too often, the effects of alcohol abuse. But social changes also brought with them changed expectations of the role of the priest. The introduction of the new code of canon law in 1917, while it may have brought about greater legislative control, also clarified and simplified the regulations, having been developed through consultation with the bishops. For the secular clergy there was a gradual loosening of discipline between 1878 and 1955,

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ *KMA Mission Book, 1937-66*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Christine Johnson, 'Scottish Secular Clergy, 1830-1878: The Northern and Eastern Districts,' *IR*, vol. 40, No 1(Spring 1989), 27

accelerated by the experience of war and wartime ministry, but influenced also by the increasing prosperity of the country after 1945 and the creation of the Welfare State. Whereas from the 1880s to the Second World War, the parish priest was 'socially and theologically the leader of the parish,' with the curates as his satellites, the 1960s saw the beginning of a democratisation among the clergy and a growing perception of their role as less hierarchical, more facilitating, more collaborative with the laity.¹⁷²

Into the diocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh more and more religious orders were invited, sometimes competing with the secular clergy, sometimes resented by them, but by and large performing a vital complementary function, either in education or in caring for those at risk. The orders, better harmonised with episcopal authority since Leo XIII's pronouncement, *Romanos pontifices*, provided dedicated, disciplined service to the community at large and also lived out varieties of religious experience ranging from apparent miracles to mysticism.

Painstakingly transformed from the protective shepherds of the Council of Fort Augustus (1886) to the combatants recruited in the 1930s by Archbishop Andrew Joseph McDonald, the parish clergy began to emerge from the catharsis, the communitarian levelling, the cultural cross-fertilisation of the Second World War, better prepared for becoming part of what, in 1964, the Second Vatican Council's *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church*, described as 'the People of God.'

¹⁷² David McRoberts, 'The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy in 1878,' *IR*, vol. 29 (1978), 54

5. THE LAITY 1878-1955

Introduction

The strengthened episcopal structure of 1878 was designed to contain the volatility of Catholics in the industrial West while also responding more appropriately to local conditions elsewhere in Scotland; however, the new hierarchy could not be expected to overcome entirely the established fault-lines of the Catholic community. Convert Fr Anthony Ross (himself a product of Inverness and Edinburgh University), identifies these as 'the north traditional and aloof from the tensions which developed elsewhere; the west anti-establishment and mainly Gaelic in origin, with strong Irish sympathies and large concentrations of Catholics of Irish origin, and the east with its Tory sympathies viewed in some other parts as alien and snobbish.'¹ The communities in the geographically enormous and pluralist province of St Andrews and Edinburgh (also comprising the dioceses of Aberdeen, Argyll and the Isles, Dunkeld and Galloway), posed a specially broad range of pastoral challenges — from the popular desire for Gaelic preaching in the Highlands, the 'spiritual destitution' of the Borders, to the anti-clericalism of parts of the city of Edinburgh and its outlying districts.² The Scots Catholic communities, most of them innately conservative in theology and worship, felt keenly the impact of Irish migration; the indigenous northern and eastern Catholics' instinct for self-effacement was severely tested by the energy and passion of the migrants and by their emotionally-charged style of worship — factors which would hasten the 'triumph of ultramontanism,' much as it triumphed in England.³

Upon the shoulders of the priests and bishops fell the responsibility of encouraging and managing the diverse geographical groupings of the Scottish laity. At the first plenary council of the Scottish Catholic Church, held at St Benedict's Abbey, Fort Augustus (1886), the bishops emphasised the important missionary role of lay people by assuring them that 'To you is given no subordinate part in the present work of restoration. You are the mirror to

¹ Anthony Ross, 'The Development of the Scottish Catholic Community 1878-1978,' *IR*, vol. 29, No 1 (1978), 37

² SCA ED4/153/1 Bp A. MacDonald: letter to unidentified correspondent, 27 Dec 1884; SCA ED6/124/5 Fr M. Cullen to Fr P. Butti, 20 Oct 1903; SCA DE170/37/10 Sr Marie Antoinette to Abp J. Smith, 25 Jan 1925

³ Mary Heimann, *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 4; Sheridan Gilley, 'Papists, Protestants and the Irish in London, 1835-70,' in G. J. Cuming and D. Baker (eds.), 'Popular Belief and Practice,' *SCH* 8 (Cambridge: 1972), 266

which men will turn to behold the true image of the Catholic religion.⁴ The bishops, however, made clear that they were reluctant to allow the laity to act independently of their priests, even in relatively minor matters, as they feared such freedom might have unwelcome consequences.⁵ Valued as lay people were for the urgent work of conversion, in practice, no administrative mechanism had been developed to express lay opinions, the 'voice of the laity' remaining a concept largely construed as little more than a pliable source of support for worthy causes identified by the bishops. In 1899, for example, Bishop William Turner of Galloway wrote to Archbishop Angus MacDonald of his concern over the inadequacy of higher education in Ireland. He suggested a way of reinforcing the bishops' case by collecting signatures from every parish — the bishops would be the hands which primed, aimed and fired the bullets of lay opinion:

... I hope I may be pardoned for suggesting to the Bishops that some steps might be taken by us to give expression to Catholic opinion in Scotland on the question of an University for Catholics in Ireland. To be brief, I suggest that Petitions be addressed to Parliament in favour of it — 1st in the names of the Catholic Hierarchy, 2nd signed by the Catholic Congregations throughout the country.⁶

After 1878, the laity's confidence in their ability to play a more responsible role in the Church (and in society at large) grew very slowly. This was due partly to the economic weakness of the bulk of the Catholic population, but also to the widespread reluctance of many of the hierarchy and clergy to lead the lay body in directions which might tempt them to stray out of ecclesiastical control. In return, the bishops and clergy provided engaging sacramental liturgies and character-forming exercises of ascetical discipline to engage the laity: this was reinforced by on-going papal encouragement (principally through a series of key encyclicals) for lay people to commit themselves to corporate expressions of piety and social action. By these means the laity were organised but also controlled.

Migrants and Aristocrats

In his racy comic novel, *Father Malachy's Miracle* (1931), the Edinburgh-born convert Bruce Marshall described the multicultural mix of Edinburgh's Catholic community: 'Irish labourers and their families, Italian ice-cream merchants and their families, French mistresses from some of the more exclusive girls' schools, a flock of Belgian nuns, a few

⁴ SCA ED4/80 Pastoral Letter of the Archbishops and Bishops of Scotland ..., Aug 1886

⁵ SCA ED6/105/9 Fr W. Grady to Fr J. Smith, 7 Oct 1885

⁶ SCA ED5/29/8 Bp W. Turner to Abp A. MacDonald, 27 Jan 1899

University lecturers who had been converted to Catholicism by reading history or theology, a handful or so of Real Ladies and Gentlemen ... and a horde of publicans ...'⁷

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Catholic communities in Scotland grew principally at the two extremes of the social scale — a group of convert aristocrats (with a financial and cultural multiplier-effect well beyond their numbers) and a much larger cohort of impoverished migrant labourers. Before 1878, the Catholic middle class was 'tiny' but showed some signs of growth.⁸ The list of legacies to St Patrick's church in Edinburgh's Cowgate gives a flavour of the scale of Catholic entrepreneurship and the diversity of their commercial interests: in 1896, Mr Kavanagh (a hatter), left a special legacy of £1,000; in 1900, John McManus bequeathed a slum property and half his business as a photographer; Mrs Craik, in 1902, left shares in Newhaven Trawlers.⁹ However, it was not until the late 1930s that a prosperous and educated Catholic middle class began to make its presence felt.

Among the earliest aristocratic converts, John Patrick Crichton-Stuart, the erudite Eton and Oxford-educated Third Marquess of Bute, held an almost unique position in the Catholic Church in Scotland through his immense wealth (an annual income of almost £154,000) and an irrepressibly erudite passion for culture.¹⁰ Repeatedly (with his dedicated patronage of the arts and crafts revival), Bute unnerved the bishops with pre-Raphaelite schemes for reviving medieval Catholicism, most largely funded through his own overwhelmingly generosity.¹¹

In 1886, having paid for the initial construction of Oban Cathedral, Bute installed a convert (but poorly-catechised) organist; a red-bearded, beer-swilling Belgian chaplain; an English schoolmaster of uncertain sexual orientation (Frederick Rolfe, future author of the satirical novel *Hadrian VII*) and a choir of destitute boys to perform the daily chanting of the Divine Office. This was the first regular sung Office in a British secular church since the Reformation; as the Catholic Directory proudly announced 'Matins and Lauds daily at 8 A.M.; Little Hours and (where possible) Mass at 10; Vespers and Compline at 4½ P.M.'¹²

⁷ Bruce Marshall, *Father Malachy's Miracle* (London: Constable, 1931), 17; for Bruce Marshall (1899-1987) see Special Collections, Lauinger Memorial Library, Georgetown University, USA

⁸ Bernard Aspinwall, 'Faith of our Fathers living still ...' in Thomas M. Devine (ed.), *Scotland's Shame?* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2000), 108

⁹ SCA GD10/15 Legacies & donations to St Patrick's Mission

¹⁰ Bernard Aspinwall, 'The Catholic Irish and Wealth in Glasgow,' in Thomas M. Devine (ed.), *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1991), 100

¹¹ Heimann, op. cit., 142

¹² CDS (1887), 129-30

Bishop Angus MacDonald of Argyll and the Isles, however, was unmoved by the new choir and its liturgical accomplishments; scathingly, he described the conditions Bute attached to his donation as an 'impertinence,' adding that 'the sooner it [the choir] dies a natural death the better, before violent hands are laid on it.'¹³ By January 1888, MacDonald's neighbour, Bishop John McLachlan of Galloway, had also come to resent Bute's insatiable initiatives, interpreting them as challenges to episcopal authority: 'at Oban, he is bent on being head boss. I am determined that he wont.'¹⁴ But, in other situations, the bishops were quick enough to embrace Bute's independence and scholarship: the following month, when a deputation of Scots Catholics to Rome was warmly received in papal audience, Bute was given his place, presenting an address to the pontiff on behalf of the Scottish laity, following on those delivered by the archbishops who accompanied him.¹⁵

Affairs at Oban came to a head in 1890, when Bishop MacDonald forced Bute to dismiss a second chaplain (an Italian, later suspected of financial irregularities). Bute's supercilious comment to Archbishop Smith in Edinburgh was that 'the employment of Italians seems to me to possess great advantages, as they are accustomed to these things of which our clergy are unfortunately for the most part quite ignorant.'¹⁶ In reply, MacDonald's indignant rejoinder to Smith put the Marquess firmly in his canonical place but also revealed something of what Bernard Aspinwall describes as the episcopate's 'class insecurity':

... I have always held it to be a part of the very constitution of the Catholic Church that the regulation of Ecclesiastical affairs, & especially of liturgical questions, belonged, under the Holy See, to the Bishops & to them alone ... it is certainly foreign to the spirit & the letter of Catholic teaching that any layman should, on his own private responsibility set himself up in opposition to the Diocesan, & use the influence which his social position & wealth give him to force upon the latter a state of things (however admirable in the abstract) which the latter conscientiously feels to be not only useless, but positively detrimental to the interests of religion in existing circumstances of which the Bishop, by the very nature of the case, is the best Judge ... He [Bute] has seen fit to ignore all this and persist as though my voice had not been heard ... the best of motives are no excuse for the subversion of the fundamental principles of

¹³ SCA ED4/23/15 Bp A. MacDonald to Abp W. Smith, 28 Aug 1886; SCA ED6/8/8 Bp A. MacDonald to Fr J. Smith, 16 Nov 1886

¹⁴ SCA ED5/21/2 Bp J. MacLachlan to Bp A. MacDonald, 31 Jan 1888

¹⁵ SCA ED5/48/3 Fr J. Campbell to Bp A. MacDonald (?), 16 Feb 1888

¹⁶ SCA ED7/35/6 Lord Bute to Abp W. Smith, 10 Jul 1890

Ecclesiastical government ... I have expressed special aversion to Italians ...¹⁷

Lord Bute, to the Bishop's fury, had gone over his head to Cardinal Simeoni of Propaganda.¹⁸ However, the Cardinal supported MacDonald, telling Lord Bute that 'choral service in a cathedral is delightful as a theory, but even as a theory it is for the Bishop to judge of its introduction, and in practice it is for him to regulate it.'¹⁹ This fraught episode confirms that a fundamental divide between clergy and laity was normative at this time. Michael P. Hornsby-Smith, in an English context, refers to the 'ultramontane form of Catholicism which ... stressed ... the dichotomy between the sacred and the secular ...'²⁰ Priests and lay people seemed breeds apart — this division was the Catholic Church's strength but also its inherent weakness.

In spite of such rebuffs, Lord Bute stuck to his liturgical guns, remaining in a class of his own by the scale and daring of his vision and by the vastness of his financial resource. Along with other men made wealthy and powerful by industry and politics (such as Robert Monteith of Carstairs), the Marquess was part of a small but powerful group of convert Catholic aristocrats and landed gentry, an educated elite with credentials the Protestant establishment could neither dismiss nor ignore; as Bernard Aspinwall has pointed out, such well-heeled converts gave the Catholic Church an orientation towards the modern world, 'socially conservative and invariably hostile to Irish nationalism, they injected stability, order and ultramontane zeal.'²¹

While Irish migrants were gradually absorbed into the indigenous Scottish Catholic community, the overwhelming majority of Catholics were still to be found in the urban proletariat, an amalgam of Scots, Irish and (especially after the Second World War), immigrants or displaced persons from other European countries — Italians, Poles, Ukrainians and Lithuanians. While the spiritual needs of many of these were in due course satisfied by clergy who spoke their native tongues, almost beyond the reach of conventional parish structures were the itinerant workers (not all of them Irish) — tinkers and hawkers, railway navvies and farm labourers.

¹⁷ Letter to author, 7 Nov 2001; SCA ED7/36/2 Bp A. Macdonald to Abp W. Smith, 17 Jul 1890

¹⁸ SCA ED7/36/1 Bp A. MacDonald to Abp W. Smith, 17 Jul 1890; SCA ED5/48/12 Fr J. Campbell to Bp A. MacDonald, 22 Jul 1890

¹⁹ SCA ED5/48/12 Fr J. Campbell to Bp A. MacDonald, 22 Jul 1890

²⁰ Michael P. Hornsby-Smith, *The Changing Parish* (London: Routledge, 1989), 48

²¹ Bernard Aspinwall, 'Faith of our Fathers living still ...' in Thomas M. Devine (ed.), *Scotland's Shame?* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2000), 110

Just as Lord Bute might be quite firmly slapped down by the bishops when the need arose, so the parish clergy, in their turn, tried to assert control over the poorer members of their often disparate and recalcitrant flock. In September 1873, Donald Chisholm, a priest at Wick, was obliged to travel via Shetland to give the last rites to a man he flippantly described as 'a sick Tinker somewhere in the middle of Pomona of Orkney whom I must see as he is thinking of dying soon.'²² Chisholm's congregation that year had contained not a single local Catholic (all of them being, apparently, engaged in the fishing industry for the whole of the season), but was composed instead of visitors such as sailors from the Skerries near Dublin and an occasional hawker.²³

In St Andrews, Fife, the railway navvies at Lochty exasperated George Angus, the Oxford-educated former Indian Army officer and Anglican clergyman turned Catholic priest. Angus fumed to the archdiocese that the navvies' generosity was admirable but that he was reluctant to accept their contributions; they regularly sent him substantial sums of money — but, although living only four miles away (and often in town at the weekends), they seldom appeared in his church.²⁴ When Angus went down to Lochty he found sixty men at work, but only seventeen of them Catholics. 'They are all birds of passage', he observed whistfully, 'tramps on the job — here today and gone tomorrow. They mostly spend Saturday evening and Sunday in Dundee or here and I fear spend it on the booze.'²⁵

In similar fashion, in 1889, on the moor at Corriegrennan, eight miles from Aberfoyle, Fr James McGinnis racked his brains how and where to celebrate Mass for the three hundred railway navvies living in huts 'scattered along the line of operations;' they were engaged in tunnelling and other construction work that was due to continue for a further three years, but there was only one building (a shepherd's house with two biggish rooms) where services could possibly take place.²⁶

South of Edinburgh at West Linton, the hapless navvies were, in 1898, caught in a demarcation dispute between their official (Irish-born) parish priest who lived twelve miles away in Penicuik — he was only too pleased to take the money they had collected but could not afford the time to minister to their needs; it took another (less mercenary) Irish priest at Slamannan, Falkirk to attend to them.²⁷

²² SCA ED6/82/4 Fr D. Chisholm to Fr J. Smith, 12 Sep 1873

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ SCA ED4/149/4 Fr G. Angus to Fr W. Smith, 18 Jul 1885

²⁵ SCA ED4/149/16 Fr G. Angus to Abp W. Smith, 31 Oct 1885

²⁶ SCA ED4/134/5 Fr J. McGinnis to Abp W. Smith, 7 Jun 1889

²⁷ SCA ED5/81/13 Fr J. McCartney to Abp A. MacDonald, 3 Aug 1898

Geographic dislocation was also the lot of many agricultural workers; this, in turn, led to the clergy who ministered to them adopting an itinerant style of pastoral outreach.

William Grady, parish priest at Haddington, East Lothian observed in 1876:

You are aware that this is a Mission in which the faithful are almost to a man farm labourers, and they are scattered in all directions over the country. It is therefore with us a sort of roving life because the secret of keeping them together is visiting them, & knowing them personally, so that they are always in fear that any misconduct will be at once made known to us. This fear, though it is not always directly timor Dei [fear of God], is however initium sapientiae [the beginning of wisdom].²⁸

Traditionally, the annual potato harvest in Scotland relied on imported Irish labour. Patrick Magill, in *Children of the Dead End* (1914), describes the life of the Irish potato picker in 1905 as 'brutal, and almost unfit for animals.'²⁹ There was some attempt on the part of the bishops to confront this issue. In 1920 Bishop Grey Graham informed his clergy that a committee had been set up in Ireland — consisting of bishops and of representatives of the Department of Agriculture and the Congested Districts Board — to look at how some improvements could be made in the housing of potato workers, 'especially the women and girls, who come over here from Ireland, beginning in June.'³⁰ But, by the 1930s, little had changed: Irish workers showed 'special usefulness' and they were often itinerants who (willingly) offered their services 'at extremely low rates of pay'; they gave 'better economic output' than the Scottish worker and endured a 'very low' standard of living — all indicators of exploitation.³¹ However, until at least the early 1970s this abuse of the Irish seasonal potato workers (including some 14 years old) was still attracting public attention. As a consequence, two East Lothian priests submitted a highly critical report which, at the instance of Archbishop Gordon Gray, was brought to the attention of the Secretary of State

²⁸ SCA ED6/86/11 Fr W. Grady to Fr J. Smith, 6 Oct 1876

²⁹ Patrick Magill, *Children of the Dead End* (London: no publisher given, 1914), 81

³⁰ SCA ED10/43/16 Bp H. G. Graham to clergy, May 1920

³¹ NAS HH1/569 Dept. of Agriculture for Scotland: Substitution of Scottish for Irish Workers in Seasonal Agricultural Operations, Mar 1934; NAS HH1/569 Dept. of Agriculture for Scotland: Ministry of Labour, Edinburgh: Immigration of Irish Workers, 2nd Report, Oct 1933; NAS HH1/569 W. S. Douglas 25 Jul 1933; NAS HH1/569 Extracts from Reports from Local Officers of the Ministry of Labour in the Border District ... Kelso, nd (1933?)

for Scotland.³² In 1971, the matter was even raised with considerable agitation at a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society in New York.³³

The aristocratic and wealthy converts

In Scotland, the list of gentry and nobility to become Catholics was formidable and their arrival signalled greatly-improved financial and political resources available to the bishops. Two years after John Henry Newman's conversion, the wealthy and influential Robert Monteith of Carstairs (1847) and his wife were the first high-profile Scottish conversions. Robert Hope-Scott of Abbotsford and Cecil, Marchioness of Lothian followed in 1850. After Edward Manning's conversion in 1851 (the future architect of the restoration of the Scottish hierarchy), the Rev Lord Henry Francis Kerr, son of 6th Marquess of Lothian and parish rector, converted in 1852, along with Lord John Kerr, Lady Alice Kerr, Lady Cecil Kerr and Lady Henry Kerr. In 1853 Lord Ralph Kerr and Lord Walter Kerr, both sons of the 7th Marquess of Lothian joined the Catholic Church; in 1855 it was the turn of the Duchess of Hamilton, then the Duchess of Buccleuch (1860), Lady Amabel Kerr (1871), the Marquis of Ripon (1874) — shortly to be Governor-General of India — and Sir David Oswald Hunter Blair (1876); the latter two would be important benefactors of the new Benedictine Abbey at Fort Augustus, with Hunter Blair generously endowing the Abbey and eventually being elected Abbot. By the 1870s several other members of Sir Walter Scott's family had converted, including Lady Elizabeth Peat, Sir Walter's niece, and his grand-daughter, Mrs Hope Scott.³⁴ In this way, the Catholic Church in Scotland acquired a formidable base with ready access to political influence and capital.

How the converts wielded their influence

Without the help and influence of wealthy lay Catholics the Church in Scotland could not have created new institutions to meet the demands of the growing Catholic community.

³² SCA DE132/15/1 Card G. J. Gray to G. Campbell, 2 Jul 1971; SCA DE132/15/1 Card G. J. Gray to G. Campbell, 2 Jul 1971

³³ NAS F59/195 Employment of Irish Immigrant Workers: P. Montgomery to A. Buchanan-Smith, 26 Jul 1971

³⁴ See W. Gordon Gorman (ed.), *Converts to Rome, A list of over three thousand Protestants who have become Roman Catholics since the commencement of the nineteenth century* 5th edit. (London: W. Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1884)

Two of the earliest large donations came in 1838 from John Menzies of Pitfodels (£10,000), a member of a long-established Catholic family, and in 1865 from convert Captain Thomas Peter Mitchell who left a bequest of over £50,000. The their wills of both men (and the terms of disbursement they included) would significantly shape the development of the Scottish Catholic Church in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The network of prominent families in Scotland and England wielded influence mainly by deciding which key building projects to promote and where they would be located, by using their social relationships to neutralise any opposition from local Protestant hostility and by supplying most of the finance. Their influence did not stop there; in most cases they continued to support and encourage these institutions, seeing the pious, altruistic and creative use of wealth as the absolving responsibility of the wealthy — the putting to work of riches as the subtext in the narratives of the New Testament, the vocation of preference for the convert who had money and connections.

The first major new religious foundation in Scotland after the Reformation was St Mary's, Kinnoull Hill in Perth, the made possible the generosity of Fr Edward Douglas (1819-98), superior of the Roman province of the Redemptorists (a convert and a member of a wealthy Scotch whisky family). In 1865 he declared his intention to use part of his estate to build a Redemptorist monastery in Scotland and Fr Edmund Vaughan was sent from London to identify a site: he found what he was searching for at Kinnoull Hill overlooking the city of Perth. The land was duly purchased in 1866 from the Earl of Kinnoull. In spite of the obstructive stratagems of a local landowner — whose land overlooked the site and who tried to divert all water away from the Redemptorist property — quite by chance a well was located. The foundation-stone of the new monastery was laid on 16 June 1868 by Bishop John Strain. A year later, the community took up residence and gradually built up the monastery to be the chief retreat centre in Scotland. However, on 20 July 1870 a more serious threat to the presence of the Redemptorists emerged: a Perth MP, the Hon. A. F. Kinnaird, presented *A Petition on Conventual and Monastic Institutions* (signed by '765 Protestants of Perth') to the House of Commons, while the Duke of Manchester did the same in the House of Lords.³⁵ An order was adopted in the Commons:

That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the existence, character, and income of Conventual and Monastic Institutions or Societies in Great Britain, and into the terms upon which income,

³⁵ *Hansard*, vol. 200 (1870), 872-906

property, and estates belonging to such Institutions or Societies, or to the members thereof, are respectively received, held, or possessed.³⁶

In spite of lengthy discussions on the wording of the order and the composition of a select committee, nothing became of the Petition and it was never debated — perhaps a measure of the strength of the Irish party as much as the lack of prejudice among members and lords generally. It may also be significant that the Marquess of Bute became a Catholic in the same year.

Undoubtedly, the showpiece project of the influential network of convert Scottish aristocrats and members of the gentry (headed by Lord Bute) was the Benedictine Abbey at Fort Augustus. Its foundation stone was laid by Simon Fraser, 15th Lord Lovat on 15 September 1876 and the site leased to the monks at a peppercorn rent (so as to evade any possible sequestration by any government in the future which might be ill-disposed towards such institutions); that of the School was laid by the Marquis of Ripon, while that of the guest house was jointly laid by Mr Maxwell-Scott of Abbotsford and Mr Monteith of Carstairs. A letter from Pope Pius IX was read in which he expressed his joy at learning of a military establishment being converted to a House of Prayer — whereas in Italy so many religious houses had been confiscated for secular purposes.³⁷ This message sent a frisson of ultramontane pride through the assembled dignitaries.

While Fr Jerome Vaughan (a relative of Archbishop Herbert Vaughan, leader of the Ultramontanes and, by marriage, of Lord Lovat) had organised much of the public marketing and fund-raising for the new foundation, the new Abbey was only a reality because it matched the religious ideals of the wealthy and influential donors.

Lord Lovat provided the site at a nominal rent, including the Hanoverian military buildings, the whole being valued at £19,825 (equivalent to £790,000 in 2004); the Marquess of Bute gave £4,956 (£200,000); the Duke of Norfolk £1,982 (£78,707), a sister of Lord Lovat £991 (£40,000), the Marquis of Ripon £495 (£120,000), while twenty other laymen each donated £100 (£3,650); between 1877-79 Sir David Hunter Oswald Blair, later Abbot of Fort Augustus, gave £72,677 (£2,896,082).³⁸

³⁶ *Hansard*, vol 201 (1870), 52

³⁷ *The Tablet*. 15 Sept 1876 quoted in the *Carle Kemp Times*, No 117, Oct 1976

³⁸ APF SC Fondo Scozia 7 (1867-1878), 1213: D. Claude Burchall to Card. A. Franchi, 25 Jul 1876; SCA FA47/1 Liber Benefactorum monasterii S. Benedicti sub Lacu. The sums have been converted from French francs using *New Edinburgh Almanac and National Repository* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1876, 1877)

As the papal flag fluttered high on the school tower, Lord Lovat, speaking at a luncheon after the opening ceremony on 16 October 1878, revealed that his own influence had been critical to the success of the project:

I think that for anything which I have been able to do I have an ample reward in seeing this noble edifice ... and in considering that the settlement of the Benedictine order here will immensely benefit the Catholic religion in this country.³⁹

As a mark of gratitude, the boys in the new College were divided into two houses — Lovat and Vaughan. Present on that occasion was Captain David Oswald Hunter Blair, later to become a baronet and then a monk at the Abbey and, later, Abbot. The support of aristocrats and landowners such as Lord Lovat and Hunter Blair was essential in the years that followed. Indeed, local landowners such as Lord Lovat and other members of his extended family sent their sons to the Abbey School (as a mark of solidarity as much as convenience) even as the monks faced bitter criticism in the local press:

This summer they are at it again, boating, &., on the Sabbath. Now, sir, if this be not attempting to bring French Sundays, French sins, and I may add French judgements, into British territory, I know not what it is!⁴⁰

In June 1888, the monastery and school were officially denounced by the General Assembly of the Free Kirk, one of whose speakers declared that "if they allowed the Popish system to operate with its monks and nuns, its bribes and appliances, a great change would speedily come over the Highlands".⁴¹ In one sense this was an accurate judgement, for the Abbey was to have considerable influence on the local economy and disseminate a largely positive image of the Catholic Church.

While Lord Lovat and his two brothers attended the Benedictine college, the Lovat family would live to see the pebble they had dropped into the waters of Loch Ness spread out in every-increasing circles as many of the former pupils made their mark: this included 'a remarkable group of distinguished soldiers, merchant princes, eminent churchmen, three judges of the High Court in Scotland and Australia.'⁴² So their calculated generosity bore

³⁹ *The Inverness Courier*, 17 Oct 1878

⁴⁰ David Oswald Hunter Blair, 'Reminiscences of Abbot Hunter Blair,' *The Corbie* vol. 1, No 2 (Christmas 1926), 37

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 37-38

⁴² 'A Great Highland Chief: Fort Augustus Vindicated,' *The Corbie*, vol. 3, No 9 (Christmas 1935), 254

fruit in the gradual assimilation of better-educated Catholics into the higher ranks of Scottish society and into the business and legal communities.

By the 1930s Old Boys of the Abbey School (and their relatives) were well-placed to support the bishops in any eventuality. On one occasion in 1935 when Archbishop Andrew J. McDonald emerged from a function at the City Chambers and was surrounded by anti-Catholic protesters, he was driven home by John Barry (a prominent Edinburgh businessman of Irish extraction) in a car that Barry had gifted to the Archbishop for his personal use. His son, Fr John Barry (one of the brightest products of the Abbey School), remembered that when the car reached St Bennet's, his mother saw that it was covered in spittle from the crowd.

From the first half of the nineteenth century the bishops had been able to find patrons wealthy enough to enable them to attract and fund religious orders coming to Edinburgh. The degree to which the bishops depended on the continued generosity of Catholic aristocrats and gentry is evident in the ambitious architectural scheme planned for Greenhill, Edinburgh' in 1849, the brainchild of Canadian-born Bishop James Gillis. Gillis planned to build a cathedral (350 feet long with 380 feet high spires) and an adjoining seminary (the first to designs by Augustus Welby Pugin, the second by James Gillespie Graham). The site chosen lay between John Menzies' former home at Greenhill Cottage (now Gillis' own residence) on the Greenhill Parks between Bruntsfield Links and St Margaret's Convent, Whitehouse Loan, on property which had been given by Menzies to the archdiocese before his death in 1843. The magnificent cathedral would have given the emerging Catholic enclave an even higher profile.⁴³

Bore holes were drilled and the freestone rock just below the surface was found to be firm and solid and an excellent building material.⁴⁴ However, in spite of many promises of financial support, no major donors came forward to enable Gillis to meet the costs of construction (£400,000 for the cathedral and £12,798 for the seminary) and the project was, reluctantly, abandoned.⁴⁵ This was nearly two decades years before the conversion of many of the key financial supporters of Scottish Catholicism — the Third Marquess of Bute (1868), the Marquis of Ripon (1874), Sir David O. Hunter Blair (1875) and six years after the death of the Church's greatest benefactor, John Menzies of Pitfodels. Lord Bute (who

⁴³ A. Westwood, *RIBA Catalogue of Drawings Collection: Pugin (1977)*, 57-58; *The Building News*, 26 Dec 1873, illustration 20; *The Builder*, vol. 8 (1850), 566

⁴⁴ SCA ED2/36/1 Report by James Paton, borer, as to freestone etc on site adjoining Greenhill Cottage, nd

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 134; SCA ED2/35/1 Measurement and probable estimate from plans of Roman Catholic College proposed to be erected at Greenhill, 11 Nov 1850

died in 1900) did in due course contribute to the archdiocesan properties at Greenhill: in his will he left instructions that a small but elegant Byzantine chapel should be constructed at his expense, attached to Archbishop's House.⁴⁶

The importance of Devotions

It has been said that 'Every devotion, of its nature, involves an affective complex made up, not only of practices such as prayers and resolution, but also of ideas, preferences, and sentiment having a source that is at least partially emotional.'⁴⁷ Furthermore, such pious practices were not the prerogative of Catholics alone: the similarities between Catholic and Protestant revivalism has been noted more than once.⁴⁸

Numerous publications existed to support Catholics in their faith. A compendium such as *Key of Heaven* (c 1867) contained fundamental information such as the rules of the Church and an explanation of the ceremonies of the mass (celebrated in Latin until the 1960s), but within its covers it also had a wealth of other prayers and exercises which offered great variety as well as providing meaningful rituals to nurture relationships and events in the reader's life. Such material could be recited either publicly with a congregation or privately at home or even when travelling. There were prayers for special friends, for the master and mistress of a family, for a pregnant woman, for those who lead a single life and for the rich. Meditations and blessings were provided for every day of the week, such as grace before and after meals and night prayers. While depth of religious need was catered for in 'Fifteen meditations on the passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ' or an 'Act of consecration to the Sacred Heart of Jesus,' there were also more extended schemes such as 'The Thirty Day prayer to the Blessed Virgin Mary.' The importance of repetition can be seen in the use of litanies ('of the Sacred Heart' or 'for a happy death'), the beads of the rosary ('of the blessed name of Jesus' as well as centred on the Virgin Mary) and 'The Psalter of Jesus' where petitions (which repeated the name of Jesus ten times over) alternate with meditations. Other publications in the same format as *Key of Heaven* include *The Crown of Jesus* (1862), 'a complete Catholic manual of devotion, doctrine and instruction,' given the imprimatur by Cardinal Wiseman and recommended by Archbishop Paul Cullen of Dublin

⁴⁶ Gordon Joseph Gray, *St. Bennet's* (Edinburgh: privately published, 1987), 3-4

⁴⁷ P. F. Mulhern, 'Religious Devotions,' *NCE*, vol 14 (1967), 834

⁴⁸ John Sharp, *Reapers of the Harvest: The Redemptorists in Great Britain and Ireland, 1843-98* (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 1989), 159; Mary Heimann, *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 148

and *The Hidden Treasure* (c 1900) which contained ‘practical and devout methods of hearing it [mass] with profit; and devotions for Confession and Communion’ translated from the French of Franciscan St Leonard of Port Maurice. Lastly, there was the perennial *The Garden of the Soul*, a manual ‘of spiritual exercises and instructions for Christians who, living in the world, aspire to devotion.’

But private prayer could not compare with the impact of fervent public devotion. In 1920 Bishop Grey Graham of St Andrews and Edinburgh commended the practice of keeping *The Holy Hour* with the comment that ‘Vast crowds are attracted to our churches.’⁴⁹ The faithful knelt in prayers for the whole hour, beginning with a private meditation on ‘The Grotto of the Agony.’ The priest would then begin a series of vivid meditations: ‘Stay by Him. Behold now His Blood trickling drop by drop on the ground. It is the blood-sweat of His Sorrow!’ This was followed by singing from the choir and then an appeal to the congregation’s interest in the cinema: Look into the mind of Christ as you would on a moving picture.’ Then came recitation of the rosary before the next stage of the drama as the priest suddenly called out:

He is stretching forth His arm! He is pleading! Plead you! Quick!
Prostrate yourself before him.

The point of catharsis was reached as the priest pleaded ‘Spare, O Lord, spare thy people and be not angry with us for ever.’ He continued ‘Behold a wonderful change in the countenance of Jesus now ... His lips are opened in smile.’ Then *Panis Angelicus* was sung, celebrating the eucharist; the ceremony drew to a close with the priest inviting the congregation to deepen and make permanent the exterior changes they had experienced ‘Let each aspiration sink red-hot into your soul!’

Such detailed scripts for popular devotion were as much a means of religious education as Catholic schools. Behind them lay an awareness that the faith of the people needed to be developed through leadership from above by the manipulation of human emotion as much as by appeals to reason. Leadership came from diocesan bishops and priests but also from religious orders, judging by the popularity of parts of the Divine Office (*Breviary*) such as the evening prayers of Vespers and Compline, services structured into psalms, hymns, readings and responses. Charles Grant’s *The Vespers* (published in Glasgow in 1843) was ‘A tribute of adoration, of praise, and of invocation, which the clergy and the people assembled, on Sundays before the close of the day, offer to God by the singing of

⁴⁹ R. H., *The Holy Hour* (London: Sand and Company, 1920)

psalms and other pious prayers appointed by the church.’⁵⁰ Another publication, *Gregorian Service at Vespers* records the service ‘as sung in the Catholic Chapel, Glasgow,’ in Latin.⁵¹ Published in Edinburgh, *Compline or Evening Service for the use of the Laity* (1879) includes the Latin text but with a helpful translation into English and with musical notation, suggesting some degree of musicianship on the part of the congregation.⁵² Both Compline and Vespers were also often followed by the sensuous and dramatic service of Benediction, where Latin hymns and litanies accompanied the incensing of the communion wafer (the *host*) set in a glass disc within the glittering sunburst of a golden *monstrance* (sacred vessel) placed high upon the altar for all the congregation to see.

But it should not be thought that the development of liturgical worship was the prerogative of secular clergy and religious alone. As part of his desire to see Catholic worship restored to Scotland as close to its pre-Reformation condition as possible, John Patrick, Third Marquess of Bute, edited and translated a number of texts. His *Psalter of Jesus* (1885) is a translation of a fifteenth-century devotional formulary which he also annotated.⁵³ Four years before his death, Lord Bute published *A Form of Prayer following the Church office for the use of Catholics unable to hear mass upon Sundays and Holidays* (1896) which George Smith, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, recommended in a forward as ‘useful for those living at a distance from church.’⁵⁴

Credited with many liturgical innovations, the nuns of St Margaret’s Convent in Edinburgh sang the Litany of Loretto every Saturday, they held special devotions in the month of May for the Virgin Mary and processions inside the chapel or to the grotto in the grounds which was decorated with lights and flowers.⁵⁵ New monastic foundations such as Fort Augustus, also helped to popularise devotions, especially in the Highlands, with the convenient facility that the Abbey Press provided for printing popular pamphlets as well as liturgical texts.

For its parishes, Edinburgh’s liturgical provision in 1879 ranged from Stations of the Cross, Rosary and Benediction, interspersed with readings, the ubiquitous ‘devotions’

⁵⁰ Charles Grant, *The Vespers; or Evening Service ...* (Glasgow: Hugh Margey, 1843), iv

⁵¹ No author given, *Gregorian Service at Vespers, marked as sung in The Catholic Chapel, Glasgow*, nd,

⁵² *Compline or Evening Service for the use of the Laity* (Edinburgh; J. Miller & Sons, 1879)

⁵³ John Patrick, 3rd Marquess of Bute (ed.), *The Psalter of Jesus* (London: Pickering and Co., 1885)

⁵⁴ John Patrick, 3rd Marquess of Bute, *A Form of Prayer following the Church office for the use of Catholics unable to hear mass upon Sundays and Holidays* (London; J. Master & Co., 1896)

⁵⁵ no author given, *History of St Margaret’s Convent, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh; John Chisholm, nd), 138; 213

(generally, permutations of Rosary and Benediction), processions and catechism. At that date (and even in 1925) there was very little structural variation in such liturgies, either within the larger Edinburgh churches or between those east and west — perhaps an indication of the all-pervasive and unifying influence of Ultramontanism. By 1965, entries in *The Catholic Directory* no longer list parish organisations or devotions — the latter, in any case, already being revised by the new liturgical norms of the Second Vatican Council. In some cases popular devotions, for all their historical importance in building up the believing community, strayed away from the essentials, as Ambrosius Verheul warns in *Einführung in die Liturgie* (Herder, 1964):

... in popular devotions ... one becomes aware ... of an almost inborn tendency to get further and further away from the experience of the central realities of salvation and, in the worst cases, to gravitate to marginal manifestations that possess precious little of authentic religious feeling and show suspicious points of contact with magic and superstition.⁵⁶

Penance

Discipline in the Church derived from canon law and from local synodal or episcopal interpretation. In his *Seeking Spirituality* (1998), the American systematic theologian, Ronald Rolheiser, observes of the pre-Vatican II Church that 'Roman Catholic ecclesiology and spirituality were characterised by a number of clear, distinct emphases ... What helped define you as healthy was participation within certain spiritual practices, especially devotional and ascetical ones ...'⁵⁷ Along with sacramental liturgies and ascetical exercises, the Catholic Church maintained a diverse repertoire of spirituality through which lay person as well as cleric could aspire to salvation. Together, communal liturgy and private spiritual exercise directed the minds and bodies of the faithful towards holistic re-animation, to free mind and soul for the practice of virtue and the contemplation of the divine. Healing was mediated by the sacraments, chiefly that of Penance (later to known as 'Reconciliation'), which offered absolution, conditional on performance of prayers or good works; mortification of the flesh was encouraged as a prudent safeguard of spiritual health.

⁵⁶ Ambrosius Verheul (tr. Margaret Clarke), *Introduction to the Liturgy* (Wheathampstead: Burns & Oates, 1972), 144

⁵⁷ Ronald Rolheiser, *Seeking Spirituality* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1998), 44- 45

Chief among the penitential tools was *fasting* (a fast day being one on which only one full meal could be eaten) and *abstinence* (flesh meats, soups or food made from meat being forbidden).⁵⁸ So it was that *The Scottish Catechism of Christian Doctrine* (1954) warned its readers (as catechisms had done for generations before), that 'without self-denial our natural inclinations will lead us to evil.'⁵⁹ However, the correct application of the laws of fasting and abstinence was not always easy to discern; at Peterhead in 1890, for example, Fr John McIntosh explained to Fr James Smith his quandary over the niceties of canon law:

I should be glad to have your advice regarding the application of the law of fasting & abstinence to some of the members of my flock, as I had a little hesitation in deciding the cases myself. At the Prison there are a number of Catholic wardens & civil guards Catholics who lodge within the Prison walls & who have their meal in common in a dining room ... Catholics & Protestants alike are served with fish on Fridays, but with flesh meat on every other day of the week in Lent & out of Lent. Being asked by them whether they are bound to abstinence on these other days, I answered that they were not ... As regards sailors on board ship I tell them to abstain when they provide their own meals but I am at some loss to know what they are to do when the ship provides for them.⁶⁰

There were other exceptions: when New Year's Day fell on a Friday, the bishops felt compelled to grant a dispensation from abstinence.⁶¹ In the case of suet, lard, dripping, eggs and margarine, petitions were sent to Rome in 1904, fine distinctions being made (as late as 1923) between suet used as a condiment, as a seasoning in pastry, or as a staple ingredient in dumplings.⁶²

There were further difficulties. The sacraments were not necessarily always conferred with any great dignity: 'going to Confession', for example, had its practical hazards — at Stoneyburn, West Lothian, the confessional box had to be lined with insulation boarding and granulated cork to prevent other parishioners overhearing the sins of the penitent.⁶³ Moreover, full performance of the liturgical rubrics was not always possible or practical, especially in small parishes. As Fr. James McCartney of Peebles complained in February 1889: 'What do you think a poor devil like me should do on Ash Wednesday? I put

⁵⁸ The Archbishops and Bishops of Scotland, *The Scottish Catechism of Christian Doctrine* (Glasgow: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1954), 116 -117. For the spread of Jansenism in Scotland in the eighteenth century, see Bellesheim, op. cit., vol. 4 (1890), 200 -211

⁵⁹ The Archbishops and Bishops of Scotland, op. cit., 118

⁶⁰ SCA ED6/115/17 Fr J. McIntosh to Fr J. Smith, 11 Feb 1890

⁶¹ SCA ED6/23/11 Bp A. Chisholm to Abp J. Smith, 4 Dec 1904

⁶² SCA ED5/39/6 10 -11 Bp J. Smith to Abp A. MacDonald, Dec 1894 - Feb 1895; also SCA ED6/188/12 'O.A.' 'To My dearest Provost', 7 Mar 1923

⁶³ SCA ED21/125 J. Turner: account for deafening of confessional, 17 Dec 1953

on sackcloth and ashes you may say; but that is not the answer I want. I am in an Ecclesia Forandi or truly-rural Church. I cannot carry out the ceremonies prescribed for certain days mentioned in the Decrees.'⁶⁴

There were other seasonal restrictions: marriages, concerts and dancing were generally forbidden during the forty days of Lent.⁶⁵ In 1926, dancing in Lent was expressly forbidden by the diocesan enforcer, Bishop Grey Graham (with the reminder that such conduct had been forbidden by a decree of the Council of Fort Augustus); Graham also condemned 'the disgraceful style of some popular modern dances of which the Council Fathers could have had no conception.'⁶⁶ By recognised custom, although concerts in Lent were also not approved, they were exceptionally permitted on the Feast of St Patrick (17 March), as long as no dancing occurred.⁶⁷ However, this proved to be a rule hard to enforce — a St Patrick's Day dance in Glasgow with 70 couples, for example, took place surreptitiously in 1906, risking the wrath of the Archbishop, had it been brought to his attention.⁶⁸ The decree against dancing in Lent (which also extended to the season of Advent) continued into the mid-1950s.⁶⁹

Prayer

Central to Catholic spirituality was prayer in its many forms. Replying in the most cultured French to an enquiry from the Comtesse de Seebach in 1881, Fr William Smith recommended the following daily regimen: fifteen minutes meditation with the aid of a suitable book; Mass, with communion, according to the advice of a confessor; in the evening, recital of the Rosary.⁷⁰ Central to much of the prayer life of Scots Catholics was the influence of the Society of Jesus, which had not only established a substantial presence in a number of parishes, but also conducted retreats throughout Scotland; in Rome, Jesuits had once been rectors of the Scots College (1615-1773) and continued to staff the influential Collegio Romano.⁷¹ The mindset of the Ignatian spiritual exercises also imbued the work of the Sisters of the Society of the Sacred Heart (Edinburgh) and of Notre Dame de Namur,

⁶⁴ SCA ED6/113/1 Fr J. McCartney to Fr J. Smith, 24 Feb 1889

⁶⁵ SCA ED6/124/7 Fr W. Grady to Abp J. Smith, 2 Mar 1903

⁶⁶ SCA ED10/45/1 Bp H. G. Graham: ad clerum, 10 Feb 1926

⁶⁷ SCA DE32/6/3 Abp A. J. McDonald: ad clerum, 9 Feb 1934

⁶⁸ SCA ED6/20/6 Fr J. Ritchie to Abp J. Smith, 7 Apr 1906

⁶⁹ SCA DE34/5/10 Fr B. O'Hanlon to Abp G. J. Gray, 2 Feb 1955

⁷⁰ SCA ED4/170/8 Fr W. Smith to Comtesse de Seebach, 12 Oct 1881

⁷¹ Raymond McCluskey (ed.), *The Scots College Rome 1600-2000* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2000), 169

(Glasgow) whose nuns were a formative influence on generations of teachers in Scotland's training colleges.

Saints

After the new hierarchy was formed, there came the piece by piece restoration by the Congregation of Rites of the *cultus* of the saints of Scotland, with the granting of Office and Mass in their name. The feast of St Ninian was restored in 1879, with further feasts added by the turn of the century.⁷² The significance attached by the hierarchy to relics of the saints can be seen in a letter of Bishop James Smith to Archbishop Angus MacDonal in 1896: 'On my return to Dundee on Tuesday I called on Fr Harris about the woman I mentioned. She was much better, & ascribed improvement to the relic I had lent her.'⁷³ Some aristocratic lay people had the means to indulge the popular reverence for relics — in 1921, Lady Anne Kerr is recorded as displaying 89 relics at her home in Edinburgh's exclusive district of Church Hill, of which 60 had official authentication.⁷⁴

Liturgy and Art

Art and liturgy combined in Scotland's Catholic churches to provide, at best, a 'divine theatre' for the education and edification of the people. There was considerable variation in provision. In small parishes, such as that of Fr George Angus at St Andrews in 1885, the faithful were offered Low Mass on a Sunday and a basic weekly programme: '1. I play a voluntary 2. Rosary 3. I play & sing a hymn. 4. Sermon 5. I play and sing a hymn 6. Night Prayers. 7. I play a voluntary.'⁷⁵

At the other end of the ceremonial spectrum, the funeral of Bishop James Gillis at Edinburgh's St Mary's Cathedral in 1864, however, was the summit of ecclesiastical flamboyance, a rare spectacle of colour and drama, accompanied by the plangent strains of Mozart's 'Requiem':

The gorgeous coffin, on which were laid the mitre and crozier, rested upon a splendid catafalque, surrounded by a blaze of light from huge silver candelabra. At the corner of the bier rose four alabaster-vases, with spirit-lamps which threw the changeful flickering of their flame

⁷² SCA ED6/9/9 Bp J. MacLachlan to Fr J. Smith, 9 Aug 1879; SCA ED5/55/1 Fr R. Fraser to Abp A. MacDonal, 3 Jan 1899; SCA ED6/50/10 Fr R. Fraser to Abp W. Smith, 22 Nov 1902

⁷³ SCA ED5/41/3 Bp J. Smith to Abp A. MacDonal, 11 Jun 1896

⁷⁴ SCA DE133/12 Fr J. Gray to Bp H. G. Graham, 17 Dec 1921

⁷⁵ SCA ED4/149/2 Fr G. Angus to Fr W. Smith, 24 Apr 1885

fitfully on the rich purple velvet of the coffin, and its heavy studding of gilt nails. The windows of the Church were darkened ... The sanctuary and galleries were draped with black.'⁷⁶

But the devotional audience did not always comport itself in a seemly manner; under the heading 'Conduct in the House of God', the Catholic Directory for 1866 warned that 'Persons while in the Church should, as much as possible, avoid coughing, spitting, and all manner of noise ... It is very disrespectful to present themselves in the House of God unshaved, or with unwashed face or hands.'

By 1901, however, the dramatic ceremonies provided at St Mary's Cathedral were beginning to offend the self-effacing taste of such as the auxiliary bishop of Glasgow, John Maguire, who complained to Archbishop James Smith:

Let me venture to recommend you to take your Cathedr. services seriously in hand. What is wanted is an entire change of idea as to what is suitable. Tuesday's ceremony was what Sir Henry Irving might put on the stage of the Lyceum for a High Mass. It is a pity to strengthen the Prot.[estant] Notion that our services are theatrical. Your M.C. clearly thinks chiefly of what is called 'effect.' One sees this in everything from the choir trumpets to the serving boys' red skull-caps.⁷⁷

For a Catholic, good taste in Church art was considered to be a decided accomplishment. At his death in 1878, Alexander Grant, rector of the Scots College, Rome for over 30 years, was approved of as having 'a correct taste for religious art.'⁷⁸ The modesty of church ornamentation was conscientiously policed by the clergy — presumably, in case it gave scandal to the lay faithful. Receiving a gift of two pictures of nude angels for his cathedral in 1899, Bishop James Smith of Dunkeld wrote of his misgivings to Archbishop MacDonald: 'One of mine has 3 full-length young Angles, stark-naked — 2 males with a side & two thirds view of buttocks, & a female with side view of do. & budding breasts'; in his dilemma, Smith even considered hinting to the donor that drapery might be required.⁷⁹

Churches and their ornaments were designed to move the souls of the congregation. When the Jesuit's Edinburgh church of the Sacred Heart, Lauriston opened in 1860, it was noted that 'every arrangement of the church is designed to picture before the worshippers vivid images of Him whose name the Society bears ... The whole building seems to whisper

⁷⁶ CDS (1865), 138 - 39

⁷⁷ SCA ED6/14/3 Bp J. Maguire to Bp J. Smith, 19 Jan 1901

⁷⁸ CDS (1879), 159

⁷⁹ SCA ED5/45/11 Fr J. Smith to Abp A. MacDonald, 31 Mar 1899

the name of Jesus.⁸⁰ Almost a hundred years later, the disapproval of the Holy Office over what they saw as the violence and exaggeration of modern art was conveyed to Archbishop Gordon Gray by the apostolic delegate: 'In recent years all kinds of absurdities, going under the name of Sacred Art, have managed to find their way into private and public art exhibitions and even into churches, making sacred persons and things look monstrous and ridiculous and even profaning the House of God ... The ever-increasing numbers of such monstrosities prove how timely was the Instruction on Sacred Art issued by the ... S. Congregation ...'⁸¹

Processions and Pilgrimages

However, the dignity of church interiors was not the only source of spiritual strength for the laity; they were also encouraged to take an active part in processions (often out of doors), in congresses and pilgrimages. Outdoor processions (which first re-appeared in Scotland in 1850 in the grounds of St Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh) took their significance from the celebrations of the liturgical year (such as the dramatic recreation of Jesus' entry to Jerusalem with a procession of palms on Palm Sunday).⁸² However, papal encouragement, backed by episcopal admonition, urged congregations to make a 'public profession of faith in solemn procession,' wherever possible visiting designated churches 'in processional formation.'⁸³ Processional style was heavily influenced by Continental example: at Carfin in Lanarkshire, for example, the Corpus Christi procession was modelled on that of the Holy Blood in Bruges.⁸⁴ Processions took place on many feasts and occasions: vestments, banners, lanterns and canopies would be brought into use to display relics — in the consecration of a church, for example, for Corpus Christi or as part of the Marian celebrations (such as the huge procession through the streets of Musselburgh, East Lothian in 1956, which culminated in the crowning of the May Queen, with ceremonies described by the local press as 'soul-stirring').⁸⁵ The public procession was a visible statement of identity and of confidence in social status.

⁸⁰ *CDS* (1861), 68 - 69

⁸¹ SCA DE8/18/9 Abp G. O'Hara to Abp G. J. Gray, 11 Aug 1955

⁸² Susan McGhee, 'Carfin and the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1926,' *IR*, vol. 16, No 1 (Spring 1965), 56; M. S. MacMahon, *Liturgical Catechism*, 3rd edition (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd, 1930), 327

⁸³ SCA DE32/6/8 Abp A. J McDonald: ad clerum, 28 Apr 1934

⁸⁴ McGhee, *op. cit.*, 59

⁸⁵ Brian Heeps, *In Beauty Enshrined: Our Lady of Loretto and St Michael of Musselburgh* (Musselburgh: privately printed, 1989), 12; 17; 19; 26; 37

The pilgrimage was an extension of the public procession. For Scots Catholics, the first Iona public pilgrimage of 1888 was particularly memorable, making a very positive impression on the wider, non-Catholic community.⁸⁶ The second Iona pilgrimage (1897), celebrating the thirteenth centenary of St Columba's death, drew widespread interest from as far afield as Arizona and the Gaelic Societies of Chicago and New York.⁸⁷ More than 600 pilgrims attended High Mass, sung in the ruins of Iona Abbey.

Pilgrimages to Rome were also popular, arranged (as in 1893) by Thomas Cooke & Sons, Edinburgh, although diocesan numbers were considerably lower than those visiting Iona — a mere 130 in 1888 and only 60 during the jubilee year of 1900.⁸⁸ The latter occasion (the episcopal jubilee of Pope Leo XIII) gave pilgrims an opportunity to express their appreciation with an address, praising Leo for expounding 'the duties of Christian citizens ... whilst safeguarding the principles of justice & equity, to ameliorate the condition of the working classes.'⁸⁹ The visit also had its important cultural and social aspects — at St Peter's: singing the St Andrew Hymn (as well as 'Faith of Our Fathers' and 'Full in the Panting Heart of Rome'); visiting the tombs of the apostles; venerating the head of St Andrew — all culminating in a reception at the Scots College.⁹⁰ In the course of the 1900 Rome pilgrimage, excursions to Florence, Milan, Lucerne, Basle and Paris, were marketed as adding value to the experience.⁹¹ Pilgrimages to Lourdes (like Rome), offered the possibility of indulgences (remission of temporal punishment due to sin), as well as cures for the sick; in Scotland, another Marian shrine; at Carfin (a grotto erected during a year-long strike in 1920, by miners returned from Lourdes), provided a more accessible focus for popular devotion.⁹²

⁸⁶ SCA ED5/21/8 Bp J. MacLachlan to Bp J. MacDonald, 20 Jun 1888

⁸⁷ SCA ED5/120/1 E. O'Growney to Abp A. MacDonald, 1 Feb 1897

⁸⁸ SCA ED5/12/1 Thomas Cooke & Sons: pilgrimage timetable, Feb 1893; SCA ED5/1/14 Abp W. Smith to Bp A. MacDonald, 17 Feb 1888; SCA ED5/125/8 Names of Pilgrims, Apr 1900

⁸⁹ SCA ED5/122/8 Address to the Holy Father, Feb 1893

⁹⁰ SCA ED5/123/3 Pilgrimage itinerary, Feb 1893; SCA ED5/123/4 Pilgrimage order of service, 22 Feb 1893

⁹¹ SCA ED5/125/7 Rome pilgrimage itinerary, May 1900

⁹² SCA DE68/24/5 Programme of Marian Year Pilgrimage of Ukrainian Catholics to Carfin, 11 Jul 1954; SCA DE171/52 Catholic Miners Guild: Carfin rally, Lourdes 1955-62; Tom Gallagher, 'The Catholic Irish in Scotland: in Search of Identity' in Thomas M. Devine (ed.), *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1991), 31; Thomas N. Taylor, 'The Carfin Grotto,' *St Peter's College Magazine*, vol. 23, No 90 (Jun 1958), 93 - 99

Eucharistic Congress

The eucharistic congress, which shared some of the characteristics of processions and pilgrimages, was a structured celebration, the culmination of a journey of faith. The first was held in Lille, France in 1879; by 1935 there had been thirty-three congresses.⁹³ The Eucharistic World Congress of 1908 held in London, was seen as a 'brilliant expression of the unified power' of British Catholics; delegates from Scotland also attended the 1932 Dublin congress, overcoming the slight given by the Glasgow party who had mistakenly referred to themselves as 'The Scottish National Delegation' — much to the annoyance of Catholics travelling from Edinburgh!⁹⁴

However, it was the local eucharistic congress held in Edinburgh in June 1935, that made the greatest impact on Scottish Catholics. Offering indulgences and spiritual privileges, the congress gave an opportunity for 'public homage to the Eucharistic King,' for 'special instruction concerning the Blessed Sacrament, as well as for the discussion of practical questions dealing with the diffusion of Catholic Faith.'⁹⁵ The congress consisted of services in all Edinburgh's churches, a conference for teachers, separate gatherings of men and women, a children's service and a meeting of priests. The proceedings concluded with a solemn procession in the grounds of St Andrew's Priory, Canaan Lane, made up of 'Banner Bearer, Guild of St Agnes, Women's Guilds, Members of University, Tertiary Sisters, Representatives of Convents, Boys' Guilds, Men's Guilds, Members of University, Tertiary Brothers, Guild of Blessed Sacrament, Servers, Clergy — the whole (in spite of alarming anti-Catholic demonstrations instigated by Town Councillor John McCormack), being described by the Catholic Directory as 'a triumph of devotion and organisation.'⁹⁶

Pious Associations

The importance of establishing religious organisations in parishes was frequently and passionately recommended by Leo XIII — as Bishop William Turner of Galloway (while counselling moderation in the introduction of societies) reminded his clergy in 1894: 'these pious Associations with their fixed order of prayer, their simple rules and well defined

⁹³ SCA DE133/16 City of Edinburgh Eucharistic Congress: souvenir programme 23 - 25 June 1935

⁹⁴ Oskar Köler, 'Catholic Self-Awareness in the British Empire, The Church in the Industrial Age,' in Hubert Jedin and John Dolan (eds.), *History of the Church*, vol. 9 (London: Burns & Oates, 1981), 137; SCA ED29/91 SHMB, 10 May 1932

⁹⁵ SCA DE133/16 City of Edinburgh Eucharistic Congress: souvenir programme, 23-25 June 1935

⁹⁶ *ibid*; CDS (1936), 336

duties, their meetings at stated times, their unity of purpose and harmony of action, naturally influence and leaven the entire Congregation, and form the strongest support to the priest...⁹⁷ Parish associations produced a disciplined laity; this provided a strong power-base for the bishops. Bernard Aspinwall's observations about Glasgow apply equally well to Edinburgh: 'The Catholic revivalist preaching, parish retreats and devotions inculcated the dominant work ethic.'⁹⁸ From the point of view of the laity, membership of religious associations would make them more articulate and more self-confident (although not so articulate as to challenge clergy or bishops). Indeed, one can see the hierarchical structures established in 1878, as to some degree complemented by a rapid growth in lay organisational elites emerging from approved associations, each with its own aims, regulations and benefits, under the watchful eye of the bishop.⁹⁹

Lay associations fell into two categories — those whose main function was to develop personal piety by regular prayer or devotion, and those who engaged principally in direct group action. Pious societies (such as those dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus) offered their members privileges (such as indulgences) and were mainly aimed at the internal spiritual life of the believer. Two future archbishops, while still students at Blairs College, testified to the importance of devotion to the Sacred Heart. In his elegantly-written 1835 oath of admission to such a society, sixteen-year old seminarian William Smith (a future archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh) prayed: 'Oh my Jesus, shut up within your Sacred Heart all the associates of this pious union. May all be inflamed with your divine Love ... Sweet Heart of Jesus make me love thee ever more and more.'¹⁰⁰ James Smith (at the same age and also a future archbishop) vowed, on entry to the society in twenty years later: 'To add more and more to the glory of Jesus, who died upon the cross for us, and of his glowing heart which burns with love towards us in the most Holy Sacrament of the altar.'¹⁰¹

Devotion to the Sacred Heart derived from the visions of the French nun, St Margaret Mary Alacoque (1647-90); this was consistently promoted by papal encyclicals, from Pius IX's proclamation of 1856 ordering the celebration of the feast throughout the Church, to Pius XII's *Haurietis aquas* a century later. In his 1899 encyclical, *Annum Sacrum*, Leo XIII describes the Sacred Heart as a metaphysical symbol, having 'a cross rising from it and

⁹⁷ SCA ED5/31/4 Bp W. Turner to clergy, Oct 1894

⁹⁸ Bernard Aspinwall, 'The Catholic Irish and Wealth in Glasgow,' in Thomas M. Devine (ed.), *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1991), 102

⁹⁹ John McCaffrey, 'The Roman Catholic Church in the 1890s: Retrospect and Prospect,' *RSCHS*, vol. 25 (1995), 429

¹⁰⁰ SCA ED4/165/3 W. Smith, 29 Jun 1835

¹⁰¹ SCA ED6/204/1 J. Smith, 3 May 1857

shining forth with dazzling splendour amidst flames of love.'¹⁰² Popular depiction of the Sacred Heart in imported baroque church decorations, paintings and emblems, stimulated the eyes and minds of the faithful, captivating their imagination so as to enable them to apply those symbolised values to their own lives, just as *The Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola cultivated an application of the five senses in contemplation:

By the sight of my imagination I will see the persons, by meditating and contemplating in detail all the circumstances around them, and by drawing some profit from the sight ...¹⁰³

However, in spite of continuous papal exhortation, devotion to the Sacred Heart took, in some cases, many years to materialise formally. In Edinburgh's biggest congregation (St Patrick's, Cowgate) it was not until 1921 that a Sacred Heart confraternity was canonically erected.¹⁰⁴

Between 1878 and 1965, more than a dozen encyclicals exhorted the faithful to frequent recitation of the Rosary to invoke the protection of the Virgin Mary, especially in times of difficulty and danger (but also as an instrument of spiritual health). While its botanical imagery allowed allegorical and mystical interpretation at many levels, its primary purpose was to besiege Christ and his mother with prayer — traditionally, the function of the Rosary was 'laudative, impetative, and meditative.'¹⁰⁵ Recent medical research even suggests that the slow regular breathing involved in reciting the Rosary (like the Tibetan and Indian yoga mantras from which the Rosary, through the Crusaders, was historically derived), 'reduces the deleterious effects of myocardial ischaemia, and ... increases calmness and wellbeing.'¹⁰⁶

Rather more self-interested and exclusive were societies such as the Bona Mors (good death), whose primary concern was to see that its members died at peace with God. Founded in Rome by Fr Vincent Caraffa SJ in 1648, and directed at accumulating what amounted to spiritual insurance, the Bona Mors appeared in Edinburgh around 1849 and soon spread to other parts of Scotland; however, its members were particularly anxious to have the society sanctioned and indulged by the pope, as this would add greater efficacy

¹⁰² Leo XIII: *Annum Sacrum*, 1899, sect. 12

¹⁰³ George Ganss et al. (eds.), *Ignatius of Loyola. The Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 151

¹⁰⁴ SCA GD10/84/2 St Patrick's, Sacred Heart Confraternity: *Erectio Canonica Confraternitatis*, 27 Nov 1921

¹⁰⁵ no author given, *The Rosary Our Sacred Heritage* (no publisher given: nd), 3

¹⁰⁶ Luciano Bernardi et al., 'Effect of rosary prayer and yoga mantras on autonomic cardiovascular rhythms: comparative study,' *British Medical Journal*, vol. 323 (22 - 29 Dec 2001), 1447- 47

to its activities and so attract new members — in due course these spiritual privileges were finally extracted from Rome.¹⁰⁷ For members of all such societies (and even for the faithful outside them), the Catholic Church offered recipes for spiritual growth — a visible mechanism of surplus and deficit, a spiritual bank account which could (in the theologically untutored understanding of some of the laity), be balanced by additional prayer or good works.

The second, more active types of association, were those which focused mainly on external social and physical objectives — the battle against addiction, poverty or disease. The larger city parishes could sustain a spectrum of societies. At a council meeting in November 1865, the Catholic Young Men's Society at St Patrick's, Edinburgh reviewed the geographical network of guilds into which the parish had been divided. The several guilds formed discrete but inter-connected cells, each administered by a warden, each under the patronage of a different saint — a welfare state in miniature. Under Fr Edward Hannan, societies of many kinds were formed at St Patrick's, a broad spread of provision aimed at satisfying the spiritual, cultural and financial needs of parishioners.¹⁰⁸ Here, a system was established whereby social control could be exercised (however benevolently) and parishioners helped to improve themselves within the confines of the faith community — a fortress-parish voluntarily entered into, rather than a forcible ghetto.

After schools, temperance societies were arguably the most important of the organisations formed for Catholic communities in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁹ In Edinburgh, churches such as St Patrick's set up temperance societies; these were also co-ordinated throughout the city into an inter-denominational Temperance Association, which included boys and girls under the age of fifteen, regularly addressed on the evils of drink by well-known public figures.¹¹⁰ By 1878, the Catholic Young Men's Society had nearly one thousand members but its associated Temperance Society was five times bigger.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ SCA ED6/76/7 J. Tiarstall to Fr J. Smith, 29 Oct 1861

¹⁰⁸ see SCA GD82/812 MBYMS, Edinburgh

¹⁰⁹ Martin Mitchell, 'The Catholic Community in Hamilton, c.1800-1914,' in Thomas M. Devine (ed.), *St Mary's Hamilton: A Social History 1846-1996* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1995), 37

¹¹⁰ SCA GD82/812 MBYMS, Edinburgh, 10 Oct 1871; *Ibid.*, 3 Mar 1872

¹¹¹ CDS (1878), 70

The work and influence of Pious Associations

At the restoration of the hierarchy the pages of *The Catholic Directory* (1879) show sharp contrasts in parish confraternities in the east and the west. While, in the east, St Mary's Cathedral, the Sacred Heart at Lauriston and St Mary's, Leith each had a Sacred Heart group, St Andrew's Cathedral, in the west, Glasgow did not, nor did St John's — only St Alphonsus. While the Glasgow churches each had their St Vincent de Paul, there was only one SVDP conference in Edinburgh listed as attached to a church — at St Mary's, Leith (which, along with St Patrick's, also had a Catholic Young Men's Society). The Brotherhood of St Vincent de Paul was first established in Edinburgh in 1845 with four active members; by the following year there were fifteen members. During the next eighty years (1925) the SVDP spread even more widely east and west in the city — to St Mary's Cathedral, St Mary's, Leith (alongside the CYMS), to the Sacred Heart, Lauriston. In 1947 the SVDP's Superior Council of Edinburgh had 563 active members making 23,503 visits to those in need; membership climbed to 610 in 1951 while the income of the Society increased from £14,737 in 1957 to £17,720 in 1962.¹¹²

The success of such pious organisations depended on their ability to mould their members into a unified body with clear goals. This in turn derived from the rules of the organisation. The Edinburgh Holy Gild of St Joseph Friendly Society, for example, combined religious devotion with self-help of a more immediately practical kind. In 1845, honorary membership of the Gild (described as a 'society of improvement') was open to Christians of any denomination, to 'any man of good character' who lived within a radius of 20 miles from Edinburgh, provided he could produce a baptismal certificate; if ordinary members ceased to be a Catholic or neglected their religious duties or were sentenced in a court, they would be immediately expelled from the Gild.¹¹³

In the case of the fledgling St Patrick's Catholic Young Men's Society (1865) the criteria were equally stringent and the penalties just as draconian: prospective members had to show 'three months' good conduct probation' before they could join; shebeen keepers would be 'summararily [sic] expelled'; members were required to confess themselves to a priest every month and attend the monthly guild meetings; membership would be rescinded in the case of a conviction before a court and 'a united hearty and zealous co-operation in everything appertaining to the well-being and progress of the Society' was essential.¹¹⁴

¹¹² SVDP in Scotland: *Reports* (1947-1962)

¹¹³ No author given, *Rules of the Edinburgh Holy Gild of St Joseph Friendly Society* (Edinburgh: William Montignoni, 1845)

¹¹⁴ SCA GD82/812 Minute Book of St Patrick's Young Men's Society, Edinburgh

Temperance and Catholicism

The first Total Abstinence Society in Scotland is thought to have been founded at Dunfermline in 1830.¹¹⁵ Temperance movements in Scotland were at first principally associated with the Presbyterian churches, notably the UP.¹¹⁶ After 1858 the Temperance movement broadened its denominational base.¹¹⁷ In Edinburgh, Catholics were not slow to take an active part in the battle against drink and intoxication. John Adair, later to be the first secretary of the Catholic Young Men's Society at St Patrick's, was a committee member of The Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society (which dated from 1836).¹¹⁸ The popularity of the movement was such that, between 1838 and 1839 its numbers jumped from 4,000 to almost 16,000.¹¹⁹

Before 1871 (according to the Catholic Directory) Catholic congregations in Edinburgh and Glasgow had been slow to form anti-drink organisations. By 1872, however, St Patrick's, Edinburgh, had founded a branch of the Total Abstinence Society (as a by-product of the CYMS), while, in Glasgow, St John's, Portugal Street, had set up a Temperance Society. Members of the St Patrick's Temperance Association paid a shilling for entrance money and in return received a medal and ribbon.

However, the distinction between abstinence and temperance was not always clear. In October 1871 the 'rules of the Total Abstinence Society were read and approved' according to the Minutes of the CYMS at St Patrick's, Edinburgh; in January 1872, however, the Minutes record that a Temperance Association was established and it continues to be referred to as such. In the entries of *The Catholic Directory*, however, it is described as a Total Abstinence Society, perhaps a sign of administrative confusion or division of opinion.

Two years later, there were 3,000 members at St Patrick's, while in Glasgow another Temperance Society (at St Alphonsus) was joined by a Total Abstinence Society at St Mary's, Abercrombie Street. This bifurcation into two levels of anti-drink groups continued; in Edinburgh the St Patrick's Total Abstinence Society numbered 5,000 in 1877, while at St Mary's Leith a Temperance Society had been set up in 1874 affiliated to a Young Men's

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 150

¹¹⁶ Alastair J. Durie, 'Almost twins by birth: hydropathy, temperance and the Scottish churches, 1840-1914' *RSCHS*, vol. 32 (2002), 149

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 149

¹¹⁸ *Second report of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society* (Edinburgh: printed for the Society, 1839)

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 5

Society. St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, launched its Crusade of Temperance in 1879, followed (1880) by a Temperance Guild organised by the Jesuits at St David's, Dalkeith. In spite of the apparent existence of committed Total Abstinence groups in the Catholic Church, exhortations for frequent communion were equally strong and the sight of the wine prepared for the priest to drink at mass must have given a mixed message to Catholics as to the inherent evil of alcohol taken in moderation.

Perhaps this partly explains the subsequent success of the League of the Cross, founded in London by Archbishop Manning in 1873, which quickly took over most Catholic parish anti-alcohol activities — in spite of an isolated parish Confraternity of the Sacred Thirst of Jesus (founded in Dublin in 1875) or the Diocesan Crusade (instituted by Bishop Vaughan in the same year). Only committed Catholics could join the League; for this reason also, Catholic participation in inter-denominational temperance initiatives fell away.

The Temperance Societies section in the Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory for 1890-1891 lists only the Independent Order of Good Templars (looked upon with suspicion by Pope and hierarchy) and the Edinburgh Band of Hope Union. By 1895, a sea-change was clearly visible. A conscious and collective decision seems to have been taken among Catholics to focus anti-drink efforts within exclusively Catholic organisations.

The transition from temperance societies to the League of the Cross was often managed by the missionary orders. The Redemptorists from Kinnoul, Perth deliberately transformed existing parish groups (as at Kilsyth in 1888) when a League of the Cross (with 323 men and additional children) and a Confraternity of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour (227 members) were set up 'as Temperance Societies.'¹²⁰ When the Redemptorists reached St Patrick's, Edinburgh, five years later, they found parish organisations disintegrating and immediately set up the League of the Cross and enrolled 1,000 members.¹²¹

By 1895, a Total Abstinence Society is not listed at St Patrick's; the League of the Cross had taken over both at St Mary's, Leith and in Glasgow at St Andrew's Cathedral, at St Mary's, Abercrombie Street and at St John's — a development noted by James Handley.¹²² But the progress of the League was not always smooth. At Maryhill, Glasgow, in 1911, the priest in charge refused to have the League because of financial troubles and quarrels in neighbouring missions.¹²³

¹²⁰ KMA *Missiones* Tome III, 1883-1900: Aug 19-Sep 2

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, Nov 5-26

¹²² James Edmund Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1947), 163

¹²³ KMA *Missions* 1902-1937

The CYMS movement, however, continued to be reminded of the dangers of intemperance. At the general conference held in Leith in 1910, Fr Maurice Hayes of Chester warned the delegates that 'Its [alcohol's] evil breath taints the snug suburban villas as well as the gloomy dwellings of the dismal slums. It conduces to, and causes crime, pauperism, lunacy, vagrancy, disease and frequently premature death.'¹²⁴

In the early 1920s, overtly anti-alcohol Catholic societies are no longer advertised in *The Catholic Directory* either in Edinburgh or at St Andrew's Cathedral, Glasgow. Although the Total Abstinence Society soldiered on from its office and halls at 50, South Bridge in Edinburgh, the link with Catholic parishes (such as nearby St Patrick's) had been severed. *The Catholic Directory* (1925) lists some thirteen temperance parish organisations (out of 69 missions) in St Andrews and Edinburgh, including the League of the Cross, the Temperance Guild and the St Andrew's Total Abstinence Society — only two of them in the City of Edinburgh, most in West Lothian and Stirling. Tellingly, a handbook issued in 1932 to mark the centenary of the Total Abstinence movement, makes no reference at all to any Catholic involvement over the previous 100 years!¹²⁵

By 1935 there were only seven such groups in the archdiocese; in 1950, *The Catholic Directory* no longer includes a list of parish organisations but prints instead general information about nation-wide groups such as the Catholic Social Guild, the Catholic Enquiry Office, the Catholic Workers' Guild and the increasingly popular Society of St Vincent de Paul. This leads to the conclusion that the problems of alcoholism were evidently being taken on board by wider, inter-diocesan bodies organised along more professional lines.

Catholic Action

While lay action had been recommended by successive pontiffs (Pius X, for example) it was Leo XIII who, in his encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891) most strongly promoted the work of those existing Church associations (most of them aimed at the relief of deprivation) which collectively came to be known as 'Catholic Action.'¹²⁶ Over the next fifty years, lay action continued to be accorded high importance. Pius XI in *Mens Nostra* (1929) pointed out

¹²⁴ *Report of the General Conference of the Young Men's Societies of Great Britain, held at Leith, May 14-16, 1910, 74*

¹²⁵ no author given, *Centenary of the Total Abstinence Movement in Scotland 1832-1932* (Glasgow: General Centenary Committee, 1932).

¹²⁶ Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*, sect. 29, 15 May 1891

that lay co-operation with the hierarchy was essential; he commended associations of lay people, emphasising that they needed to be strongly rooted in spirituality (particularly those developed by the Ignatian exercises whose pedigree Pius traced back to the apostles in the upper room): 'compact companies of pious laymen, who, united to the Apostolic Hierarchy by close bonds of charity, may help it with active industry, by manifold works and labours devoting themselves to the Catholic Action.'¹²⁷ Pius XI 'gave Catholic Action a charter, a spirit, and an apocalyptic urgency' and he also emphasised that it involved 'the participation of the laity in the hierarchical apostolate.'¹²⁸

Some ambiguity resulted over the term 'Catholic Action'; this was only resolved during the papacy of John XXIII, by which time the synonym 'lay apostolate' had achieved wider currency as a generic name which encompassed all lay activity, whether organized, episcopally-mandated or individually inspired.¹²⁹ 'The Church', wrote Pope Pius X (1906), 'is essentially an unequal society ... comprising two categories of persons, the Pastors and the flock'; the duty of the flock, he continued, was to be dutiful and allow themselves to be led by the Pastors.¹³⁰ While there may have been disagreement over the degree of episcopal control needed (and therefore a tension with those lay people who saw the involvement of a bishop as an unnecessary infringement of their right to act freely), the structures of Catholic Action also differed from country to country, according to political and social conditions.

There was considerable suspicion among many of the clergy about the fitness of lay people to participate in the work of salvation. Discussing 'The Pope's Intention for February', the parish magazine for the Sacred Heart church, Edinburgh (January 1935), explained that:

... Catholic Action means, Help for the Bishops and Clergy: the work the Laity are called to do is ordinarily the work of the priests; but in these times of great need lay folk are to be privileged to do some part of their work under the guidance of those to whom it properly belongs ... there are a good many parish priests who, while they would welcome lay help if they could feel quite sure that it would be thoroughly under their guidance and control, are actually a little afraid of it.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Leo XIII, *Mens Nostra*, sect. 4 - 5, 20 Dec 1929

¹²⁸ D. J. Geaney, 'Catholic Action,' *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, vol. 3 (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1967), 262; Yves Congar, tr. Donald Atwater, *Lay People in the Church* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1985), 362

¹²⁹ Geaney, *op. cit.*, 262

¹³⁰ Pius X, *Vehementer Nos*, 47- 48, (1906) quoted in Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1985), 222

¹³¹ G.B. SJ, *The Lauriston Parish Magazine*, Jan 1935, 33

Lay societies could be established in different ways. In Scotland, an accident of history led to the independent formation of two differently-constituted councils of the St Vincent de Paul Society (SVP): the superior council (founded by a number of gentlemen to distribute their private charity) and the particular (founded by Bishop Gillis to disburse the general funds of the diocese). Although the SVP was essentially a layman's society (in whose activities neither priest nor bishop had a right to interfere), this was not the case with the diocesan society of St Andrews and Edinburgh. This anomaly led to fierce debate over the wisdom of amalgamating the two SVP councils, so as to bring both under episcopal control.¹³² Writing in 1909, Lord Skerrington, president of the superior council of the SVP, strongly opposed its amalgamation with the particular council of Edinburgh.¹³³ Educated lay Catholics like Skerrington could afford to stand their ground, but such boldness did not come easily to organisations with more working class roots. It should also be noted that the SVP functioned in different ways in different parts of Scotland: in Glasgow it acted as an umbrella organisation, establishing model tenements, libraries and recreational facilities; in Edinburgh, this over-arching function was more characteristic of the CYMS (as at St Patrick's, Cowgate).¹³⁴

The extent to which some Catholic lay organisations deferred to their bishops can be seen in the subservient tone routinely adopted by the Knights of St Columba, a charitable confraternity. In 1957 an official of the KSC wrote to Archbishop Gray that 'it is the desire of the Supreme Knight and Board of Directors to have the esteem and favour of Your Grace and to carry out Your Grace's wishes with regard to the K.S.C. in this Province in every possible way.'¹³⁵ When, in 1965, the Knights put an initiative to their bishop, they were careful to add that it was merely 'an attempt to air the opinion of a group of very devoted workers in the field of the Lay Apostolate and by no means as an attempt to force your hand in any way.'¹³⁶ The Knights had good cause to tread warily, as the KSC club in Edinburgh was shut down in the early 1960s after infringing the terms of its liquor licence, so incurring the considerable displeasure of Archbishop Gray: 'It has always been against my policy to have licensed premises attached to any Church organisation,' Gray icily informed the Knights.¹³⁷

¹³² SCA ED6/227/6 Proposed amalgamation of the Particular and Superior Councils SVP, Archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh, n.d.

¹³³ SCA ED6/227/3 W. Campbell, 14 Dec 1909

¹³⁴ Bernard Aspinwall, 'David Urquhart, Robert Monteith and the Catholic Church: A Search for Justice and Peace,' *IR*, vol. 31 (1980), 59

¹³⁵ SCA DE171/182/17 M. Rooney to Abp G. J. Gray, 23 Mar 1957

¹³⁶ SCA DE171/184/2 P. J. W. Conoboy to Abp G. J. Gray, 5 Apr 1965

¹³⁷ SCA DE171/183/4 Abp G. J. Gray to J. Donnelly, 17 Dec 1962

Bishops and priests, faced with conflicting loyalties in moderating potentially disastrous lay initiatives, while still anxious to motivate the laity, tended to play safe and exercise control. In the 1950s, it took the distinguished neurologist, Dr John Marshall (a serving member of the London Marriage Advisory Council), four years of continual pressure to persuade Archbishop Gordon Gray to take seriously the setting up of a similar council in Edinburgh. Gray was caution itself: 'After the interesting discussion we had yesterday, you would see that there are apparently a good many difficulties in the way of commencing Marriage Training courses ... There have been attempts to establish such courses, but for various reasons they did not succeed ...' ¹³⁸ Persistent and informed lobbying eventually overcame episcopal hesitation, but only after Gray's misgivings over finance had been laid to rest. ¹³⁹

In the early twentieth century there were several Catholic lay organisations aimed at alleviating specific social problems which affected Catholics. The Catholic Committee of the Soldiers and Sailors Families Association was set up shortly after the outbreak of the First World War; by May 1916 it had dealt with 1,064 cases but had 700 others still on their books. ¹⁴⁰ But these initiatives exposed the reliance of the Catholic community on religious orders and the few leisured laymen of means. Lord Skerrington commented on the progress of Catholic Rescue Work (set up around the same period): 'I think that Sister Louise is doing good work and hope that gradually the general body of Catholics will take a practical interest in the matter.' ¹⁴¹ Obeying protocol, Skerrington first obtained the approval of Archbishop Smith to raise enough money from private sources to fund a Sister of Charity who would attend the Courts. For the last three months of 1917, some 190 visits were made to women and children in the 'lock-up' and 578 visits to rescue cases in their own homes. However, the report on this work also lamented the lack of lay resources: 'In Edinburgh there are not many lay Catholics with the necessary leisure, and these few are already over-burdened ...' ¹⁴²

Because the laity understandably hesitated to make the first move, the impetus for setting up lay organisations came principally from the clergy and the bishops. Schemes for the relief of poverty were often parish-based. In 1932, at St Patrick's, Cowgate, a day club was set up for the unemployed where tools and materials were supplied free of charge; the

¹³⁸ SCA DE145/7/2 Abp G. J. Gray to Dr J. Marshall, 6 Dec 1954

¹³⁹ SCA DE145/7/10 Abp G. J. Gray to Dr J. Marshall, 19 Dec 1958

¹⁴⁰ SCA GD10/170/2 Report of the Catholic Committee of the Soldiers & Sailors' Families Association, May 1916

¹⁴¹ SCA GD10/172/2 W. Campbell to Fr P. Morris, 5 May 1917

¹⁴² SCA GD10/172/3 Catholic Rescue Work, 1917

manufactured article would become the property of the workman.¹⁴³ At St Patrick's in the same year, the organising secretary of the Catholic Social Guild in Oxford was invited by the parish clergy to persuade parishioners to found what later became a thriving social study circle.¹⁴⁴

The most imaginative and fruitful lay movement in Scotland had its origins in a visit by Archbishop Andrew J. McDonald to the Netherlands in 1933. There he saw a Passion play presented by members of a relatively new lay movement, The Society of the Women of Nazareth (The Grail).¹⁴⁵ McDonald immediately invited The Grail to Scotland. The Grail had been founded in Holland by a Jesuit, Fr Jacques van Ginneken, as a lay movement directed by women: it staged Christian rallies and religious dramas. In the words of Fr van Ginneken, the aims of the Grail were:

To counterbalance in the world all masculine hardness, all the angles of masculine character, all cruelty, all the results of alcoholism and prostitution and capitalism, which are ultra masculine, and to Christianize that with a womanly charity.¹⁴⁶

By the early 1940s the Grail was running youth leadership courses in Scotland, retreat camps, weekends, study-circles, discussion groups and also the Grail Club at Edinburgh's West End. At the 1941 Aberdeen Conference of Christian leaders, Josepha Gall described The Grail as a Catholic Youth Movement: 'the world needs a renewal and a revolution and who better than youth can give this?'¹⁴⁷ By 1948 the Grail Club had 585 members; they dropped in to use the library or games room, came in for meals or joined in various social and cultural activities.¹⁴⁸ The Grail's Ogilvie training centre at Polmont offered a one-year professional training in youth and community leadership for Catholic youth leaders, supported by government funding. Additionally, the distance learning Ogilvie Course offered a programme 'of reading and of commented writing for educated people to help Catholics know their faith well enough to discuss it.'¹⁴⁹

¹⁴³ SCA GD10/17 St Patrick's Notice Book: last Sunday of Pentecost, 1932

¹⁴⁴ SCA GD10/17 St Patrick's Notice Book: 1st Sunday of Advent, 1932

¹⁴⁵ Mary Gindhart, 'Scotland,' *Histories of the Grail in Individual Countries* (no publisher given, Grail History Project, 1984), 61

¹⁴⁶ Alden V. Brown, 'Women in the Lay Apostolate: The Grail Movement in the United States 1940 -1962, *Working Paper Series 15*, no. 1 (Charles and Margaret Hall Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, University of Notre Dame: Spring 1984), 6

¹⁴⁷ *Scottish Catholic Herald*, 20 Jun 1941

¹⁴⁸ SCA DE55/28/15 Grail Club, Dec 1948

¹⁴⁹ SCA DE17/131/4 The Ogilvie Course, nd

In 1950, however, the centre at Polmont closed and, in its place, the Ogilvie mobile training unit covered many parts of Scotland. In 1952-53, some 320 youth leaders and senior club members attended the unit's courses.¹⁵⁰ Meanwhile, since 1952, two other members of the Grail team had settled in Dundee, working anonymously in jute and marmalade factories, expressing solidarity with the difficulties and problems faced by Catholic workers in what they referred to as the pagan atmosphere of the factory.¹⁵¹

By September 1954, Anne Matthews, leader of The Grail in Edinburgh, had identified a need for additional provision in two main areas. First, she had become convinced of the 'great need for residential weekends ... of concentrated apostolic formation,' adding diplomatically to Archbishop Gray that 'the laity should be working together under the hierarchy.'¹⁵² Secondly, in late 1954, after journeying with the Grail 'caravan team' from Ayrshire through fog and snow back to Edinburgh, Matthews reported to Gray that 'We ... are becoming more and more convinced of the great need for organised Catholic Action in parishes.'¹⁵³ So it was that, partly through the initiative of The Grail, diocesan and inter-diocesan committees of the Lay Apostolate were established.¹⁵⁴

Conclusion

The new Scottish hierarchy faced diverse challenges: a flock that had many and varied expectations; each regional community presented a different problem which called for local solutions. The bishops saw their role as one of motivating the laity, but not in such a way that it grew out of their control. Lay people (whether aesthetes such as Lord Bute, or Irish navvies on the railroad) found their votes and their money welcomed by the bishops, but not their opinions, if they interfered with episcopal enterprises. Edinburgh, in particular, orientated as it was to Europe by the Port of Leith (and its long history of commerce and intellectual exchange with the Continent), saw the growth of a Catholic multi-cultural urban community.

From 1878, the bishops' style of government of the Catholic ecclesial economy was perhaps reminiscent of Socrates' vision of a just state: bishops as ruling 'guardians,' clergy as the 'auxiliaries' (combating dangers) and laity as 'producers' (presenting pastoral needs and

¹⁵⁰ SCA DE171/130/1 Ogilvie Training Unit: Annual Report, 1952-53

¹⁵¹ SCA DE171/131 Grail: survey of Dundee mills 1952-54; SCA DE171/131 Abp G. J. Gray to A. Mathews, 13 Apr 1954

¹⁵² SCA DE171/131/5 A. Matthews to Abp G. J. Gray, 22 Sep 1954

¹⁵³ SCA DE171/131/7 A. Matthews to Abp G. J. Gray, 10 Dec 1954

¹⁵⁴ Gindhart, *op. cit.*, 63

supplying funds).¹⁵⁵ The benevolent despotism adopted by the Scottish bishops took its cue from the autocratic, closed style of Roman congregations (such as Propaganda) and, through a process of 'trickle-down,' also came to characterise the relationship between clergy and laity. For bishops and priests, the key to controlling the laity was the fear of Hell, mediated by canon law — a Hell graphically conveyed by the Ignatian spiritual exercises:

... the huge fires and ... the souls within the bodies full of fire ... the wailing, the shrieking, the cries ... the smoke, the sulphur, the filth, and rotting things ...¹⁵⁶

This image, used in many a terror-inducing sermon — tinged with Jansenism — was reinforced by the sacrament of Penance and the disciplines of fasting and abstinence, which held out the glories of Heaven, while pointing to the terrifying punishments for those who transgressed. Liturgy, devotion to saints, prayer and meditation all enriched the spiritual drama which, through penitential catharsis, would lead the believer to salvation. Processions, pilgrimages and congresses gave a public face to private piety; pious associations, meeting regularly, became churches in miniature, dedicated to the promotion of Catholic spiritual iconography — Sacred Heart, Rosary, Holy Family, Immaculate Heart of Mary. Alongside the quietism of devotional societies there eventually emerged lay movements which went beyond the routine good works of charitable bodies (such as the St Vincent de Paul Society or the Knights of St Columba), encouraged by the heroic ideal of the sacrament of Confirmation — proactive soldiers of Christ, ready to defend the Faith against all unbelievers.¹⁵⁷

In Scotland, beyond the rhetorical expertise of the Catholic Evidence Guild or of the Catholic Truth Society, it was the Grail which most effectively brought new solutions to emerging problems, establishing leadership training courses, drop-in centres and even infiltrating the dark satanic mills of Dundee to support working women, the most exploited of workers. Yet, for all these praiseworthy clerical initiatives, as late as 1954, lay involvement in the mechanics of parish administration was still seen as a threat to the authority of the priest and was therefore looked upon with suspicion, as Fr Reginald Hodgson, the diocesan secretary acidly observed:

... the Parish can work without committees. They are by no means necessary for the Church. If a priest chooses to have a parish

¹⁵⁵ Francis Macdonald Cornford, tr., *The Republic of Plato* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941, repr. 1966), 100-104

¹⁵⁶ Ganss et al., op. cit., 141

¹⁵⁷ Thomas Zanzig, *Cordinator's Manual for Celebrating Confirmation* (Winona: Saint Mary's Press, 1991), 21

committee, the Church has nothing to say as to the manner of its election. It is up to the Parish Priest, knowing his parish and its particular circumstance, to decide how it shall be formed.¹⁵⁸

From the minutes of episcopal meetings, it appears that the Scottish bishops worked with the laity in two ways — binding and loosing (negative and positive); more specifically, filtering, blocking or preventing, on the one hand; facilitating, supporting and motivating, on the other. When, in 1929, the Society of St Gregory (for Church music), for example, proposed to extend its work from England to Scotland, the bishops decided 'to take no action meantime'; in 1926 the Knights of St Columba were forced to make an agreement that 'matters of directly Catholic interest would not be dealt with except with the approval of the local Ordinary'; when the central authority of the Society of St Vincent de Paul suggested in 1930 that the two Edinburgh councils should be amalgamated, the bishops answered that they 'preferred the existing arrangement.'¹⁵⁹ Conversely, the bishops in 1931 read and approved new rules for the Catholic Young Men's Society; they agreed to an appeal from the Catholic Truth Society to consider the society's reorganisation and help it out of its financial difficulties, but in turn asked that 'some more definite suggestions of a constructive nature' be put forward and continued to monitor progress for the next five years.¹⁶⁰

Paradoxically, many of the best lay initiatives owed their existence to episcopal vision — The Grail, for example, would not have come to Scotland without the invitation of Archbishop McDonald. Grail members had highly-developed interactive skills grounded in a devotional core which enabled them to win over the bishops by convincing them that their work could be of value in a local context. The efforts of The Grail laid the groundwork for further lay growth by providing the developmental tools that would support lay action in the future and, in the process, also widened the mind-set of Scottish Catholics:

Following this [Second World Congress of the Lay Apostolate, 1957] the groups had more appreciation of each other and worked together in a number of fields. In this way there were combined efforts in studying and coping with social problems, in organising courses for engaged couples, and in arranging talks on the Church and on the liturgy. Greater interest was taken in the Church overseas, and as a result several doctors, nurses, teachers, librarians and social workers volunteered their services in Africa and elsewhere. Practical measures were taken to welcome and care for the overseas students

¹⁵⁸ SCA DE59/250/9 Fr R. Hodgson to J. Heaney, 21 Sep 1954

¹⁵⁹ SCA SHMB: 25 Jun 1929; 12 Oct 1926; 13 May 1930

¹⁶⁰ SCA SHMB: 13 May 1931; 30 Jun 1927; 11 Oct 1932.

in Edinburgh, and thus interest in their well-being was stimulated among more people.¹⁶¹

Just as the Edinburgh Festival was founded on the high ideals of reconciliation and regeneration experienced in the dying months of the Second World War, so the Grail, along with a number of other bodies (such as the Union of Catholic Mothers, founded by Mrs Dorothy Barry in Edinburgh in 1942) also tried to help bishops, priests and laity to grow together through the devastation wrought by international conflict and begin, piece by piece, to build solidarity and a sense of mutual freedom to meet the challenges of the post-war world in ways which were authentically apostolic.

¹⁶¹ Gindhart, *op. cit.*, 63

6. RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER DENOMINATIONS 1878-1955

Introduction

In examining the interaction between the Catholic Church and the other Christian Churches in Scotland, one can distinguish between formal and informal contacts. It could be argued, for instance, that no official relationship existed between the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church until 1975, when Archbishop Thomas Winning became the first member of the Catholic hierarchy to address the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.¹

Since 1878, the Churches on both sides of the Catholic-Protestant divide made decisions at an institutional level that had mutual repercussions. One of the ongoing sources of friction between the Catholic and the Reformed Churches was 'mixed marriages', especially the decree, *Ne Temere* (1907), which laid down conditions for marriages between Catholics and Protestants. When it was promulgated, it did no more than put into effect the Council of Trent's decree, *Tametsi* (1563), which had not hitherto been in force in countries where the ruler was not Catholic. The underlying purpose of *Ne Temere* (as of *Tametsi*) was to ensure that 'mixed marriages' were properly recorded. Up to 1907 Scottish Catholic marriages which were *irregular* ('clandestine' marriages, for example) were considered by both Church and State to be valid but not lawful.² The new decree aimed to prevent such irregular marriages by requiring that, with only a few exceptions, marriages involving a Catholic partner took place in front of a priest; however, *Ne Temere* also put pressure on the non-Catholic partner to bring any children up as Catholics, so, in some cases, causing offence to the non-Catholic and providing grist for the mill of anti-Catholic and, by extension, of anti-Irish protest — such as occurred in Scotland in 1926 (at the time of the introduction of the Catholic Relief Bill), in 1933 (when the Irish Republic was in the process of being established), and in the 1935 anti-Catholic demonstrations in Edinburgh.³ A further attempt was made to reform the mixed marriage law in 1917, but this proved to be only partially successful.⁴ However, the fact that Catholics were a minority in Scotland does seem by and large to have reduced the more negative effects of the decree on the non-

¹ Vivienne Belton, *Cardinal Thomas Winning* (Dublin: The Columba Press, 2000), 91

² John Barry, *I am a Catholic Protestant* (privately published, 1997), 87; SCA ED7/9/2 A Bill to impose further restrictions upon irregular marriages in Scotland, 26 Mar 1855

³ NAS HH/1/775 Report of Church and Nation Committee, 7 Jun 1926; *The Scotsman*, 8 Nov 1933

⁴ Barry, *op. cit.*, 88

Catholic partner, avoiding what happened in Ireland where the 'devastating effects on the Protestant population' were recently (2001) lamented by the Dr Walton N. F. Empey, Anglican Archbishop of Dublin and Glendalough.⁵

There were differences too in the audience addressed by the Churches. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, declarations of the Church of Scotland's Church and Nation Committee (some decidedly anti-Irish and anti-Catholic), were intended for the whole of Scotland; statements by the Scottish Catholic bishops, however, were directed either at their own flock or at local or central government officers — such as the Secretary of State for Scotland.

Anti-Catholic feeling was not new. Since the Reformation, a legacy of violent language (and often violent acts) poisoned Catholic-Protestant relations. Although inter-church dialogue on a formal institutional basis did not exist, the many examples of informal contact and acts of friendship which took place between ministers and priests or between individuals or congregations should not be underrated. Militating against such contacts were the structural barriers (such as the representative nature of the General Assembly and the oligarchic composition of the Scottish Catholic hierarchy) which inhibited the development of formal inter-church relations.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the traditional barriers between Catholics and Protestants proved ineffective against the first wave of influential Scottish converts. Encouraged by the teachings of the Tractarians and by Newman's conversion to Catholicism in 1845, the converts embraced Catholicism with proselytising fervour, tempered by the innate diplomatic finesse of their aristocratic upbringing. W. Gordon Gorman, editor of *Converts to Rome*, which followed *Rome's Recruits* (1878) and ran to ten editions, applauded the effects of the conversions, news of which came to him in 'thousands of letters'; 'The intercourse,' he asserted, '[that] this opened between the two formerly uncommunicating camps has resulted in a feeling of mutual good-will and friendliness.'⁶ Gorman claimed that in Britain 10,000 people had converted to Catholicism.⁷

One after another, encouraged by Robert James Hope-Scott QC, a network of hereditary leaders in Scottish society changed their religious affiliation to Rome. The members of this 'Oxford Movement in Scotland' were all, whether directly or indirectly, related to each other; Robert Hope-Scott (who had inherited Abbotsford through his

⁵ Press Release: Presidential Address, 44th Diocesan Synod, Taney Parish Centre, 9 -10 Oct 2001

⁶ W. Gordon Gorman (ed.), *Converts to Rome since the Tractarian Movement, to May 1889*, 4th ed. (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, 1889), vi; W. Gordon Gorman (ed.), *Converts to Rome* (London: Sands & Co., 1910), preface.

⁷ W. Gordon Gorman (ed.), *Converts to Rome since the Tractarian Movement ...*, ix-x

marriage to Charlotte, sister of Walter Lockhart Scott and grand-daughter of Sir Walter), having at first used Sir Walter's domestic chapel in the basement of the house for Catholic worship (where Hope-Scott's friend and client, John Henry Newman celebrated Mass in 1852), added a separate chapel in 1855 on the ground floor. Hope-Scott appropriated Sir Walter Scott's literary heritage for religious purposes — in spite of Scott's comments in 1829 that Popery was 'a mean and depraving superstition' and its ritual and solemnities 'absurd' — Scott's visit to Rome five months before his death in 1832 and his presence at the public blessing from the balcony of St Peter's given by Pope Leo XII (who had expressed an interest in receiving Scott) made a deep impression on him.⁸ Leo, who had restored the Vatican printing press and enriched the Vatican library, also had great admiration for Scott (who was forced to cancel his planned meeting with the Pope as he was anxious not to fall behind with his travel arrangements). Tradition in the family has it that, if Sir Walter (whose mother was an Episcopalian and who recited the Latin dirge 'Dies Irae' and the 'Stabat Mater' frequently during the last days of his life) had lived another 10 years, he would himself have become a Catholic.⁹

Hope-Scott and his fellow-converts tried to rediscover the authentic roots of church history and liturgy through a study of the Bible and the early Fathers; they aimed to express it in dynamic architectural and decorative forms in the churches they constructed, where the botanical and biological heritage of Gothic architecture flowered exuberantly as a visible symbol of a second Spring.¹⁰ The converts wanted, like Sir Walter, to celebrate what they saw as the unacknowledged continuity between Scotland's Catholic traditions and its post-1560 Reformed inheritance. When the second wave of converts appeared between 1886 and 1903, some were ministers of the Scottish Protestant tradition: Adam Muir (1886), John Charleson (1901), Henry Grey Graham (1903); all had been persuaded to change their Church membership, not so much by a love of ritual as by dissatisfaction with the ecclesiastical status quo, by a thirst for authenticity, the result of an avid re-reading of the Scriptures and the early Fathers — by a hunger for *ressourcement* (a return to sources).

The aristocratic converts, most of them inter-related, formed a powerful caucus within the Catholic community; they engaged in good works but were also anxious to distance themselves theologically from their previous denomination. Nevertheless, mutual

⁸ see William Perry, *The Oxford Movement in Scotland* (London, 1933); Interview by author with Dame Jean Maxwell-Scott, 29 Jun 2002; J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1836), 697; 745 - 49; 752

⁹ Interview by author with Dame Jean Maxwell-Scott, 29 Jun 2002

¹⁰ see Bernard Aspinwall, 'The Second Spring in Scotland: I,' *CR*, No 8, vol. 66 (Aug 1981), 282-90

gestures of friendship between Churches did occur at the level of the professional theologian: although the Catholic church was not represented at the 1910 World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh, the Bishop of Cremona sent a conciliatory message from Italy to the Conference; although Pius XI issued an encyclical in 1928 making it clear that doctrinal compromises were out of the question, the 1937 World Conference on Faith and Order (also held in Edinburgh), sympathised with the shared difficulties over intercommunion experienced by Roman, Orthodox and Anglican theologians.¹¹ Nevertheless, the official Catholic position continued to be one of disinterest:

In 1937 there was a Faith and Action Conference at Oxford and a Faith and Order Conference in Edinburgh. Four priests who attended sent a detailed report to headquarters on the positive influences at work. They got no answer from Rome.¹²

Moreover, the Liturgical Movement gave cause for hope, especially in its emphasis on the role of the laity and the study of the Scriptures. By the 1950s, those Christians who were not Roman Catholics, although not permitted to receive the sacraments, were welcomed to Catholic services. In addition, the former theological differences between the Evangelical and Roman churches had been greatly reduced.¹³

Harmonious Relations

It is tempting to see Catholic-Protestant relations in Scotland during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as uniformly confrontational. However, even in the nineteenth century, there were signs of practical co-operation and mutual respect. Preaching at a Roman Catholic pilgrimage to Iona in June 1897 in honour of St Columba (attended by some 615 pilgrims), Archbishop Angus MacDonald gratefully acknowledged the generosity of the 'large body of eminent divines and lay gentlemen, belonging to the Established Church of Scotland' who had left the temporary roof and seating from their own pilgrimage the previous week, free for the use of the Catholic pilgrims.¹⁴ St Columba was a figure in Scottish Church history esteemed by both denominations, representing a common

¹¹ T. S. Garrett, 'Intercommunion in the Younger Churches,' in Donald Baillie and John Marsh (eds.), *Intercommunion* (London: SCM Press, 1952), 216

¹² Robert Kaiser, *Inside the Council* (London: Burns & Oates, 1963), 32

¹³ A. G. Hebert, 'A root of Difference and of Unity,' in Baillie and Marsh, *op. cit.*, 248; John Marsh, 'Intercommunion: A Congregationalist comment,' in Baillie and Marsh, *op. cit.*, 277; Thomas. F. Torrance, 'Eschatology and the Eucharist,' in Baillie and Marsh (eds.), *op. cit.*, 303

¹⁴ SCA ED5/120/15 A souvenir of the Catholic pilgrimage to Iona, 15 Jun 1897

inheritance, even though members of the two traditions might avoid celebrating his memory together.

Occasionally, in special circumstances, the opportunity arose for Catholics to worship beside members of the Reformed and other Churches. In 1897, a handsome Memorial Church was built for the inmates of the Crichton Institution, Dumfries and it was proposed that each denomination should have its own designated place for worship. Writing to Archbishop James Smith, Bishop William Turner of Galloway, at a loss how to react, turned to an obscure precedent set by missionaries in Abyssinia, emphasising that Scotland was still, in many senses, also mission territory, while it was under the supervision of Propaganda.¹⁵ The proposed arrangements were adopted and from 1897 until the 1960s Mass was offered every Sunday in the Crichton Chapel, followed by an Episcopal and then a Church of Scotland service.¹⁶

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, relations between Catholic priests and Church of Scotland ministers were often perfectly cordial, acknowledging shared ownership of many core aspects of a common inheritance. At Tomintoul in 1885, St Michael's Catholic church had a stark simplicity of design and decoration which would have not been out of place in any kirk; 'The Priest himself,' observed Fr James Doherty, 'evidently belongs to the old-fashioned type of Scotch Catholics. Mostly sons of lairds and chiefs, they are perfect gentlemen, a marked contrast to the lower type which is flooding the south. They live on the best of terms with their Protestant fellow-pastors, and the two have even been known to lend their Churches to each other on a pinch.'¹⁷ A certain mutual admiration also existed among church leaders; at the turn of the century, Bishop Aeneas Chisholm of Aberdeen wrote to his new Archbishop James Smith: 'I met the Moderator Elect of General Assembly. He seems a fine specimen of the old Scotch Parson.'¹⁸ Among some ordinary Protestant church-goers in the late 1880s, a similarly pragmatic attitude towards Catholic priests can be found — in Orkney, during the winter, a number of non-Catholic parents, eager to give their children the best possible start in life, sent them for coaching in Latin and French to the local priest.¹⁹

In Edinburgh's district of Corstorphine, one priest wrote to another in 1889 that, far from experiencing the bigotry said to exist in Edinburgh:

¹⁵ SCA ED6/27/22 Bp W. Turner to Abp J. Smith, nd

¹⁶ Letter to author from Fr. Ralph Mancini, 28 Apr 2002

¹⁷ SCA ED6/104/6 Fr J. Doherty to Fr J. Smith, Sep 27 [1885]

¹⁸ SCA ED6/22/7 Bp A. Chisholm to Abp J. Smith, 10 Apr 1901

¹⁹ SCA ED6/110/2 Fr A. Bisset to Fr J. Smith, 29 Dec 1888

I have succeeded with comparative ease in procuring from the School Board the use of their School for Mass on Xmas morning. None of the people thought it would even be granted & I must confess I had misgivings about it myself. So kind were some of the board that I feel that they are greatly wronged when accused of bigotry.²⁰

A more formal example of inter-denominational co-operation can be found at Tranent, East Lothian. In 1872, with the co-operation of the minister, Dr William Caesar, the Catholic archdiocese bought a building from the parish, to be used for weekly Mass and catechism. Seventeen years later, the Catholic authorities sold the building back again to Dr Caesar.²¹ Paradoxically, although the parish priest, Fr William Farquhar, subsequently applied to hire the property, he faced fierce opposition from his parishioners who, quixotically, now objected to attending Mass there.²² Tranent Catholics preferred to walk the extra half-mile down the hill north of the town and worship at the new diocesan Industrial School chapel, rather than use a hall owned by the parish church. This incident suggests that while relations between ministers of the two denominations might be cordial, Catholic congregations preferred their own purpose-built place of worship.

Ne Temere and mixed marriages

Well before the introduction of *Ne Temere* in 1907, the Catholic Church repeatedly condemned mixed marriages, seeing them as undermining the integrity of the Catholic community. While those who entered into such marriages often experienced their tensions as a means to spiritual growth, popes, bishops and priests generally put the subversion of numerical strength before pastoral concerns. Although a distinction needs to be made between marriages between Catholics and Protestants outwith the norms of the Catholic Church, according to figures supplied by Bishop John Strain of St Andrews and Edinburgh, mixed marriages in the diocese (with the necessary dispensation) rose from 63 in 1872 to 231 in 1874.²³ In the eyes of the bishops and priests statistics tended to support a negative perception of such unions: in 1889 Fr William Grady of Falkirk was alarmed to find that, out of 36 mixed marriages which had taken place (without dispensation), many couples had become indifferent to Catholicism, while eleven of the families had reared 45 children as

²⁰ SCA ED6/112/11 Fr J. Forsyth to Fr J. Smith, 4 Dec 1889

²¹ NAS CHS/357/8 Tranent Kirk Session Minutes, 31 Mar 1889

²² SCA ED4/135/9 Fr W. Farquhar to Fr J. Smith, 15 May 1890

²³ SCA ED13/178 Bp John Strain: mixed marriages, 1872

Catholics but 144 as Protestants. Although between 1918-20 dispensations in the diocese were very much reduced (11 per annum), it is not surprising to find Bishop Grey Graham in 1924 pleading with his clergy:

I beg to ask your people to help you and your faithful Curates to try and put down this fearful evil which is such a blot on the Catholic life of the city.²⁴

By 1940 the number of dispensations had risen dramatically to 84, presumably because military service and the exigencies of the war-effort had brought together many couples who would not otherwise have met each other.²⁵ By 1966, mixed marriage as a percentage of all Catholic marriages showed a marked east-west divide: Glasgow (28%), Paisley (28%), Motherwell (24%) but Dunkeld and St Andrews and Edinburgh nearly double (55% and 52% respectively, showing that inter-marriage in the east was much greater than in the west, perhaps a result of the relatively greater residential segregation in the west, or an indication that religious antagonism or suspicion was weaker in the east for other reasons.²⁶

Other differences can be discerned between the statistics of St Andrews and Edinburgh and those of Glasgow and the west. While in the former diocese, baptisms in 1878 stood at 2,127, rising to 3,094 in 1924 and increasing slightly to 3,352 in 1963; in Glasgow, in the same years, baptisms rose from 9,097 to 14,008 but then fell to 10,459. Total marriages in Edinburgh began at 337, doubled to 656 and then doubled again to 1,282; in Glasgow, the comparative figures were 1,408, then 4,355 and a fall to 2,941. The fall in Glasgow's figures after 1947 can be largely explained by the hiving-off in 1947 of two parts of the diocese to create the suffragan dioceses of Motherwell and Paisley.

Asserting Identity

Although Catholic communities usually preferred to worship in private, there were times when the hierarchy, at least, did not shrink from conspicuous triumphalism. At moments of particular significance to the Catholic Church, public display was far from muted. One of these occasions was the funeral in August 1843 of the outstanding benefactor, John Menzies of Pitfodells (who had gifted the estate and buildings at Blairs and set up the

²⁴ SCA GD/10/161 Bp H. Grey Graham to Mgr P. Morris, 16 Feb 1924

²⁵ SCA DE146/28/4 St Andrews and Edinburgh: dispensations, 1940

²⁶ James Darragh, 'The Catholic Population of Scotland 1878-1977,' *IR* 29, No 2 (Autumn 1978), 237

Menzies Trust). After the service, the Catholic dignitaries — perhaps given heart by the Disruption four months earlier — paraded through the centre of Edinburgh to St Margaret's Convent with the evident approbation of the general public:

Probably Scotland never witnessed such an imposing funeral ceremony ... The procession which passed through the streets ... was such as Edinburgh never saw equalled ... the procession passed along York Place, St Andrew's Street and Princes Street, down Lothian Road and across Bruntsfield Links to the convent, extending to half a mile in length. It is believed that not fewer than 50,000 of the inhabitants turned out to see the imposing spectacle, the large crucifix towering over all, the symbol of faith and salvation ... ²⁷

In 1929, the consecration of Archbishop Andrew Joseph McDonald involved a more truncated, but no less self-confident, public procession, described in approving detail by the Eton and Oxford educated convert baronet and former Abbot of Fort Augustus, Sir David Oswald Hunter Blair (who seems to be unaware of the pomp of Menzies of Pitfodells' funeral procession eighty-six years before):

I do not think Edinburgh is often privileged to see open-air Catholic processions. Anyhow unusual interest was certainly evinced in the long and picturesque procession which left Cathedral House in York Street at ten o'clock on Tuesday, Sept. 24th 1929, and defiled slowly along that respectable old thoroughfare, flanked on one side by tall, old Georgian houses — mostly offices and lawyers' chambers — and on the other by the Victorian Gothic Episcopalian Church (also eminently respectable) of St Paul. The procession was noteworthy as well as picturesque ; for certainly never, since old Catholic days, has such an array of dignified Catholic ecclesiastics traversed any Edinburgh street. Three Archbishops there were, of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Malta; half a dozen bishops, representing every Scottish diocese — monsignori innumerable, in purple silk and fine lace ; many Canons in their fur-trimmed violet capes : and a long array of clergy, secular and regular. ²⁸

Combatting negative publicity was recognised as essential to the survival of the Catholic community (see Chapter Seven for a fuller treatment of this theme). Sometimes, protest was relatively spontaneous: in April 1879, for example, Catholics in the audience prevented a speaker at the Kinnaird Hall from lecturing on 'Monkish imposters ancient and

²⁷ no author given, *History of St Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: John Chisholm, 1886), 106-107. See also Peter Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland* (Montrose: Standard Press, 1970) and Anthony Ross, 'The Development of the Scottish Catholic Community 1878-1978,' *IR*, vol. 30 (Spring 1978), 36

²⁸ David O. Hunter Blair, 'A Great Religious Ceremony,' *Benedictine Almanac and Guide* (Exeter: The Catholic Records Press, 1930), 7

modern,' until he had removed the monk's 'habit' he was wearing.²⁹ However, efforts to redress slander or doctrinal inaccuracy, by their very nature, tended to be reactive. The Catholic Truth Society of Scotland, for example, was founded in Glasgow in December 1891, mainly to refute the public testimony of a Miss Cusack, an ex-nun of Kenmare; within three years the CTSS was well established.³⁰ The main functions of the CTSS were:

To spread among Catholics small devotional works; to assist the uneducated poor to a better knowledge of their religion; to spread among Protestants information regarding Catholic faith and practice.³¹

The Catholic Evidence Guild (founded in the diocese of Westminster in 1918) had become very active in Edinburgh by the early 1930s; members regularly gave lectures to Catholics, who were also 'invited to bring their non Catholic friends.'³² While the CTSS's primary function was to produce printed apologetical material (such as low-cost pamphlets), the CEG equipped its members with the effective public debating skills necessary for open-air speaking at venues such as the Mound in Edinburgh.³³

The numbers of converts

Prayers 'for the conversion of Scotland' became a regular feature of Catholic services, at least as early as the Council of Fort Augustus (1886).³⁴ There were also efforts made to convert individual Protestants but there are difficulties in calculating the number of converts made to the Catholic Church because of the haphazard way in which they were recorded in the nineteenth century. Although global figures for Britain were supplied by the journalist W. Gordon Gorman who claimed that between 1800 and 1884 more than 3,000 British Protestants became Catholics, statistics for converts to Catholicism were at first recorded piecemeal.³⁵ Individual priests kept a private record of their own fluctuating conversions: in 1856, for example, Fr William Smith (a future Archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh)

²⁹ SCA GD10/13 Fr J. McGinnes: *Everyday Book*, 7 Apr 1879

³⁰ SCA ED5/137/1 Catholic Truth Society of Scotland: first meeting, Dec 1891; SCA ED5/25/15 Bp W. Turner to Abp A. MacDonald, 17 Feb 1894

³¹ Addis and Arnold, *op. cit.*, 832

³² SCA GD10/17 St Patrick's, Edinburgh: *Notice Book*, 23rd Sun Pentecost, 1932

³³ Francis Joseph Sheed, *The Catholic Evidence Guild* (London: no publisher given, 1925)

³⁴ SCA ED4/25/13 Bp A. McDonald to Abp W. Smith, 1 May 1890

³⁵ W. Gordon Gorman (ed.), *Converts to Rome, A list of over three thousand Protestants who have become Roman Catholics since the commencement of the nineteenth century*, 3rd edit. (London: W. Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1884)

made three converts, then sixteen in 1857 but only ten in 1858.³⁶ Between 1872 and 1876 Fr Angus MacDonald (also an Archbishop to be) made less than five converts per annum.³⁷ The unreliability of conversion figures (as of other statistics) is evident in the repetition of the 1921 number of converts (377) in St Andrews and Edinburgh printed by *The Catholic Directory* in 1925. During the Second World War statistics are more reliable: 1940 (56), 1941 (148), 1942 (179), 1943 (158) and 1944 (40).³⁸ By 1964 converts in Edinburgh had risen almost to 1921 numbers (371), but fell to 333 the following year.³⁹ When the increase in diocesan population between 1921 and 1965 is taken into account it is clear that conversion rates were declining over the period, reflecting a growing disinterest in organised religion and the increasing inability of the churches in general to attract new members.

Aristocratic Lay Converts

It has not generally been appreciated just how far the spread of Catholicism through the ranks of Scottish aristocrats after 1845 was due (directly, or indirectly) to the effect of the Tractarian campaigns and, more particularly, the personal influence of John Henry Newman. In *Rome's Recruits. A list of Protestants who have become Catholics since the Tractarian Movement* (1878) and Gordon Gorman's *Converts to Rome* (1889), the author proudly lists the Marquess of Bute, the Duchess of Buccleuch, the Earl and Countess of Buchan, the Duchess of Hamilton, nine members of the Kerr (Lothian) family and Sir David Oswald Hunter Blair. Among the Scottish industrialists the most prominent convert was Robert Monteith of Carstairs, an MA of Trinity College, Cambridge, whose eldest daughter, Mary Frances would marry Francis Kerr in 1870.⁴⁰ Even John Patrick, Third Marquess of Bute, although he came to Catholicism in 1868 largely through his own reading and reflection, was often (in those early days of conversion) to be heard singing Newman's hymn, 'Lead, kindly Light, amid th' encircling gloom.'⁴¹ Shortly before his reception into the Catholic Church, Lord Bute commented of his university: 'So you see Oxford is moving.'⁴²

³⁶ SCA ED7/10/1 Fr W. Smith: converts, 1856-59

³⁷ SCA ED7/10/2 Fr W. MacDonald: converts 1872-76

³⁸ SCA ED14/101 Edinburgh converts, 1940-44

³⁹ SCA DE54/30-39 Edinburgh Converts, 1964-65

⁴⁰ no author given, *Rome's Recruits. A list of Protestants who have become Catholics since the Tractarian Movement* (London: The Whitehall Review, 1878)

⁴¹ David O. Hunter Blair, *In Victorian Days* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1939), 84; David O. Hunter Blair, *John Patrick Third Marquess of Bute, K.T.* (London: John Murray, 1921), 70

⁴² *Ibid.*, 64

Conversion did little harm to his friendships; when Lord Bute married at the London Oratory in 1872, Archbishop Manning officiated and the register was signed by the Dukes of Argyll, Northumberland and Cambridge, as well as by Benjamin Disraeli.⁴³

The key personality in this articulate and affluent network of convert Scottish Catholics was James Robert Hope QC who, sixteen years after Sir Walter Scott's death, took up his residence at Abbotsford, having inherited the property through marriage. Hope (who later hyphenated his name to Hope-Scott), had been a contemporary and friend of Newman at Oxford and was a Fellow of Merton College from 1833-47. He was called to the Bar in 1837 and by the time of his marriage in 1847 was leader of the Parliamentary Bar.⁴⁴ Hope became a Catholic at the beginning of 1851 at Farm Street, the Jesuit church in London (where so many of his contemporaries were received into the Catholic Church), along with his friend Henry Edward Manning (the future Cardinal), as a consequence of the Gorham judgement of the Privy Council of 8 March 1850. Mrs Hope followed and then Hope's brother and sister-in-law, Lord and Lady Henry Kerr, who also came to live in the Borders.

The decision of the Privy Council of 8 March 1850 (which overruled the refusal of the Bishop of Exeter to institute the Rev G. C. Gorham to the vicarage of Bramford Speke on the grounds that he denied the doctrine of baptismal regeneration), was instrumental in pushing a number of highly-placed Anglicans and Scottish Episcopalians into the arms of Rome: 'Many Tractarians,' wrote Wilfrid Ward, 'who had hitherto held back from Rome, including such influential men as Hope-Scott, Manning ... felt keenly this challenge to their position. Their following Newman's footsteps appeared to be imminent.'⁴⁵ Some in that circle, such as the friends and relatives of Cecil, Marchioness of Lothian, threw 'themselves heart and soul' into the Oxford Movement.⁴⁶ In her search for enlightenment, the Marchioness studied the writings and sermons of Faber, Manning and Newman.⁴⁷ In 1851, she visited Manning, went to Mass at Farm Street and then called in to see Newman in Birmingham (she would later send her son, Lord Ralph, to school at Oratory House).⁴⁸ Conversion, at first repugnant, became increasingly attractive after the Gorham judgement; one after another, in a 'domino effect,' family and friends followed.⁴⁹

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 105

⁴⁴ David O. Hunter Blair, 'Catholic Abbotsford,' in *Flying Leaves* (London: Heath Cranton Ltd., 1922), 95

⁴⁵ Wilfrid Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, vol. 1 (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912), 230

⁴⁶ Cecil Kerr (ed.), *Cecil Marchioness of Lothian. A Memoir* (London: Sands & Co.), 43

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 44

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 134

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 113

In 1852, Newman (while waiting for judgement in what was for him the harrowing trial of the former priest, Giacinto Achilli), spent some weeks recuperating at Abbotsford. There he celebrated Mass in Sir Walter Scott's former domestic chapel.⁵⁰ In the summer of 1872, when Hope-Scott was nearing his end, Newman visited Abbotsford for the second and last time. Bishop John Strain of the Eastern District came down from Edinburgh: Newman served his Mass and later travelled to Carstairs to see Robert Monteith (whom he had first met in 1846 at Maryvale, and who attributed his conversion to Newman's example), also there meeting Archbishop Charles Eyre of the Western District. By this date, Newman was greatly encouraged to see that Hope-Scott had erected three new Catholic churches in the Borders and that Monteith had established two.⁵¹ The esteem in which Newman and the bishops of Scotland held each other can be seen in his letter of thanks for their good wishes at his being raised to the College of Cardinals: 'It is a great support to me to feel that the special blessing of the Bishops of Scotland will accompany me from England into the Holy Father's presence.'⁵²

Meanwhile, the Marchioness of Lothian (also a close friend of the dowager Duchess of Norfolk), who, in collaboration with the Duchess of Buccleuch, had laboured for the Catholic Church in Edinburgh, went to Rome where she attended an audience with Pius IX; seeing her, the pontiff jocularly exclaimed: 'This is the Lady Marchioness who has converted half Scotland.'⁵³ Back in Rome some years later, to attend the celebrations of the jubilee of Pius IX's priesthood, Lady Lothian fell ill and died; her remains were brought back to Dalkeith where she had worked hard to build a parish church and helped install the Jesuits as parish clergy.

This network of aristocratic converts can also be seen at work in many other projects — the foundation of St Benedict's Abbey, Fort Augustus, for example. While the Third Marquess of Bute was the visionary driving-force behind the scheme, the site and the buildings of the former Hanoverian fort were leased to the monks at a peppercorn rent by Lord Lovat (to avoid any possible appropriation by a future anti-Catholic government); Lord Lovat also laid the foundation stone of the monastery in September 1876. The foundation stone of the attached school was laid by the newly-converted Marquis of Ripon, that of the

⁵⁰ David O. Hunter Blair, 'Catholic Abbotsford,' in *Flying Leaves* (London: Heath Cranton Ltd., 1922), 95

⁵¹ Charles Stephen Dessain and Thomas Gornall (eds.), *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, vol. 26 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 140 - 41

⁵² SCA ED3/99/13 Card J. H. Newman to Abp J. Strain, 9 Apr 1879

⁵³ Kerr, *op. cit.*, 153

guest house by Mr Maxwell-Scott of Abbotsford and Robert Monteith of Carstairs.⁵⁴ When the buildings were completed, Newman (who had written extensively in support of the Benedictine tradition of education) was invited by the leader of the fledgling community, Prior Jerome Vaughan (a convert like his brother, Cardinal Herbert Vaughan) to the opening ceremony in August 1880, but was forced to decline because of ill health.⁵⁵ As the monastic community grew, the same inter-related aristocratic Catholic families were well represented among the monks — Vaughan, Weld, Weld-Blundell, Blundell, Lane-Fox, Cary-Elwes, most of them connected by marriage to Lord Lovat, the Marquess of Bute, the Duke of Norfolk or Hope-Scott.⁵⁶

Such was the groundswell of conversions that, as late as 1905, the Russian émigré financier, *littérateur* (and convert from Judaism), André Raffalovich, could report, that, in Edinburgh, the work of converting influential lay people continued to be significant and, apparently, successful; writing from Paris to Archbishop James Smith, Raffalovich observed:

Lady Monckton told us on Wednesday some Edinburgh people were lunching with her and they told her the most striking thing about Edinburgh was the 'progress of the Romans.' No doubt, she said, Scotland will go back to Rome.⁵⁷

In spite of this optimism, the first years of the new century saw the Catholic Church at odds doctrinally with the spirit of society. While, during the summer of 1903, Archbishop John Maguire of Glasgow 'waxed lyrical over the strength of unchanging Rome in contrast with the distractions of Protestantism,' the Edinburgh press roundly condemned Catholicism's obscurantism and rigidity, castigating what they called 'a Church which sedulously guards itself against new ideas, new knowledge, which never submits truth to the risk of conflict with error, is simply an intellectual graveyard.'⁵⁸

Anglicans Converts

Nevertheless, the apparently timeless solidity of Catholic doctrine, morals and ritual had an undeniable attraction for many Anglicans. At the turn of the nineteenth century, a

⁵⁴ Michael T. R. B. Turnbull *Abbey Boys* (Perth: corbie.com, 2000), 14 -15

⁵⁵ John Henry Newman, 'The Benedictine Schools,' *Essays and Sketches*, vol. 3 (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1948), 235 - 339; Dessain and Gornall (eds.), *op. cit.*, vol. 29 (1976), 288

⁵⁶ For a fuller exploration of the aristocratic network see Alice Constable Maxwell, *Avenue of Ancestors* (Dumfries: Blacklock Farries & Sons Ltd., 1965), 104; 234 and Mark Bence-Jones, *The Catholic Families* (London: Constable, 1992)

⁵⁷ SCA ED6/134/17 A. Raffalovich to Abp J. Smith, 17 Jul 1905

⁵⁸ *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 1 Jun 1903

number of Scots converted to Rome. One such was A. M. J. Campbell, a member of the Hong Kong Regiment, who informed Archbishop Angus MacDonald in September 1898: 'I am writing ... to report the fact of my having been lately received into the Holy Catholic Church, I having abjured the Church of England ... I have written to inform you of this ... because, owing to the Holy Father's zeal for the conversion of Scotland, I thought that even an individual conversion might be worth noting.'⁵⁹

It is said that Bishop Henry Grey Graham became a Catholic after hearing a sermon by Fr George Angus (1842-1909). Angus, born in Aberdeen, served in the Indian Army for four years before studying at Oxford and was then ordained for the Church of England. In 1873 he became a Catholic, serving first in England, before being appointed parish priest at St Andrews, Fife. In spite of being a Catholic priest, Angus was accepted into the Royal and Ancient Golf Club in May 1885, serving, in his time, on several committees, including the committee of management. Nevertheless, his membership was not achieved without a struggle — Angus complained in February 1885 that 'a clique of Free Kirkers have blackballed me at the Club and all the Anglicans and Liberal Presbyterians are very much annoyed.'⁶⁰

The most eminent of the Scottish clerical converts from the Anglican communion was Cardinal William Heard (1884-1973), later Dean of the Sacred Rota. Born in Edinburgh, Heard (son of the headmaster of Fettes College) was originally an Episcopalian, but, after qualifying as a solicitor, received Anglican orders before becoming a Catholic and being ordained for an English diocese. British Catholics had a distinct disadvantage in Rome: the inability of Vatican officials to grasp the subtle distinctions in the Church of England exasperated the Scots clergy. The rector of the Scots College complained in 1901: 'You will notice what a mess [Cardinal] Mariani has made of High Church Anglicans. I tried to explain to him what the expression meant but I see I have failed. It doesn't matter few of the Cardinals know any better.'⁶¹

For some Catholic priests, by contrast, the Anglican faith proved an overwhelming attraction, sometimes for dubious motives. In 1890, Fr Henry Stuart Laverty attempted to convert to Canterbury, but soon returned to the fold, in the process incurring the wrath of his bishops. 'I have to inform Your Grace,' wrote Bishop John McLachlan to Archbishop William Smith in June 1890, '... that Laverty has suddenly come back, & wants to be reconciled. His little excursion among the Anglicans has lasted exactly five weeks. I suspect

⁵⁹ SCA ED5/81/1 A. M. J. Campbell to Abp A. MacDonald, 29 Sep 1898

⁶⁰ SCA ED4/148/15 Fr G. Angus to Fr W. Smith, 6 Feb 1885

⁶¹ SCA ED6/48/13 Fr R. Fraser to Abp J. Smith, 14 Jul 1901

that it was hopes of advancement of some kind among them that led him away, & this his return is due to disappointment & want ... It is significant that no one is particularly anxious to welcome the prodigal with a fatted calf.⁶² Along with a Fr O'Donnell (also dismissed for 'Anglican dabbling' by the bishops), Lavery later resigned from the ministry.⁶³

Episcopal Converts

Among the Episcopal clergy there seems to have been an equal eagerness to join the Church of Rome. The Episcopal clergymen who became Catholics included George Akers of Oriel (a former curate of Dr. F. G. Lee at Aberdeen, he became a canon of Westminster); William Humphrey (later a distinguished Jesuit preacher and writer) and the Bishop of Brechin's chaplain.⁶⁴ Others were the Rev J. Harris Brunton, Glenalmond College (later the incumbent of St John's, Selkirk), the Rev W. C. A. MacLaurin (Dean of Elgin) and the Rev J. A. Stothert.⁶⁵

Free Church Contacts and Converts

There were some unexpected contacts between the mainly anti-Catholic Free Church of Scotland and the Catholic Church. These came principally through John Henry Newman. Like Newman, the Free Church had broken away from an Established Church and shared a common evangelical tradition. Despite the anti-Catholicism of the Free Church, the Rev David Brown (Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly of 1885) corresponded in 1872-73 with Newman, expressing a desire for church union.⁶⁶ The Rev Alexander Whyte (1836-1921), although later an honorary vice-president of the vehemently anti-Catholic Knox Club, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church (1898) and Principal of New College (1909), visited Newman at the Oratory in Edgbaston on 14 March 1876, along with Dr Marcus Dods (also a future Principal of New College) and Dr George Webster Thomson.⁶⁷ 'He received us,' remembered Whyte, 'with all the captivating urbanity which

⁶² SCA ED4/20/19 Bp J. McLachlan to Abp W. Smith, 26 Jun 1890; *CDS* (1889): Henry Stuart Lavery, priest at Galston, by Kilmarnock. See Christine Johnson, *Scottish Catholic Secular Clergy, 1879-1989* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1991), 184

⁶³ SCA ED4/20/19 Bp J. McLachlan to Abp W. Smith, 26 Jun 1890

⁶⁴ David O. Hunter Blair, *John Patrick Third Marquess of Bute, K. T.* (London: John Murray, 1921), 64

⁶⁵ W. Gordon Gorman (ed.), *Rome's Recruits ...* (1878)

⁶⁶ Dessain and Gornall, op. cit., vol. 26 (1974), 97; 158; 187; 32; 234; 381

⁶⁷ Dessain and Gornall, op. cit., vol. 30 (1976), 23; G. F. Barbour, *The Life of Alexander Whyte DD* (London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1923), 194-195

has become proverbial ... a good many points were touched on in our short interview — Rome, Oxford, Scotland, Abbotsford, Sir Walter Scott ...⁶⁸ After Whyte married in 1881, his wife wrote to Newman that her husband had been inhibited at that 1876 meeting by the presence of his travelling companions from acknowledging 'how much he owes to you, how you have moulded his life and thought, how you have been to him a friend and teacher in lonely and difficult days.'⁶⁹ In 1883, Whyte sent Newman a copy of his *Commentary on the Shorter Catechism*, in which he had inserted many quotations from Newman's own published works.⁷⁰ In his reply, Newman criticised Whyte's treatment of *transubstantiation*: '... it pains me that so large a heart as yours should so little enter into the teaching of the Catholic Church, let alone agreeing to it.'⁷¹ During the correspondence which followed, Newman sent Whyte information about the Catholic understanding of the eucharist.⁷²

There were, however, at least two members of the Free Church who became Catholic priests: T. G. Law, founder of the Scottish History Society, was a priest of the London Oratory from 1855 to 1878 (when he left the Catholic Church to become Librarian to the Signet in Edinburgh); William Addis, son of the Morningside Free Church minister, the Rev Thomas Addis, became a Catholic in 1866 and was a priest of the London Oratory from 1868 to 1888 (when he returned to the Presbyterian ministry).⁷³

In spite of his failure to win over Whyte, Newman appears to have attracted at least one ministerial convert from the Free Church. Dr Adam Stuart Muir (1823-1890) trained as a Congregationalist minister but, after serving at Laurencekirk for a year, joined the Free Church in 1849. He spent the following six years working in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Boston and then returned to Scotland with a somewhat dubious doctorate (from an obscure college in the Deep South), having published the first edition of his *Glimpses of prophet life; lessons from the history of Jonah* at Boston in 1855.⁷⁴ From 1859 to 1886, he served as minister at Trinity Free Church (Junction Road) Leith.⁷⁵

⁶⁸ Ibid., 195

⁶⁹ Dessain and Gornall, op. cit., vol. 30 (1976), 23

⁷⁰ Dessain and Gornall, op. cit., vol. 30 (1976), 278; Alexander Whyte, *Commentary on the Shorter Catechism* (Edinburgh, nd 1879?)

⁷¹ Dessain and Gornall, op. cit., vol. 30 (1976), 278

⁷² Dessain and Gornall, vol. 30 (1976), 280-281

⁷³ Letter to author from Br Pascal Downs OSB, 28 Jun 2002

⁷⁴ Adam Stuart Muir, *Glimpses of prophet life; lessons from the history of Jonah* (Boston: 1855)

⁷⁵ William D. MacNaughton, *The Scottish Congregational Ministry, 1794-1993* (Glasgow: The Congregational Union of Scotland, 1993); William Ewing (ed.), *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland, 1843-1900*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1914), 277

However, Muir's 'romanising tendencies' (both ritual and doctrinal) incurred the censure of both the Edinburgh Presbytery and the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale. In 1885, during the General Assembly of the Free Church, under the moderatorship of the Rev David Brown, Muir was accused of circulating a photograph of himself for sale, 'kneeling with a crucifix' and of preparing for publication a forthcoming volume of prayers entitled *The Priest before the Altar*. Muir wrote in his defence to his chief inquisitor, Free Church Principal Robert Rainy and also corresponded with Newman, who advised him that 'he could not join the Church of Rome as a half-Protestant and a half-Catholic.'⁷⁶ Muir later recalled the experience of appearing at the General Assembly — 'When at the end of my speech before the Assembly I drew from my breast a crucifix in token of my reliquary creed! The excitement was terrible the members howled on me like "bulls of Bashan."'⁷⁷ Although Muir was repelled by the absolutism of papal authority in questions of morality, he abhorred even more the individualistic mind-set he increasingly met with in Protestant circles: 'Every man seemed to form his Religion for himself and after his own fashion,' he complained.⁷⁸

Muir, who had also been accused of 'believing in Baptism doing something for the church, in praying to the Blessed Mother and in interseding [sic] for the dead', had his appeal heard the following year at the Assembly where he was also charged with crossing himself 'in the manner practised by Roman Catholics' and finally 'suspended *sine die* from the office of the Ministry', with the right of appeal.⁷⁹ Inevitably, Muir left Edinburgh and retired to London, where he died at the home of a niece, four years later, possibly without having secured the pension rights for which he had appealed.⁸⁰ According to W. Gordon Gorman's *Converts to Rome* (1889), Muir had finally become a Catholic.⁸¹ His obituary notice in *The Scotsman* is short, but concludes sadly: 'Friends will kindly accept this intimation.'⁸²

Church Of Scotland Converts

⁷⁶ NAS CH3/984/38 Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland held at Edinburgh, May 1885 (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson and Co., 1885), 38-40

⁷⁷ SCA ED4/129/13 Dr A. S Muir to Fr W. Smith, 5 Aug 1885

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ GUA Matriculation Album (1840); GUA 'Case of Rev Adam Stuart Muir, D.D, *Free Church of Scotland Assembly Papers* (1886), 282

⁸¹ W. Gordon Gorman (ed.), *Converts to Rome since the Tractarian Movement, to May 1889*, 4th ed. (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, 1889), 158

⁸² *The Scotsman*, 9 May 1890

The first Scottish Presbyterian minister to become a priest since the Reformation was almost certainly John M. M. Charleson (1862-1942), minister of Thornliebank.⁸³ Charleson had come to the view that he could not be a true *catholic* and remain within the Church of Scotland.⁸⁴ In late 1901, Bishop John Maguire of Glasgow wrote with some bewilderment to Archbishop James Smith in Edinburgh: 'There is a good deal of fuss over a minister — Mr Charleson — who has given up charge of Thornliebank and is to become a Catholic. I do not know what kind of man he is; he is a member of the Ecclesiological Socy. if that is the right name.'⁸⁵ The Scottish Catholic authorities took their time over the process of ordaining such converts. Robert Fraser, rector of the Scots College, Rome, disapproved of the haste with which English clerical converts were given a fast-track to ordination: 'Charleson is to be ordained Subdeacon on Saturday & priest at Xmas. He is bitterly disappointed that I wont ordain him early & I partly sympathise for fancy Evans & Benson are to be priests in June ... Benson was a Protestant last Summer ... it is really absurd pushing them on in this way.'⁸⁶ Following his conversion, Charleson studied at the Scots College, Rome, where he was ordained later in 1904, serving in the archdiocese of Glasgow until his retirement in 1929.⁸⁷

The only former Presbyterian minister to become a Catholic bishop was Henry Grey Graham (1874-1959). Grey Graham became a Catholic in 1903, spending the next four years at the Scots College, Rome, before his ordination for the archdiocese of Glasgow in 1906. From 1917 to 1930 he served as auxiliary bishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh, then returning to Glasgow, where he worked as a parish priest up to his death.

The Rev Ronald Walls (1920-), minister at Logie Easter (Ross and Cromarty), was, with his wife, received into the Catholic Church in 1948. In his autobiography, he explains that it was the teaching authority of the Catholic Church which made his conversion inevitable: 'the Catholic Church believes in itself ...'⁸⁸ After the tragic death of his wife in a motor accident, he resigned his charge, trained for the Catholic priesthood at the Beda College, Rome and was ordained in 1977.

Auto-Segregation

⁸³ Douglas M. Murray, 'Scoto-Catholicism and Roman Catholicism: John Charleson's conversion of 1901,' *SCHS*, vol. 24 (1992), 306

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 314

⁸⁵ SCA ED6/14/19 Bp J. Maguire to Abp W. Smith, 18 Oct 1901

⁸⁶ SCA ED6/52/5 Fr R. Fraser to Abp W. Smith, 29 Mar 1904; Robert Hugh Benson (1871-1914)

⁸⁷ Murray, *op. cit.*, 306

⁸⁸ Ronald Walls, *Love strong as death* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2000), 174

In the last twenty years of the nineteenth century the functional boundaries of the Catholic community were imposed by the Roman authorities, even when the bishops were not totally convinced of the need. In answer to Archbishop Strain's queries in 1880, the Congregation of the Holy Inquisition answered as follows: 'Can Catholics play the organ or sing in the Choir in Protestant churches? No. Can a Catholic do either merely as a way of making a living? No.'⁸⁹ That this was a recurrent problem (with no obvious solution) is shown by the bishops sending off exactly the same questions to Rome six years later, asking whether the wearing of Reformed Church vestments would alter the case.⁹⁰ The matter rumbled on, Bishop William Turner notifying Archbishop MacDonald in 1894: 'Frank Daniel was reported to me by Fr O'Brien as playing in a Protestant Kirk. His father wrote to Bute last year asking the Marquis [sic] to get him a place otherwise he would have to take a situation in a Protestant church so he has done so.'⁹¹ The ruling could also work against the best interests of the Catholic community, as Bishop James Smith of Dunkeld complained to MacDonald later that year:

The Martyrs of Arbroath often get Protestants to help at our Concerts etc. Lucinda was asked in turn by them (great friends, & booked for our Nuns' Concert) to sing at a Concert to-night in aid of alterations in the Parish Church organ ... Last Saturday night the priest was told of it (by an enemy of the family) as a scandal. He asked (not ordered) her to get out of it some way, & recommended her not to go to Communion, as she would have done.⁹²

Although their hands were tied by Rome, the bishops became increasingly exasperated at the sweeping application of this rule; Bishop Maguire of Glasgow complaining of the same case: 'I think it would have been better not to prohibit, even on ground of scandal, if that were sufficient reason (it is not in my eyes) ... I do not see where co-operation comes in in obliging friends by singing at a concert ... It is not singing in a church or joining in a service.'⁹³

'Mixed marriages' were seen by the bishops as the most serious threat to the Catholic community. This aversion was based on hard experience: when, in 1889, mixed marriage statistics were called for by Propaganda, Fr William Grady of Falkirk reported that, out of a total population of 20,000 people in the town, some 2,000 were Catholics: twenty-three marriages had taken place with dispensation, thirty-six, without; of the latter, in ten cases the

⁸⁹ SCA ED7/55/2 Notification to Abp J. Strain, 28 Jul 1880

⁹⁰ SCA ED3/202 Minutes of Bishops' Meeting, 18 Feb 1886

⁹¹ SCA ED5/26/5 Bp W. Turner to Abp A. MacDonald, 15 Jun 1894

⁹² SCA ED5/39/5 Bp J. Smith to Abp A. MacDonald, 5 Dec 1894

⁹³ SCA ED6/12/9 Bp J. Maguire to Bp J. Smith, 6 Dec 1894

Catholic party had lost the faith, in thirty cases they had become indifferent; of the latter, eleven families brought up their total of 45 children as Catholics, but thirty-six reared their total of 144 children as Protestants.⁹⁴ In other words, the negative effects of mixed marriage increased exponentially, only adding to the bishops' apprehension over 'leakage.' This explains the care parish priests took to keep children and young adults within the Catholic social circle and the grave warning issued in 1919 by Bishop Grey Graham to his priests: 'parents will be largely to blame if they do not try and prevent their young people forming intimate relationships with non-Catholics of the opposite sex. If unfortunately you should be invited to marry a mixed couple, in every case where it is possible the non-Catholic must be asked to undergo some weeks' instruction.'⁹⁵ The fear of contamination even governed single sex groups: in 1933, the parish notice book of St Patrick's, Cowgate, reminded young women that 'The Girls Club opens on Wednesday. All girls of the Parish — should join the Club — where innocent recreation may be found amongst their own fellow Catholics.'⁹⁶ This state of mind only encouraged an inward-looking attitude to human relationships.

Hostility

Hostility against Catholics was not a new phenomenon, and remained strong in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the Church of Scotland, John Hope WS, along with the Rev Jacob Primmer (1842-1914), worked tirelessly to combat Catholicism, while, in the Free Church, the Rev James Begg (1808-93) did the same.⁹⁷ It must not be thought that the Catholic Church was entirely supine — aggressive proselytising was not the sole prerogative of Presbyterian activists. Fr Matthew Power served at the Sacred Heart church from 1898 to 1916 and proved to be an outstanding preacher, conducting summer open-air services in Edinburgh's Grassmarket on behalf of the Catholic Truth Society, regularly preaching for over an hour before a large wooden crucifix to an audience of over a thousand.⁹⁸ But the combative style of his sermons made the bishops uneasy and his topics were often deliberately inflammatory: 'The Last Illness and Death of the Church of Scotland,' for example, criticised the General Assembly of 1903.⁹⁹ Fr Power later moved his stance nearby to Lothian Road where, in December 1905, scuffles broke out at one of his meetings while he was preaching

⁹⁴ SCA ED6/112/16 Fr W. Grady to Abp J. Smith, Ash Wednesday 1889

⁹⁵ SCA ED10/43/14 Bp H. G. Graham: diocesan circular, Dec 1919

⁹⁶ SCA GD10/17 St Patricks' Notice Book, 1st Sunday after Epiphany 1933

⁹⁷ Steve Bruce, *No Pope of Rome* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1985), 31-41

⁹⁸ *The Evening Dispatch*, 1 Jun 1903

⁹⁹ SCA ED6/16/19 Abp J. Maguire to Abp J. Smith, 17 Sep 1902; *The Evening Dispatch*, 1 Jun 1903

about John Knox to around 5,000 people. A well-known local Presbyterian solicitor, Duncan McLaren deplored what he described as 'disgraceful proceedings' on the part of Fr Power.¹⁰⁰ For his part, Fr Power blamed a rival preacher from the Edinburgh Protestant Mission (with its 150-strong bodyguard) of trying to wreck his ministry and force the authorities to intervene.¹⁰¹ Six years later, although obliged to moderate his demagogic delivery, he continued to get under the skin of the Catholic establishment: Oswald Cassels of Leith complained bitterly of him to his archbishop, asking why he could not make Fr Power write less to *The Scotsman*.¹⁰²

However, most Catholic popular preachers had little political muscle, unlike their Protestant counterparts. In overtly political vein, Alexander Ratcliffe (1888-1947), an Edinburgh town councillor for three years, formed the Scottish Protestant League (SPL) in 1920, while John Cormack (1894-1978), also an Edinburgh councillor (1934-62), formed Protestant Action (PA) in 1934. Ratcliffe's SPL soon shifted to Glasgow, and it was the PA which was the spearhead of anti-Catholicism in Edinburgh. Cormack's precise motives have been the subject of some discussion. While Steve Bruce asserts that he 'was not an evangelical Protestant', Tom Gallagher states that 'Cormack's movement was essentially a religious party whose militant tactics were a distinguishing feature of its behaviour mainly during its formative years.'¹⁰³

Helping to give both the SPL and PA some measure of authenticity and respectability was an official Presbyterian campaign conducted between 1922 and 1938 and led (in the Church of Scotland) by the Rev John White, formerly a distinguished chaplain at the Western Front and Moderator of the General Assembly in 1925 and again in 1929. The campaign attempted, through a series of initiatives, to reverse the flow of Irish migration and dismantle the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act; the history of this 'prolonged and ultimately futile affair, which reflected deep-seated apprehension in the presbyterian Churches over their declining influence and authority in Scottish society' has been documented by Stewart J. Brown.¹⁰⁴ The attempt of this official pressure group to force the government's hand failed, largely because many of the statistics collected by the presbyterian Churches proved to be exaggerated.¹⁰⁵ Brown's analysis revises the assertion previously advanced by Steve

¹⁰⁰ SCA ED6/180/6 C. George to Can. A. Stuart, 4 Dec 1905

¹⁰¹ SCA ED6/180/8 Fr M. Power to Abp J. Smith, 6 Dec 1905

¹⁰² SCA ED6/180/9 O. Cassels to Abp J. Smith, 28 Jan 1911

¹⁰³ Bruce, *op. cit.*, 100; Tom Gallagher, *Edinburgh Divided* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1987), 2

¹⁰⁴ Stewart J. Brown, 'Outside the Covenant: The Scottish Presbyterian Churches and Irish Immigration, 1922-1938,' *IR*, No. 1 (Spring 1991), 41; Harry Reid, *Outside Verdict* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 2002), 105

¹⁰⁵ Brown, *op. cit.*, 32

Bruce that the overt racialism of the 1923 report (*The Menace of the Irish Race to our Scottish Nationality*) did not receive the assent of the majority of synod or assembly members and was, indeed, 'restricted to only a small group, and more than that, a small group confined to certain parts of Scotland.'¹⁰⁶

Anti-Catholic feeling in Edinburgh came to a head in the summer of 1935. A series of PA demonstrations took place in the most exclusive district of the city where several members of Catholic aristocratic families also had their town houses. Around Church Hill was a Catholic enclave within the triangle formed by St Margaret's Convent at Whitehouse Loan, the Archbishop's residence in Greenhill Gardens, St Peter's Church in Falcon Avenue (all three funded by converts), and the Benedictine St Andrew's Priory slightly to the south in Canaan Lane. It is perhaps no accident that Muriel Spark placed the ecclesiastically eclectic Miss Jean Brodie's flat at Churchhill, once also the home of the Rev Thomas Chalmers.¹⁰⁷

But the sectarian activities of Protestant Action in Edinburgh need to be set in context. The aggressive demonstrations and the stone-throwing with which John Cormack and his supporters tried to intimidate those attending the Eucharistic Congress in June 1935 were no worse than the stone-throwing which greeted the British fascist leader Oswald Mosley in 1931 at a meeting on Glasgow Green attended by between 12,000 and 15,000 people; nor, indeed, were the anti-Catholic expletives loosed off in Edinburgh a match for the explosives detonated on the wall of Shettleston police station in September 1920. The shock was more psychological than physical. The events in Morningside paralleled Alexander Ratcliffe's sending of his 'Billy Boys' to Queen's Gate Park, Glasgow to suppress the Catholic Evidence Guild.¹⁰⁸ Admittedly, the solemn climax of the 1935 Edinburgh Eucharistic Congress was much more spectacularly marred by disturbances, partly because they violated the closing procession and solemn Benediction planned to take place within the privacy of St Andrew's Priory's high stone walls, in what was by far the most affluent and law-abiding part of the city.¹⁰⁹ For this to happen within the confines of a Benedictine priory was of particular concern to Archbishop McDonald, himself a former Benedictine monk.

What is curious is that few of the five presbyterian churches lining the half-mile from Morningside Station to Holy Corner seemed to have made any immediate condemnation or

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 46

¹⁰⁷ Angus Calder, 'Miss Jean Brodie and The Kaledonian Klan,' *Cencrastus* (Spring 1989), 20 -21.

¹⁰⁸ *The Daily Herald*, 21 Sep 1931; NAS HH/55/62; NAS HH/55/332 J. McEwan to G. Buchanan MP, 14 May 1934

¹⁰⁹ Michael Rosie, *Protestant Politics in Inter-War Edinburgh* (Edinburgh University PhD Thesis, 2001), 250

regret about the violence: neither St Matthew's Kirk Session minutes, nor those of Morningside Parish church contain any reference to the activities of John Cormack (who, conveniently, lived in Springvalley Gardens, just across the road from Canaan Lane).¹¹⁰ The Presbytery of Edinburgh, meanwhile, met once a month from 2 July 1935 onwards, but it was not until 1 October 1935 that any regret was publicly voiced over the anti-Catholic demonstrations when an Edinburgh minister, the Rev Andrew K. Walton, urged members to celebrate Reformation Sunday (27 October) in a fitting manner:

... certain events that have taken place in Edinburgh [were] caused through fear on the part of some lest the Protestant Cause in Scotland should be undermined ... It may be difficult to disengage the elements that are due to religious conviction from those that have their source in political and economic passion, but whatever may be the origin of these events, the Presbytery would be of one mind in repelling as fundamentally unchristian all methods of violence, all interference with personal freedom, and every word and action which expresses the spirit of hatred.¹¹¹

The immediate reaction of Archbishop McDonald to John Cormack's acts of intimidation at the Eucharistic Congress was to issue a strongly-worded statement in July 1935 protesting that 'For some months past, Catholics have been subjected to a campaign of vilification, calumny and savagery that would be difficult to parallel in these days of enlightenment and progress.'¹¹² The backlash among Catholics was predictable: at masses in St Mary's Cathedral, York Place, the priests announced:

Will parents please remember that they are not allowed to send their children to Protestant Schools under any pretext whatsoever. Surely during the last few days Catholics are conscious of what they suffered from their non Catholic neighbours, and do you expect your children to be treated any better by non Catholic children.¹¹³

There was, however, condemnation from individual members of the Church of Scotland. 'A Shameful Exhibition' wrote 'Parish Minister' in *The Evening Dispatch*: 'But that our Assembly should give any approval to a recommendation to rescind provisions in the 1918 Act ... is paltry on the part of our great National Church ...'¹¹⁴ In a leading article in *Life and Work*, the Rev W. M. McGregor also condemned Protestant Action and his Church's

¹¹⁰ NAS CH2/101/1; NAS CH2/486

¹¹¹ NAS CH2/121/52 Church of Scotland Presbytery of Edinburgh: Minute Book, vol. 2, 1 Oct 1935

¹¹² Gallagher, op. cit., 192

¹¹³ St Mary's Cathedral Archives: Notice Book, Third Sunday after Pentecost, 1935

¹¹⁴ *The Evening Dispatch*, 27 Jun 1935

attitude to Rome.¹¹⁵ But there were other voices — a more perennial opponent of the Catholic Irish was John Richardson of Perth, who, between 1937 and 1957 wrote a succession of vituperative letters to the government alleging that the Irish were a burden on the rates: 'They come here in hordes and get public assistance ...' he complained in 1957.¹¹⁶ His letters were filed away by the Scottish Office mandarins and his suggestions politely ignored.

The influence of the Orange Order

In the east of Scotland the Orange Order was never able to provide an effective challenge to Catholics in the way as it did in the west. At its height in the mid 1930s, Protestant Action had a membership of 8,000, but it is doubtful if the Orange Order had more than 800 members in the entire East of Scotland. Whereas there were around 250 Orange Lodges in the West of Scotland, there were no more than 15 Lodges in Edinburgh and the east where the Orange vote was negligible.¹¹⁷ There were other reasons why the Catholic Church in the east could choose to ignore the Orange point of view: in spite of pressure from Protestant right wing organisations, the government was traditionally unwilling to take steps against the Catholic Irish. Crucially, the Unionist Sir John Gilmour, first Secretary of State for Scotland (1926-29), although a member of the Orange Order, was a devout Presbyterian and High Commissioner for the General Assembly (1938-39).¹¹⁸ Gilmour chose to ignore repeated calls from fellow-Orangemen urging him to curb Irish Catholic migration and prevent them receiving state benefits.¹¹⁹ In addition, he also helped tie the Order into the Unionist party in the inter-war years, so controlling its activities.¹²⁰

Extremist Protestant political movements

¹¹⁵ Rosie, *op. cit.*, 266

¹¹⁶ NAS HH/1/571 J. Richardson to the Minister of Labour, 5 Nov 1957

¹¹⁷ William S. Marshall, *The Billy Boys, A concise history of Orangeism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1996), 150-151

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 128

¹¹⁹ Graham Walker, 'Sectarian tensions in Scotland: social and cultural dynamics and the politics of perception' in Thomas M. Devine (ed.), *Scotland's Shame* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2000), 127

¹²⁰ Marshall, *op. cit.*, 130

Tom Gallagher comments that while extremist Protestant groups protested in words that bore similarities to the language of the Nazis, the Protestant Action Society was not fascist in nature, but developed out of 'a tradition of vigorous public protest on religious grounds ... firmly rooted in Scottish history.'¹²¹ Yet, in the 1920s and 1930s the spectre of unemployment and the fear that the Catholic Irish would accept lower wages than the Scot at a time of industrial depression, also aroused irrational jealousies. According to Archbishop McDonald, the anti-Italian riots of the 1940s were also driven by economic fears and instigated by Protestant Action under John Cormack, who was making a 'deliberate attempt to resuscitate ... sectarian trouble':

Through his agents Cormack was responsible for the rioting in connection with the Italians a few days ago, though he himself kept in the background.¹²²

Jacob Primmer and his anti-Popish liturgy movement

Dr James Begg (1808-83) of Free Kirk (Newington parish), founded the Scottish Reformation Society in 1850, also setting up *The Bulwark* (as its name suggests, a journal in defence of Protestant theology and worship). In the 1850s, as convenor of the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh, Begg also supervised the Edinburgh Irish Mission which, through Sunday Schools for Irish children and Sunday assemblies for adults, attempted to counteract 'the efforts of Popish priests' and of 'Popery ... the dark sorceress that works steadily unseen ... [and] enslaves the intellect.'¹²³ The Scottish Protestant Society followed in 1854, its chief luminary, Edinburgh lawyer John Hope, also establishing the Hope Trust. A graduate of Edinburgh University, Jacob Primmer (1842-1914) was a disciple of Hope, a largely itinerant preacher who lectured 'on the evils of the convent, and the drunkenness of the Irish, Roman Catholics and especially priests.'¹²⁴ In 1895 Primmer visited Rome for six weeks to gather material for his invective; in 1900, he even undeservedly targeted the Stonyhurst-educated Arthur Conan Doyle (despite the latter's protestations that he had long been a lapsed Catholic) when Conan Doyle stood as Tory candidate for Edinburgh Central. Primmer put forward his views forcefully all over Scotland, touring the country every summer between

¹²¹ Tom Gallagher, *Edinburgh Divided* (Edinburgh; Polygon, 1987), 2

¹²² NAS HH11777 Abp A. J. McDonald to Secretary of State, 25 Jun 1940

¹²³ NLS Prot.320 Pamphlets: Popery — *The True way of dealing successfully with Popery; being The Report of the Edinburgh Irish Mission for the year 1850* (Edinburgh: Miller and Fairly, 1851), 4-8

¹²⁴ Steve Bruce, *No Pope of Rome* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1985), 41

1890 and 1903, preaching his gospel of intolerance, being especially critical of what he saw as ‘popish’ liturgical tendencies in the Church of Scotland.

With his aggressive fundamentalism Primmer aimed to preserve the integrity of the national Church in Scotland from subversion by what he saw as the increasingly confident Catholic Church with its ultramontanist goals (which he interpreted as a threat to the fabric of Protestant culture and society, based as the latter was on Reformation values). Ultimately, his narrow focus and negative attitudes were bound to fail, particularly as religion in general and church-going lost its grip on the people of Scotland during the course of the twentieth century.

- **Anti-Irish agitation and anti-Catholic feeling**

It is often difficult to separate anti-Irish agitation (mainly generated by economic fears at competition from cheap labour, the disruptive social effects of poverty or even supposed racial inferiority) and anti-Catholic feeling derived from, for example, repugnance at exuberant Continental styles of worship or the imagined ultramontanist subversion of the Protestant body politic.

In the 1920s, for Sir Alexander Sprot, Unionist MP for North Lanarkshire, the terms ‘Roman Catholic’ and ‘Irish’ still seemed to be synonymous ...¹²⁵ This confusion of allegiances was also shared by many Catholics as Joseph M. Bradley has pointed out: ‘Catholics in Scotland have an identity in relation to both Ireland and Scotland which varies in intensity and emphasis depending on circumstance and environment.’¹²⁶ Bradley highlights the dichotomy experienced by Catholics, adding that in some settings Catholic society sees itself as Irish, in others as Scottish, but ‘on the whole its members find it difficult to define and articulate their identity.’¹²⁷ For the Scottish Catholic, it is more than Hugh MacDiarmid’s *Caledonian antiszygy* (a ‘lightning zig-zag of temper’) — a phrase borrowed from Sir Thomas Urquhart (1611-60) of Cromarty — a cultural conflict in the Scottish psyche.¹²⁸ For Scottish Catholics between 1878 and 1965 it is above all the quest for

¹²⁵ Marshall, op. cit., 126

¹²⁶ Joseph M. Bradley, ‘St Mary’s parishioners today: politics, schools, moral issues, and Ireland,’ in Thomas M. Devine (ed.), *St Mary’s Hamilton, a social history 1846-1996* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1995), 119

¹²⁷ Joseph M. Bradley, ‘St Mary’s parishioners today: politics, schools, moral issues, and Ireland,’ in Thomas M. Devine (ed.), *St Mary’s Hamilton, a social history 1846-1996* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1995), 119

¹²⁸ Hugh MacDiarmid, *Scottish Eccentrics* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1972), v; 284

a coherent relationship between religion and community, the search for integration with Scottish society at large without having to compromise integral Catholic vision and values.

Liturgical Reform

If there were areas where conflict could arise between Catholics and Protestants, there were also some shared interests: one of these was liturgical reform. Although the nineteenth-century Liturgical Movement took place largely within the Catholic community, the Church of Scotland also had its supporters of liturgical reform. The apparent wholesale exodus of the Scottish aristocracy and the educated classes from the 'faulty service' of his own Church made Dr Robert Lee (1804-68) of Old Greyfriars in Edinburgh, determined to introduce a more reverent and orderly liturgy; Lee helped to form the Church Service Society in 1865 for the study of ancient and modern liturgy and was the first minister to introduce stained glass; controversially, he also pioneered the use of the organ in worship. At first, his innovations were condemned by the General Assembly of 1865; eventually, they were accepted.¹²⁹

At Barnhill, Broughty Ferry, the Rev Thomas Newbigging Adamson (1855-1911), a member of Lee's Church Service Society, incurred the wrath of, the Rev Jacob Primmer of Dunfermline, the anti-Catholic activist. Primmer objected to what he claimed to be Adamson's introduction of a 'Popish Mass,' the use of genuflections and an altar adorned with candles and other 'ritualistic ornaments.'¹³⁰ Adamson's liturgical innovations were also later condemned by his local presbytery and by the General Assembly of 1902.¹³¹

The foundation of the Liturgical Movement is generally attributed to Abbot Prosper Guéranger (1805-75), the restorer of the Benedictine community at Solesmes in France.¹³² At the heart of the Liturgical Movement was a certain romanticism and a yearning for authenticity. It was essentially a 'return to tradition,' a Victorian vision of a society and culture rescued from the fragmentation inflicted by the industrial revolution, a return to

¹²⁹ Robert Herbert Story, *Life and Remains of Robert Lee, D.D.*, vol. 1 (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1870), 330; *Ibid.*, vol. 2 (1870), 136; Alan. J. Steele, *Robert Lee, 1804-1868* (Edinburgh: Society of Friends of the Kirk of the Greyfriars, 1996), 15

¹³⁰ Douglas M. Murray, 'The Barnhill Case, 1901-1904: the limits of ritual in the Kirk,' *RSCHS* vol. 22 (1986), 259-277

¹³¹ J. Boyd Primmer, *Life of Jacob Primmer* (Edinburgh: William Bishop, 1916), 244

¹³² L. C. Sheppard, 'Catholic Liturgical Movement,' *NCE*, vol. 8 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), 900

nature and wholeness.¹³³ In Scotland, a striking example of liturgical renewal can be seen in the fledgling Benedictine community at Fort Augustus which, in 1884, decided to abandon the relaxed regime of the English Benedictine Congregation, in favour of the stricter, more 'authentic' style of monasticism associated with Solesmes and the Arch-abbey of Beuron in Germany. Two of the first results of this new, more puritanical emphasis was that the drinking of claret at meals was discontinued and ritual self-flagellation was introduced.¹³⁴

Although the Catholic Church felt itself unable to participate in the growing number of international and inter-denominational church organisations and conferences, it was not entirely unsympathetic to their intentions. At the 1910 World Missionary Conference, held in Edinburgh, Bishop Bonomelli of Cremona, Italy sent an official message of solidarity:

... from the various Churches and religious denominations into which you Christians are divided there arises a new unifying element, a noble aspiration, restraining too great impulsiveness, levelling dividing barriers, and working for the realisation of the one Holy Church through all the children of redemption.¹³⁵

In later years, the Catholic Church officially distanced itself from the Ecumenical Movement and later took up a more aloof position: in 1919, for example, Pope Benedict XV courteously refused an invitation from the American Episcopal Church to participate in a Faith and Order meeting. After the Stockholm Life and Work Conference (1925) and the 1927 Faith and Order Conference in Lausanne, Pius XI issued *Mortalium animos* (6 Jan 1928) 'On Religious Unity', which declared that doctrinal compromise for the purpose of union was unacceptable. After the formation of the World Council of Churches (1948), the Holy Office issued *An Instruction on the Ecumenical Movement* (1949) to summarise its unbending position.

Yet, while the Catholic Church was not represented at the Edinburgh World Conference on Faith and Order (1937), those delegates who had experienced union in South India at that time were also able to appreciate the difficulties facing the Roman, Orthodox and Anglican theologians, who asserted 'that the question of intercommunion cannot be considered in isolation from the ministerial order, doctrine and liturgical tradition and,

¹³³ M. H. Sheppard, jr., 'Protestant Liturgical Movement,' *NCE*, vol. 8 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), 905

¹³⁴ see Fort Augustus Abbey Chronicle (deposited at Downside Abbey, Bath)

¹³⁵ W. H. T. Gairdner, 'Message to the Edinburgh Conference from Monsignor Bonomelli, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cremona,' In *Edinburgh 1910. An account of the interpretation of the World Missionary Conference* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910), 212

indeed, the whole life of the Churches concerned.¹³⁶ The differences between the Evangelical and Roman Churches concerning the nature of the Eucharist slowly became less absolute, as the Tridentine explanation of the Mass as sacrifice was supplemented by 'a deeper understanding of the sacramental and eschatological significance of the Eucharist.'¹³⁷ At this period, although Catholics were forbidden to take part in Catholic services, they were allowed to be present at them.

Meanwhile, at the local level, relations in Scotland between the separate traditions, although tentative, were slowly developing. By 1956 the Catholic Church in the East of the country was still edging towards dialogue with its sister Churches: Archbishop Gordon Gray confided to the Jesuits that there were some low-key developments afoot in his diocese: 'I cannot say very much at the moment, but there is a little private move at present to make contact with some of our non-Catholic ministerial brethren. The purpose will not be so much as to argue about differences as to discover just how much we have in common.'¹³⁸ Thus, the groundwork was being laid for the *aggiornamento* of the Second Vatican Council and its enthusiastic espousal of the Ecumenical Movement.

Conclusion

Greater unity among Scottish Catholics before the Second Vatican Council was being prepared by a variety of means intended to heighten their awareness of themselves as a cohesive group. Catholics saw themselves as part of a universal family under the leadership of the pope; such ultramontanist was reinforced by liturgical regimentation under canon law, and doctrinal uniformity through the catechism as taught in schools and promoted through sermons. The use of Latin as a universal language; scrupulous observance of *rubrics* in the performance of the liturgy; the rhythm of the liturgical seasons, holy days and feast days, the celebration of the sacraments and the proliferation of supportive parish organisations — helped to create a welfare state in miniature. This was not the life of the ghetto (into which unwilling souls were forced by a nefarious master-race), but the expression of a thriving, self-confident Church Militant, self-sufficient in its identity and in

¹³⁶ T. S. Garrett, 'Intercommunion in the Younger Churches,' in Baillie and Marsh, *op. cit.*, 216

¹³⁷ L. Zander, 'Intercommunion and Co-celebration,' in Baillie and Marsh, *op. cit.*, 359; John Marsh, 'Intercommunion: A Congregationalist comment,' in Baillie and Marsh, *op. cit.*, 277; Thomas. F. Torrance, 'Eschatology and the Eucharist,' in Baillie and Marsh, *op. cit.*, 303

¹³⁸ SCA DE167/72/22 Abp G. J. Gray to Fr B. Leeming, 25 Sep 1956

its (ultimately misplaced) confidence of emerging triumphant within what was popularly seen as an alien and hostile environment — Protestant Scotland.

Anti-Catholic protest in 1926, 1933 and 1935 (mainly at what many believed to be the threats posed by Irish migration), then at the entry of the Italians into the Second World War and even against the large Polish residual population after the War, was the fire that tempered the spirit of Scottish Catholics; the latter asserted their growing strength and their richness in diversity through initiatives based on the principles of Catholic Action — through the Catholic Evidence Guild, the Catholic Truth Society and even (in 1935) through self-defence groups such as the Catholic Vigilance Association ('the Blackie [Blackhall] Boys'). Between 1878 and 1955, the Scottish bishops, the priests and the laity succeeded in unifying the Catholic community in the face of persistent attacks both from theologically-driven organisations such as the Knox Club (after 1909) and from the political activists in the 1930s such as Protestant Action, who adopted a cruder, more physical style of confrontation.

It would be wrong-headed to overlook the deeply-rooted culture of mutual hostility and suspicion which characterised Catholic-Protestant relations from 1850 to 1950. Yet, in spite of the vituperation and the institutional sectarianism, there were always some hopeful signs of shared religious conviction, practical co-operation and an awareness of shared objectives and traditions. Intermarriage between Catholics and Protestants was feared by some Protestants as exacting unreasonable terms of agreement and tainting the racial stock; Catholics, on the other hand, were perhaps better used to cultural pluralism, less concerned with genetic purity but also worried that intermarriage would undermine the 'deposit of faith.' Marriage was at the interface of the two traditions, where Protestant and Catholic touched most intimately, often reaching an accommodation across the divide and sharing an experience of family life which could, in many cases, bring enrichment rather than impoverishment.

Ministers of other Christian denominations who became Catholics shared some underlying misgivings about their own religious belief and practice, but differed slightly in their reasons for converting. While convert Church of Scotland ministers all went through a gradual process of self-analysis and scriptural study on their way to becoming Catholics, it appears that Anglicans and Episcopalians, in particular, were won over by the challenge to Church government represented by Newman and the Tractarians; members of the Free Church, such as Dr Adam Stuart Muir, seem to have been attracted more by the aesthetic richness of spiritual experience they saw available in the Catholic Church; ministers of the Church of Scotland, such as John Charleson, appear above all to have drifted into Catholicism chiefly through their passion for more meaningful ritual.

In spite of anti-Catholic hostility, the Catholic Church continued to make significant progress throughout the period. Aside from the significant growth in numbers as a result of Irish migration, the key to Catholic survival in Scotland lay in the rapid and wholesale conversion of Scottish aristocrats (directly attributable to the example and the efforts of John Henry Newman) as well as a sensitive accommodation with the monarchs and governments of the day. This was as startling and profound a social change (although much less visible) as that caused by the arrival of the Irish, in flight from hunger and poverty. While the migrants brought the skill and labour of their hands, the convert aristocrats brought wealth and political influence. Between them, they pushed the Catholic community into the twentieth century, founding parishes, building schools and setting up organisations to meet every need — physical as well as spiritual. However, the price of such internal resilience was the maintenance of an external defensive wall which effectively denied all non-Catholics the hope of eternal salvation. As late as 1954, the catechism approved by the bishops of Scotland to be used in all their dioceses reiterated that:

Anyone who, through his own fault, and deliberately resisting the grace of God, remains outside the Catholic Church cannot be saved.¹³⁹

¹³⁹ Archbishops and bishops of Scotland, *The Scottish Catechism of Christian Doctrine* (Glasgow: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1954), 48

7. ADVANCING CATHOLICISM 1878 - 1955

Introduction

This Chapter will describe and analyse the strategies successfully employed by the Catholic Church in Scotland for its survival — to promote its interests, to identify itself with the establishment and the general public as a way of ensuring the welfare of the many Catholics who struggled with the destructive effects of migration and poverty. These positive steps to some extent helped to compensate for the bishops' repeated reverses in management and financial control (see in Chapters Three and Four).

In restoring the hierarchy, the Catholic Church in Scotland took the first step to heal the internal divisions that threatened to tear it apart. In the Church's external relations, it took more than a hundred years and numerous incidents of sectarian violence before the widespread stereotype of Catholics as an alien and subversive plantation was replaced by an acceptance of Catholicism as a positive feature of the Scottish cultural and political landscape. However, two of the immediate effects of the restoration of the hierarchy were to antagonise the Episcopalians (over the similarity of the new bishops' titles to their own) and to give birth to a clutch of organisations vehemently opposed to Catholicism, some with close links to the Orange Order.¹

While hopes ran high that the new hierarchy would rescue the fortunes of the Church in Scotland, there were Scottish Catholic institutions abroad which also gave indications of weathering the storms of civil or military conflict. Between 1878 and 1900, the future existence of the Scots Colleges in Italy and Spain, threatened by political or military destruction, was secured; at home, the threat of subversion posed by Irish 'secret societies' was, with continued papal pressure, largely contained. Moreover, the Catholic Church's relationship with the Protestant British monarchy was strengthened through the national celebrations in 1887 for the quatercentenary of the death of Mary Queen of Scots — and subsequent moves by the Scots and English hierarchy to beatify her (see Appendix I).

To ensure the survival of the Church, the bishops were prepared to forge alliances with any political party that advanced their aims. At the end of the nineteenth century, the allegiances of ordinary Catholics were in transition. The Parnell divorce case of 1890 began to turn Catholics away from the Liberals: 'The prospects of home rule for Ireland ... also

¹ I. G. C. Hutchison, *Scottish Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 15

began to look rather tattered after the failure of the second Home Rule bill in 1894.² By 1906, the Church was close to agreeing an Education Act with the new Liberal government, but withdrew at the last moment. Ten years later, many ordinary Catholics in Scotland were already aligning themselves with Labour.³ At the eleventh hour, the hierarchy, panic-stricken and divided, reluctantly agreed to extricate themselves from looming financial disaster and accept the terms of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act from the Conservative-dominated coalition government. They had little alternative, in the face of pressure from the government and from Propaganda. Worse was to come. After 1922, the departure of the large Irish Catholic contingent in the House of Commons, left Catholics in Scotland more isolated in the face of the hostility of extreme Protestant groups. When sectarian protests erupted over the annual Carfin procession of 1924, the bishops turned frantically for help to their extensive network of lay organisations; eventually, with the assistance of Catholics in England, the Catholic Relief Bill was passed by the Conservative government — not without the angry opposition of a number of Presbyterian MPs.⁴

As has been noted in Chapter Two, Glasgow enjoyed relative stability under the long tenure of Archbishop Charles Eyre (1869-1902); in the same period four archbishops consecutively held office at St Andrews and Edinburgh. Many years of increasingly incompetent administration followed under the ailing and (latterly) incapable Archbishop James Smith (1900-28). After 1918, there was some relief under Smith's energetic but overly-scrupulous auxiliary bishop Henry Grey Graham. Between 1929 and 1950, Andrew Joseph McDonald, previously Abbot of Fort Augustus and a determined man-manager, set a more robust course for the archdiocese, particularly focused on his stand against Communism and materialism. Ruthlessly goal-orientated, McDonald was determined to dominate his clergy: he arrived unannounced at services to see that pastors appeared on time and broke up any coteries of priests who regularly enjoyed such leisure entertainment as clerical poker 'schools'. McDonald showed a flair for propaganda, taking part in public protests and even approving more extreme political methods in pursuit of social justice (such as vigilante groups and death-fasts). Above all, he led his fellow bishops in tackling

² John McCaffrey, 'The Roman Catholic Church in the 1890s: Retrospect and Prospect,' *RSCHS*, vol. 25 (1995), 426-437

³ Steve Bruce, 'Out of the Ghetto: the Ironies of Acceptance,' *IR*, vol. 43, No 2 (Autumn 1992), 148

⁴ Graham Walker, 'Varieties of Scottish Protestant Identity,' in Thomas M. Devine and Richard. J. Finlay (eds.), *Scotland in the 20th century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 277

problems of migration, youth disaffection, sexual ethics and substandard housing, particularly in the aftermath of the Second World War.

The Scottish bishops, moreover, jealously guarded their right to act independently of their colleagues south of the Border, still leaving themselves the option (when it seemed appropriate), of making common cause. By 1928, although the majority of Scottish Catholics were still engaged in manual labour or repetitive commercial employment, there were already signs of the emergence of a Catholic managerial middle-class who had benefited from higher education and began to realise their ambition of entering the professions.

Friends In High Places

Providentially (from the bishops' point of view), two events in the 1850s prevented the Scottish Catholic Church from slipping into insignificance over the following hundred years. This twin-headed *deus ex machina* was the flood of Irish migrants and the conversion of John Henry Newman. The former dramatically increased the size of the Catholic population, the latter brought a succession of aristocrats and intellectuals into the Catholic Church — a windfall as welcome as it was unexpected and unearned. The migrant Irish represented the raw numerical power available to the Catholic Church in Scotland, but it was the converts who instinctively knew how to manipulate the social and political system. Among the convert aristocrats, John Patrick, Third Marquess of Bute, astonished Scotland with the eclectic breadth of his interests and his unimaginable generosity — not only to his co-religionists but also to the wider Scottish community. When the new dioceses were formed in 1878, Lord Bute was determined that the Isle of Bute should not fall under the control of the Archbishop of Glasgow; nevertheless, he gave Bute Hall to the University of Glasgow; his rectorship of St Andrews University was distinguished and erudite; to the nation he handed over Bute House, home of the Secretary of State, while, in the fabric of his own home (Mount Stuart on the Isle of Bute) he left a dazzling artistic heritage.

In the Borders, James Hope-Scott's unobtrusive acquisition of Abbotsford by marriage brought the legacy of one of the central figures of Scottish culture and heritage within the ambit of the Catholic Church, to that Church's material benefit. In *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000*, Thomas M. Devine describes Sir Walter Scott as 'a brilliant pioneer in the invention of tradition, a process which helped develop a new set of national symbols and icons while at the same time renewing others of venerable antiquity in the contemporary image of Victorian Scotland.'⁵ After Scott's death in 1832 and that of his son in law, John

⁵ Thomas M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), 292

Gibson Lockhart, in 1854, Abbotsford (through the influence of Hope-Scott and the inspiration of Newman), became a key institution in an expanding network of aristocratic convert Catholic families, while at the same time maintaining its unique position in the Scottish cultural tradition:

Scott's own home/museum at Abbotsford near Melrose became a mecca for visitors almost immediately after Scott died in 1832. By the late 1850s, over 5,000 visitors annually were coming (often from Europe and America), but only after the house had been extensively refurbished, possibly as the first 'heritage centre.'⁶

In 1872, during his last visit to Abbotsford, Newman complained about the constant stream of tourists brought there by Thomas Cook: 'There are those excursionists again. Cooke's [sic] — walking past the windows — You can't conceive the state of this place in this point of view. Yesterday men of that kidney were before the windows at 6 o'clock in the morning — and they go on all day. Some poke their heads into the windows.'⁷ Although Newman has been criticised for cultivating the rich and ignoring the needs of the poor, he showed his compassion for the migrant community in the Borders, helping to give the last rites to a dying Irish woman, a gesture fondly remembered many years later in the Irish press.⁸

While the support of an international figure such as Newman bolstered the confidence of British Catholics, the lack of formal diplomatic ties between Britain and the Vatican was a distinct handicap. Since the days of Cardinal Reginald Pole (created 1536), there had been no British diplomatic representative permanently resident at the Vatican.⁹ By 1878 there was still none. In spite of this, developments in Britain (such as the restoration of the Scottish hierarchy) were keenly followed by papal officials, such as Mgr Federico Meglia, the apostolic nuncio in Paris, who commented to Cardinal Alessandro Franchi of Propaganda (protector of the Scottish nation) on the very positive outcome of the restoration in England ('great freedom to Catholics') and the favourable attitude towards the papacy then being taken in Westminster.¹⁰ Just how far mutual relations improved can be judged by the

⁶ David McCrone, Angela Morris and Richard Kiely, 'Commercialising the Culture,' *Scotland — the Brand* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), 60

⁷ John H. Newman to Ambrose St. John, 19 Jul 1872 in Dessain and Gornall, op. cit., vol. 26 (1974), 140

⁸ *Ibid.*, 136 -137

⁹ Shane Leslie, *Cardinal Gasquet, a memoir* (London: Burns and Oates, 1953), 229

¹⁰ AA. EE. SS. 84: 35: Inghilterra (1878 - 79)

arrival in London in 1887 of a special papal envoy, Mgr Luigi Ruffo Scilla, to join in the official celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne.¹¹

It was not until December 1914, however, that formal diplomatic relations between Britain and the Vatican were established, largely through the presence in Rome of Cardinal Francis Gasquet, Abbot President of the English Benedictine Congregation and Prefect of the Archives of the Holy See. Nine years before, after a visit to the monastery at Fort Augustus, Gasquet had been instrumental in toppling its austere but ailing German (Beuronese) regime and reuniting the community with the mainstream of the EBC.¹² Gasquet's influence in the Vatican corridors of power did much to further British interests by countering German diplomatic pressure on the Vatican. After the First World War, Gasquet also helped smooth the way for the 1923 visit of King George V and Queen Mary to Rome.¹³

To head the new British Mission, Sir Henry Howard came as special envoy and (later) minister plenipotentiary; his remit was to put the British case forcefully and to counteract enemy propaganda. The importance Britain attached to Vatican relations is evident from the April 1916 visit of Prime Minister Herbert Asquith (Liberal MP for East Fife) when he conferred with Benedict XV and Secretary of State Cardinal Pietro Gasparri.¹⁴ The aim of his visit was to persuade the pope to change his ostensibly 'neutral' (pro-German) stance and also to encourage Italy to enter the war on the side of the Allies — which they did later that year.¹⁵

Against the background of such Continental politicking, the social and political status of the Scottish bishops and their flock improved, partly through the bishops' determination to eradicate political movements (mainly Irish-based) hostile to the British establishment. However, from the late 1920s, the bishops also became increasingly disturbed by the growing secularisation and moral decline of Catholic youth caused, they believed, by changes in attitudes to family life and the influence of popular music, dance and the cinema. By the end of the Second World War, the problems of the migrant Irish were less pressing than the scandalous condition of Polish ex-combatants — Catholics who had served Britain with professionalism and courage. There were other, more insidious threats: 'mixed marriage' was still anathema, abortion and birth-control posed new ethical and social dilemmas. On the positive side, Catholic contributions to Scottish culture — literature, broadcasting and the

¹¹ AA. EE. SS. 111: 45: *Inghilterra (1887)*

¹² APF SC N.S. Rubrica 103 - 323: 64718, 548-551

¹³ Leslie, *op. cit.*, 213; 224; 225 -26

¹⁴ The Earl of Oxford and Asquith, K.G, *Memories and Reflections 1852-1927* (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1928), 120 - 21

¹⁵ Leslie, *op. cit.*, 212 -13

cinema — presented the more acceptable face of Roman Catholicism. The twentieth century also saw Scottish Catholics make their mark in music performance, partly drawing from the Church's ancient liturgical sources, partly from the tradition of Celtic vocal music as a means of building up the community. Tenor Canon Sydney MacEwan (1909-91), a graduate of the Scots College, Rome, while very much in the shadow of Count John McCormack, was able to serve as a priest while also enjoying an international career on the concert platform. He was described by Sir Compton Mackenzie (formerly editor of *The Gramophone* magazine) as 'the greatest living interpreter of Celtic music.'¹⁶ In grand opera, David Ward (1922-83), brother of Bishop James Ward of Glasgow, established himself as the finest Wagnerian bass of his generation.¹⁷

The Houses of Hanover and Windsor

With respect to the British monarchy, relations with the Scottish bishops were generally cordial; the bishops, politically conservative to a man, in the face of some opposition, instinctively chose deference before confrontation. In 1885, for example, Archbishop William Smith's proposal to drink Queen Victoria's health at his consecration banquet was fiercely opposed by some of his clergy (sympathetic to the cause of Irish Home Rule), who threatened, either to boycott the occasion or refuse to take part in the toast.¹⁸ Nevertheless, official civility on the part of the bishops, at least, tended to be the norm: they sent loyal addresses to the Queen on the fiftieth anniversary of her accession and ordered the *Te deum* to be sung and prayers recited.¹⁹ In the West, Archbishop Charles Eyre was asked if his name could be used on a Diamond Jubilee circular calling for religious services in acknowledgement of what were referred to as 'the many blessings received by the nation since her [Victoria's] accession'; in the East, Archbishop Smith was invited to organise a collection for the National Society for the prevention of Cruelty to Children (of which the Queen was patron).²⁰ When the Queen died in 1901, the hierarchy tried to deal sensitively with the popular Catholic desire for prayers for the Queen's soul, without giving offence to Protestants.²¹

¹⁶ Sydney MacEwan, *On the High C's* (Glasgow: John S. Burns, 1973), 8

¹⁷ Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol. 27 (Oxford: Macmillan Publishing Limited, 2001), 83

¹⁸ SCA ED6/104/2 Fr M. Brady to Fr W. Smith, 13 Oct 1885

¹⁹ SCA ED4/130/21 Secretary of State to Abp W. Smith, 22 Jul 1886

²⁰ SCA ED5/1/13 Abp C. P. Eyre to Bp A. MacDonald, 1 Mar 1897; SCA ED5/80/16 Countess of Tweeddale to Abp W. Smith, 25 Feb 1897

²¹ SCA ED6/122/3 R. Kerr to Abp J. Smith, 25 Jun 1901

Nevertheless, hierarchies north and south of the Border did not always see eye to eye. At the accession of King Edward, the bishops learnt that Cardinal Vaughan had been reprimanded by the Pope for genuflecting to the new monarch.²² However, Vaughan, whom some of the Scots bishops thought had 'a talent for doing the wrong thing,' launched a bitter and uncompromising attack on the provisions of the Oath of Succession which were designed to prevent a Catholic ascending the throne:

Catholics have been made unhappy, and their heart has been pierced in its most cherished convictions by the recent renewal of what Cardinal WISEMAN described as the "national act of apostacy" repeated at the accession of each succeeding Sovereign during the last 200 years ...²³

The monarchy, on the other hand, was keen to build bridges between the denominations and the bishops normally responded positively. When the new King and Queen came to Holyrood in 1903, Archbishop Smith was privately canvassed by the Prime Minister, Lord Balfour, to see if he would attend a luncheon at the palace.²⁴ The following year, Bishop Aeneas Chisholm of Aberdeen, over-eager to be thought patriotic, became farcical in his efforts to outdo his Protestant neighbours with expressions of loyalty:

I said Mass in thanksgiving for the surrender of the Boers — followed by peace or cessation of hostilities. The Parish or Town Church last Sunday did not rise above a toll in their Church bells. I ordered the Cathedral bells to ring out God save the King, Rule Britannia and Scots wha hae hailing King Edwards powers on the right side.²⁵

By the end of the Second World War, ordinary Catholics no longer showed the same open hostility to the British monarch — the Irish Free State was a reality and Scots-Irish and Italian-Scots served proudly in the British armed forces. Returning from internment in Canada, Joe Pieri noted that 'the war seemed to have broadened attitudes and increased people's tolerance.'²⁶ This national convergence of values meant that the Catholic Church was able to identify more closely with the British Royal family: Archbishop Gordon Gray (in an *ad clerum* of 1952 on the death of King George VI and the accession of Queen Elizabeth), wrote of his 'profound grief' at the death of the King who, with his Queen, had 'upheld the

²² SCA ED6/14/8 Bp J. Maguire to Abp J. Smith, 15 May 1901

²³ SCA ED6/16/7 Bp J. Maguire to Abp J. Smith, 26 May 1902; SCA ED6/135/8 Card H. Vaughan to Abp J. Smith, 20 Feb 1901

²⁴ SCA ED6/124/16 G. Lee to Abp J. Smith, 29 Apr 1903

²⁵ SCA ED6/22/11 Bp A. Chisholm to Abp J. Smith, 8 Jun 1902

²⁶ Joe Pieri, *Isle of the Displaced* (Glasgow: Neil Wilson Publishing, 1997), 143

sacredness of the family and demonstrated the happiness of a united home...'; he ended by pledging his 'wholehearted loyalty and affectionate homage.'²⁷ On the death of Queen Mary the following year, the Archbishop 'promised the prayers of the Catholics of this country for the members of the Royal Family in their bereavement'; two years later, bishops, clergy and laity sent the Royal Family assurances of loyalty and prayers.²⁸ At the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in June 1953, Catholics, as much as any other denomination, were caught up by the excitement of a young Queen and the national euphoria she aroused.

Secret Societies

Some forms of political association, however, remained anathema to the bishops. Even as the hierarchy was about to be restored in Scotland, senior Church officials in Scotland struggled with the old problems of Fenianism, Ribbonism and Whiskeyism.²⁹ Secret societies (in Scotland's case, this was synonymous with 'Irish agitation'), especially the Ancient Order of Hibernians and certain forms of the St Patrick's Society, were repeatedly condemned by the Holy Office.³⁰ In Scotland, as in America, bishops suspected that even relatively innocuous groups such as the Catholic Young Men's Society or the Gaelic Catholic Association were a front for subversive activities.³¹ In St Andrews and Edinburgh the respected and highly effective parish priest of St Patrick's, Cowgate, Canon Edward Hannan, trod a fine line in these matters between the affirmation of his impoverished congregation's cultural heritage and the avoidance of political activities which certain sections of his fellow-clergy viewed as seditious; in spite of his hard work and organisational skills, as a graduate of All Hallows, Dublin, he was automatically considered to be politically suspect.³²

Hannan soon came into conflict with the hierarchy. The enthusiasm with which the Irish Catholics of Edinburgh supported the leader of the Home Rule movement, Charles Stewart Parnell, seemed to confirm the bishops' suspicions. In 1883, Daniel Donworth, secretary of the Parnell Testimonial Fund (and of the Council of the CYMS), wrote to

²⁷ SCA DE32/21/16 Abp G. J. Gray: ad clerum, 6 Feb 1952

²⁸ SCA DE32/22/5 Abp G. J. Gray: ad clerum, 28 Mar 1953; SCA DE140/8 Telegram from Queen Elizabeth's private secretary to Abp G. J. Gray, 14 Nov 1955

²⁹ SCA ED6/90/14 Fr John Smith to Fr James Smith, 21 May 1877

³⁰ SCA ED5/115/2 Suggested memo from Bishops of Scotland on St Patrick's societies, 21 Mar 1899

³¹ SCA DE133/3 Card. M. Logue to Bp J. Maguire, 8 Dec 1896

³² Bernard Aspinwall, 'Scots and Irish clergy ministering to immigrants,' *IR*, vol. 47 (Spring 1996), 50; 66; see also Kevin Condon, *The Missionary College of All Hallows, 1842-1891* (Dublin: All Hallows College, 1986), 125

Monsignor (later Archbishop) William Smith at the Pro-Cathedral, asking permission to distribute a handbill for the Fund outside the Cathedral. Smith refused, saying that Donworth and his fellow-sympathisers, were 'acting in direct opposition to the principles laid down in the Circular adopted by Propaganda at the Holy Father's desire ...'³³ Later, Hannan clashed publicly with Smith over Parnell. Five years after, at a meeting of the St Vincent de Paul Society in St Mary's Halls, Smith (now Archbishop) attacked the CYMS's continued support for Parnell's national plan of campaign in Ireland which Leo XIII had condemned. Smith was furious that a Catholic organisation using the Church's premises was flaunting the papal rescript and insisted that 'politics could not be put before faith.'³⁴ The CYMS refused to back down and the Archbishop retaliated by forcing Hannan to remove its president, Michael Flannigan, from office.³⁵

To some sections of the clergy, Hannan was a sign of contradiction. Among Hannan's fiercest critics was Fr George Angus, the convert, ex-Indian Army, parish priest at St Andrews. In 1885, Angus wrote to Smith, protesting at Hannan for presiding at a political meeting and questioning the wisdom of allowing clergy to express political opinions publicly:

... I wish to call your attention to the fact that a certain Father Hannan (presumably an Edinburgh priest) presided at a political meeting in Edinburgh at which a notorious Nationalist named Redmond delivered a speech ... if Father Hannan is permitted to express his sentiments to an Irish mob I must ask permission to express my views on Irish Rebellion and Disloyalty in the Public Press.³⁶

Even in the face of such anti-Irish sentiments, Hannan, in the years that followed, did not waver in his support for Parnell. As 'the uncrowned king of Ireland', the latter came to Edinburgh in July 1889 for a series of public meetings. He accepted a personal invitation from Hannan to visit St Mary's Halls where he thanked the CYMS 'for their unswerving support to the cause of Irish freedom.'³⁷ The following day, Parnell presided over a large meeting at the Grassmarket Corn Exchange. The walls of the Exchange were decorated with green and yellow calico, emblazoned with the names of distinguished Irishmen; Thomas

³³ SCA ED4/125/17 D. Donworth to Mgr W. Smith, 10 Sep 1883; SCA ED4/125/17 Mgr W. Smith to D. Donworth, 10 Sep 1883

³⁴ Alan Lugton, *The Making of Hibernian* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1995), 137

³⁵ SCA ED4/131/21 Resolution of CYMS, 15 Aug 1888; SCA ED4/131/21 D. Donworth to Abp W. Smith, 15 Aug 1888

³⁶ SCA ED4/148/12 Fr G. Angus to Abp W. Smith, 13 Jan 1885

³⁷ Lugton, *op. cit.*, 159

Sexton MP, Lord Mayor of Dublin, was one of the dignitaries present. The meeting gave Parnell ‘most hearty thanks for his devoted patriotic labours in the cause of Freedom for Ireland and the promotion of Unity and Brotherhood between the Three Kingdoms.’³⁸

In spite of opposition from other leading Edinburgh Catholics such as the Tory Charles Cooper (first Catholic editor of the *The Scotsman*), Parnell was welcomed with speeches from many local organisations, including the Irish National League (Edinburgh and Leith branches) and The Irish National Foresters Society (East of Scotland).³⁹ Later, outside the City Chambers, Bailie Walcot fumed that Edinburgh had not escaped the contagion of the Irish question.⁴⁰ Unabashed, Parnell then met chosen guests in the Lord Provost’s room — included in the company was Fr Hannan ‘who had some conversation with Mr Parnell.’⁴¹

At St Patrick’s, Hannan’s primary concern was to see that the Irish culture of his parishioners did not wither. ‘National Concerts’ (meaning *Irish*) were popular; in the 1870s, the CYMS presented lectures on ‘The National Poetry of Ireland with Songs and Recitations,’ ‘Ireland, its poets and poetry illustrated with songs’ and ‘Catholicism in Ireland and how it was saved’; one speaker was even warned to substitute an Irish poem for Tennyson’s ‘The Charge of the Light Brigade.’⁴² On the other hand, all was not exclusively centred on Ireland: Hannan took good care to entice the fledgling Hibernian football players into his parochial fold, encouraging them to compete against other local teams as a way of integrating them into the wider Scottish community.

Hannan died in 1891. The Catholic Directory records that at his funeral ‘the church was crowded by a mixed congregation of Protestants and Catholics.’⁴³ A special meeting of the Edinburgh School Board (on which he had served for fifteen years), recognised his value to the wider community:

In the removal of Canon Hannan the city itself has suffered a severe loss ... He was a great power in the community and he was very greatly beloved by a very large number of the people in the city who most require sympathy and help ...⁴⁴

Thirty years later, as the situation in Ireland became more critical, government authorities were alarmed about the paramilitary activities of Sinn Fein members then

³⁸ *Scotland’s Welcome to Mr Parnell* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1889), 29; 41

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 41

⁴⁰ *The Scotsman*, 22 Jul 1889

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² SCA GD82/812 MBYMS, 22 Jan 1878

⁴³ *CDS* (1892), 237

⁴⁴ Lugton, *op. cit.*, 187

increasing training and supply missions not only in Lanarkshire but also within the diocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh. In June 1920, a body of men was reported to have drilled at Campsie Glen, Stirlingshire and then attended Mass at nearby Lennoxton, where the priest apparently reprimanded them for coming.⁴⁵ At the beginning of December 1920, police in Fife stopped a car near Dunfermline; it proved to contain a large quantity of explosives, two rifles with bayonets, an automatic pistol, two hundred yards of fuse and 300 detonators. The occupants of the car admitted they were members of Sinn Fein and that the explosives were intended for use only in Ireland.⁴⁶ With the coming of the Irish Free State, such activities were fewer in Scotland, much to the relief of the bishops.

Educational Politics

Up to the founding of the Irish Free State, the bishops were able to use guile and force to achieve their objectives. During the passing of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act (when the bishops were under siege by the government on the one hand, and by the Congregation of Propaganda on the other, to transfer their schools to the state), the bishops put their faith in the expertise of their legal advisers. The prime mover behind the 1918 Education (Scotland) Bill, Mgr Brown, saw that there was a favourable climate of opinion and a brief window of opportunity for the Church to be free of the heaviest of financial burdens while also ingratiating itself with the establishment :

... Opinion in the House is largely fluid. Party lines have almost disappeared. Members of both great political parties have no idea of what their future electoral prospects will be, and the Irish Nationalists have still considerable power in politics. There is also a tendency on the part of the Governing Classes to gather as far as they can the support of all stable bodies such as the Catholic Church, as a protection for the country, against extreme Labour or even revolutionary tendencies.⁴⁷

While Catholics in general might have left the Liberals and joined the ranks of the Labour Party, the hierarchy found they had more in common with the dominant Conservative party. The bishops quickly enlisted the support of the finest legal minds available. In Scotland, William Campbell, Lord Skerrington (a judge of the Court of Session) scrutinised

⁴⁵ AS HH55/62 Irish disturbances (1920-24): report by Procurator Fiscal, Glasgow, 24 Sep 1920

⁴⁶ NAS HH55/62 Police report, 4 Dec 1920

⁴⁷ SCA ED9/61/1 Mgr W. Brown to Fr T. Miley, 9 Jan 1918; see also John Davies, 'Catholic Representatives in Parliament: The North West of England 1918-1945,' *RH*, vol. 26, No 2 (Oct 2002), 359

and amended the draft text of the legislation. In Westminster, the bishops relied on the advice of three other laymen, two of them influential Irish MPs — David J. Mitchell Quin, a journalist at *The Glasgow Observer*; Thomas Scanlan MP, a Glasgow solicitor (and former *Glasgow Observer* journalist), and John Pius Boland, Nationalist MP for North Sligo and a law graduate of St Andrews University. Boland, a brilliant lawyer and whip to the Nationalist party, had been educated at the Oratory School, Birmingham and at the universities of Oxford and Bonn; Scanlan and Boland were both members of the Grand Committee appointed to examine the amendments in the Education (Scotland) Bill.⁴⁸

After the Commons passed the Military Service Bill on 16 April 1918, the majority of Irish MPs left London. At the end of June, the Scottish bishops were to be seen in the lobbies seeking the support of Scottish MPs such as Mr Sutherland (Elgin Burghs) and Mr Adamson (West Fife), both of whom the bishops found to be well-disposed towards their case.⁴⁹ In mid-July, the Scottish Catholic Education Committee representatives attended the proceedings of the Grand Committee and later gathered in the Irish Whip's room, where they addressed some twenty Scottish MPs on the need for Catholic schools.⁵⁰ Later, Fr Thomas Miley of the Catholic Education Council explained that they had been advised:

... to hold over our amendments to the report stage when they would be debated in the House itself, and we should have the assistance of the Irish Party, and the English Catholic Members in addition to such wellwishers as there may be in the Scottish Parties. The Deputation accepted this policy, recommended as it was by such experts in Parliamentary procedure as the two Irish members [Scanlan and Boland] ...⁵¹

In addition to members in the Commons, the Scots were also reliant on the influence of Catholic members of the upper house, such as the Duke of Norfolk. The latter contacted the bishops through his nephew, James Hope MP, urging them to consider a deputation to the Lord President and Lord Balfour and suggesting that it might be prudent to join forces with the Scottish Episcopal Church.⁵² In spite of the reluctance of some bishops to give up control of their own schools, the overwhelming balance of opinion was in favour of

⁴⁸ SCA ED9/55/1 D. J. Mitchell Quin to Abp J. Smith, 8 Jun 1918

⁴⁹ SCA ED9/5/2 Bp J. Toner to Abp J. Smith, 27 Jun 1918

⁵⁰ SCA ED9/55/6 Fr T. Miley: Report of Deputation of Standing Committee, Catholic Education Committee, 9-13 Jul 1918

⁵¹ SCA ED9/55/8 Fr T. Miley: Report (Interim) of Deputation on Education (Scotland) Bill. Committee Stage, 3 Aug 1918

⁵² SCA ED9/22/9 J. F. Hope to Abp A. MacDonald, 29 Jun 1897

accepting the government's proposals, especially as it would solve the Church's financial problems at a stroke.

The Carfin March

In 1878, there were 51 Catholic MPs, all of them Irish; in the House of Lords, meanwhile, sat the Duke of Norfolk, the marquesses of Bute and Ripon, three Catholic earls and twenty Catholic barons; six members of the Privy Council were Catholics.⁵³ In 1918 came the last all-Ireland general election to the Westminster Parliament; after the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1921 the number of Irish MPs fell from 79 to a mere dozen.⁵⁴ The formidable cohort of Irish Catholic MPs was no longer available to advise and support the Scottish hierarchy.

In a crisis, such as occurred at Carfin in 1924, the Scottish bishops turned to the remaining (English) Catholic MPs for help. A striking episode of anti-Catholic prejudice at the annual Corpus Christi procession in Carfin, Ayrshire, showed that the Scottish Catholic Church could, nevertheless, still mobilise nationwide support. In 1916, the first procession had been held privately, within the Carfin presbytery grounds; by 1921 the event had become so popular that permission had to be obtained to march through the streets, the numbers attending in 1923 having risen to some 40,000.⁵⁵ The Carfin Grotto (built by striking miners and modelled on the grotto of Lourdes), was formally dedicated in October 1922 at a ceremony attended by two thousand worshippers.⁵⁶ However, by 1924, the police announced that the procession was illegal and invoked the terms of the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829) to prevent it taking place on public roads.⁵⁷

Scottish Catholic reaction was swift and on many fronts. Scottish MPs were soon 'bombarded by representations on the subject.'⁵⁸ The matter was first raised in the House of Commons in July; a number of MPs proposed putting Catholics on a footing of civil and religious equality, while leaving undisturbed the provisions of the Act of Settlement and the Bill of Rights.⁵⁹ The steps taken to introduce the Bill reveal just how the Catholic Church in

⁵³ *CDS* (1878), 164 - 68

⁵⁴ Brian M. Walker (ed.), *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1918 - 92* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1992), 13 -15

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 13

⁵⁶ Thomas N. Taylor, *The Carfin Grotto: the first fifteen years* (London: CTS, 1938), 4

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 13 -14

⁵⁸ *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 176 (London: HMSO, 1924), 1303

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1303.

Scotland was able to network with English MPs through prominent laymen, as Mgr Thomas Taylor, longtime parish priest at Carfin, remembered:

Through a Knight of St Columba, a communication was sent to the late Captain F. N. Blundell, Grand Knight of the Ormskirk Council in Lancashire. The Member of Parliament for our North-west Division of Lanarkshire, in which lies Carfin, as well as other Labour members, were informed of what had taken place, with the result that early in August, 1924, the Catholic Relief Bill was introduced.⁶⁰

The Secretary of State for Scotland, in turn, also received objections from several Protestant organisations whose members threatened never again to vote for any Unionist MP who supported the Bill — the Orange Lodge at Pollockshaws, the Scottish Reformation Society, the Black Chapter of Scotland, the United Original Secession Presbytery of Glasgow (with the exception of the latter, all making threats of violence).⁶¹ This did not deter the Catholic lobby. The progress of the Bill was delayed by the fall of the Labour government, but it was re-introduced in March 1926 and received the Royal Assent the following December.

East of Scotland Catholics in local politics

A politician to his fingertips, Canon Edward Hannan took an active part in civic business as a member of the Edinburgh School Board and was not afraid to antagonise his archbishop over his support of Irish Home Rule and Charles Parnell.

One could argue that for all his Marxism and socialism, his condemnation of what he saw as the conservative attitudes of the papacy and of the Catholic hierarchy, James Connolly's idealism and command of rhetoric owed something to his early Catholic education and the interest in ontological values, the leadership skills and the notion of sacrifice in a just cause which he would have assimilated through his experience of mass at St Patrick's church in the Cowgate. Like Gorky, James Connolly's attitudes were also transformed by working in the heat and stress of a bakery and later by attending 'the public meeting held each Sunday in the East Meadows in the summer and in various halls during the winter.'⁶² Connolly's principal political mentor was John Leslie (as Connolly was, a former pupil of St Patrick's School), the first secretary of the Scottish Socialist Federation

⁶⁰ Taylor, *op. cit.*, 13 -14

⁶¹ NAS HH/1/775 Roman Catholic Relief Bill

⁶² Levenson, Samuel, *James Connolly; A Biography* (London: Martin Brian & O'Keeffe, 1993), 32

(founded 1888) and later Edinburgh secretary of Keir Hardie's Independent Labour Party (founded 1893). That same year Connolly was elected to Edinburgh town council as a Socialist candidate, but still sought to make use of the common experiences he had shared with the struggling Catholic Irish underclass as a way of winning their votes.

Undoubtedly, Connolly is the best known political figure to emerge from Edinburgh's Irish Catholic community. His relationship to Catholicism was complex: he 'never failed ... in his denunciation of the Church, to make clear he was a Catholic.'⁶³ A lifelong abstainer, he tried to 'abstract positive meanings from the corpus of Christian and more particularly Roman Catholic beliefs which were capable of pro-socialist interpretation.'⁶⁴ Yet he was baptised, schooled and married in the Catholic Church and received the last rites from a priest before his execution. Moreover, with respect to the roles of clergy and laity in the Church, Connolly's views were in many ways more in tune with the communitarian vision of the Second Vatican Council:

... they [clergy] have forgotten or ignored the fact that the laity are a part of the Church, and that therefore the right of rebellion against injustice so freely claimed by the Papacy and the Hierarchy is also the inalienable right of the laity.⁶⁵

Catholic councillors also made headway in other parts of eastern Scotland. In Dundee, the Liberal George O'Farrell was said to have been the first Catholic to be elected to the town council (1862). By the start of the twentieth century many Irish Catholic councillors had been elected, who would represent the Labour Party — such as Bernard McLaughlin (1925-30).⁶⁶

In Edinburgh, however, there was a history of Catholics siding with the Conservatives. Between 1876 and 1906, Yorkshireman Charles Cooper served as the first Catholic editor of *The Scotsman*, not afraid to show his profound distaste for the Edinburgh Irish community's championing of Parnell. St Giles and Holyrood were the most Catholic of Edinburgh's wards but some predominantly Catholic groups (such as the Irish National League) also supported the Conservatives, incurring James Connolly's scorn when he stood

⁶³ Desmond Ryan (ed.), *The Workers' Republic ...* (Dublin: At the Sign of the Three Candles, 1951), 61

⁶⁴ W. K. Anderson, *James Connolly and the Irish Left* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1994), 25

⁶⁵ Levenson, *op. cit.*, 181

⁶⁶ Richard Blake McCready, 'The Social and Political Impact of the Irish in Dundee c. 1845-1922', PhD thesis Sep 2002 University of Dundee, 57; William M. Walker, *Juteopolis, Dundee and its textile workers 1885-1923* (Edinburgh; Scottish Academic Press, 1979), 282

(unsuccessfully) as a candidate for the St Giles ward of the city in 1894. Six years later Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (born of Irish stock in the shadow of St Mary's Cathedral), a 'lapsed' Catholic stood (also unsuccessfully) as a Tory candidate for Edinburgh Central.

The 1920s saw the emergence of Catholic Progressive/Conservative councillors returned for solid moderate wards such as Broughton, Newington and Portobello — James Gorman, for example, in St Giles (1920-26) and Broughton (1927-36). Gorman became a bailie, a judge of police and convenor for cleaning, lighting and transport.⁶⁷ Chemist James Stone represented Portobello (1944-54), also becoming a bailie and convenor of a public health and hospital committees.⁶⁸ Another chemist, George Hedderwick represented St Giles (1949-54) and Newington (1955-70), also becoming a bailie and chairman of welfare, health and homes committees.⁶⁹ After the end of the Second World War, however, there were two prominent Catholic Labour councillors: Patrick Rogan (a former brick-layer) represented Holyrood (1954-73), becoming a bailie, a judge of police and chairman of the housing committee.⁷⁰ Railway driver Owen Hand also represented Holyrood (1962-75), becoming a bailie and a judge of police.⁷¹ What is surprising in Edinburgh is the early appearance of Catholic Conservative/Progressive sympathisers and councillors — something almost unheard of in the Labour-dominated west of Scotland, perhaps symptomatic of the tendency of Catholics in the east to identify themselves with the dominant Protestant establishment as a way of making Catholicism respectable or evidence of the underlying Liberal tradition in Edinburgh and the relative weakness of political parties of the Left.

The Stand against Communism

In the mid-1930s, at a time when right-wing Protestant activists were targeting the Catholic community in Edinburgh, foremost among the concerns of Archbishop Andrew J. McDonald was a crusade against Communism and Bolshevism.⁷² In October 1936, at a demonstration of Catholics in Liverpool, McDonald presented his case powerfully, declaring that 'Communism is directly opposed to all law, human and Divine ... Communism attempts to usurp the place of God ... it denies the existence of the soul and of a future life'; he went on to add that, in Russia, about six and a half million people were working in forced labour

⁶⁷ ECA SL134/3/1 James Gorman

⁶⁸ ECA SL134/3/1 James J. Stone

⁶⁹ ECA SL134/3/2 George Hedderwick

⁷⁰ ECA SL134/3/2 Patrick Rogan.

⁷¹ ECA SL134/3/2 Owen Hand.

⁷² SCA DE32/7 Abp A. J. McDonald: *ad clerum* — *Wickedness of Bolshevism*, 1935

camps while nearly 22 million members of the bourgeoisie had been liquidated.⁷³ Two years later, at a eucharistic congress in Blackpool, he castigated Nazism and Fascism — condemning the worship of ‘false gods such as Nationalism, Totalitarianism and diverse forms of materialism ...’⁷⁴ A year after the end of the Second World War, McDonald sprang to the defence of the Poles by attacking the Russians:

Most of them find it impossible to return at present to their own country, which under the tyrannous rule of Russia looks upon them as rebels ... The cause of the crucifixion of Poland is not far to seek. Uncompromisingly opposed to atheist Communism, the Poles have ever clung tenaciously to the Faith.⁷⁵

This brought the furious (but politically naïve) response from the Communist Old Red Clydesider, former Catholic Willie Gallacher MP, who told McDonald:

... you go out of your way to make the most vicious and scurrilous slanders on the Red Army and the Soviet Union, without producing one iota of proof ... You talk of ‘Mongol hordes’ coming into Europe and destroying our civilisation.⁷⁶

Inspired by McDonald, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists later went on to unseat Gallacher.⁷⁷ By 1949, the Russians’ treatment of the Poles (including the imprisonment of Hungarian Cardinal Mindszenty and the suspected use of the ‘truth drug’, Actedron), further outraged McDonald and his fellow bishops.⁷⁸ Catholics who supported Communism were to be excommunicated; Catholics in Scotland saw that what they needed was a ‘counterattack against Communism’:

It is clear that despite the recent drive by the Labour Party to oust Communists from the Unions and the other key posts which they occupy in the factories the real spearhead of the attack against Communism must be the organised body of Catholic workers, spreading positive Catholic Doctrine and Social Principles amongst the mass of the people ...⁷⁹

⁷³ SCA ED14/89/14 Abp A. J. McDonald [MS]: Address delivered in George’s Hall, Liverpool, 25 Oct 1936

⁷⁴ SCA ED/14/89/13 Abp A. J. McDonald MS: Address of G. [eneral?] E [ucharistic]. C [ongress], Blackpool, 6 Apr 1938

⁷⁵ SCA DE32/16/9 Abp A. J. McDonald: ad clerum, 23 Aug 1946

⁷⁶ SCA ED29/36/4 W. Gallacher to Abp A. J. McDonald, 24 Jan 1946

⁷⁷ Ross, op. cit., 53

⁷⁸ SCA DE32/18 Abp A. J. McDonald: ad clerum, 23 Jan 1949

⁷⁹ SCA DE23/16/10 Catholic Association of St Andrews and Edinburgh, nd

Immigrants

During and after the Second World War, the bishops assumed pastoral responsibility for foreign nationals from many European nations, whose needs they tried to meet as appropriately as possible — according to an apostolic constitution of Pius XII (1 August 1952), all foreigners, whether passing through (*peregrinus*) or newly-settled (*advena*) had the right to receive the sacraments.⁸⁰ Edinburgh attracted many such foreigners, especially tourists, refugees and students.

Each ethnic grouping had its own characteristic cultural structure. The Polish community in the East of Scotland, for example, consisted not only of present or former combatants, but had (in 1941) set up the Polish School of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh.⁸¹ At the end of the War, because of the British government's Soviet connections, widespread resentment began to emerge at the presence of Poles in Britain; at a meeting in Regensburg, Germany, the Allied authorities were determined to repatriate as many of the fiercely anti-Communist Poles as possible, while at the same time freely offering employment to other refugees such as men from the Baltic States, Ukrainians and Jews (the latter badly needed as building workers in Palestine):

Hire outsiders even Germans to replace essential Poles but fire Poles and get them home. UNRRA US Army Corps, workshops — care to fire all Poles and after in their places other static nationalities such as Ukrainians or Balts ... No more Polish woodcutters, they must go.⁸²

In Scotland, there also existed an 'irrational xenophobia' against Poles and their Catholicism.⁸³ The Free Church Presbytery of Dingwall and Tain, for example, issued a vigorous protest in October 1946 at what they suspected to be the intention of the British government to settle Polish nationals in Scotland; part of the Presbytery's objections was the high level of unemployment in the Highlands, but it also believed that the Catholic Church had been sympathetic to Fascism during the War and, more crucially, was convinced that the Vatican was promoting Polish settlement as a way of undermining the Protestant religion through 'peaceful penetration'.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ SCA DE68/1 Directive on spiritual care of emigrants, 1952-58

⁸¹ see W. Tomaszewski, *Fifty years of the Polish School of Medicine, the University of Edinburgh, 1941 - 1991* (Edinburgh: W. Tomaszewski, 1992)

⁸² SCA DE68/6/1 W. J. Holman to Team Director, 16 Oct [1946?]

⁸³ Tomasz Ziarski-Kernberg, 'The Polish Community in Scotland since 1945,' *Themes of Modern Polish History* (Glasgow: The Polish Social and Educational Society, 1992), 72

⁸⁴ SCA DE68/6/2 Resolution of Free Church Presbytery of Dingwall and Tain, 16 Oct 1946

After the Soviets had taken over Poland, many Poles refused to return home, preferring instead to settle in Scotland.⁸⁵ Although there were some attempts to integrate the Poles into Scottish society, the government also took steps to repatriate them forcibly. In 1946, around 1,600 Polish students were supported by the Polish Interim Treasury Committee (responsible for the ministries of the Polish government in London); however, British government policy was to prevent Poles from taking up UK vocational and technical training schemes; instead, Poles were to be trained under the auspices of the Polish Resettlement Corps.⁸⁶ At a heated Glasgow meeting in December 1946, attended by the archbishops of Glasgow and Edinburgh, Polish community representatives complained bitterly that the Labour Minister of Fuels and Mines, Emmanuel Shinwell, had refused to employ 3,000 Polish miners in the pits, claiming that their poor grasp of English would be a danger to their fellow-workers. Delegates at the Glasgow meeting also asserted that a number of other members of the Labour Cabinet were actively anti-Polish, an attitude they said was shared by the Communist leaders of many trade unions. Other speakers at the meeting reported that there were around 10,000 Poles still living in appalling conditions at four Scottish camps.⁸⁷ The reaction of the archbishops was that ‘the whole issue was not political but moral’; they proposed to discuss the matter with the English Catholic hierarchy and make representations to the Foreign Office and the Prime Minister.⁸⁸

Perhaps the most poignant example of the mistreatment of the Poles was the potent symbolic presence in Scotland of General Stanislaw Maczek, former commander of the 10th Armoured Cavalry Brigade, victor of important battles near Montbard and on the Burgundy Canal.⁸⁹ After the War, Maczek was ignominiously forced to make ends meet by working behind the cocktail bar of an Edinburgh hotel — unlike his British fellow-Generals, receiving no military pension from the government.⁹⁰ This was construed by Poles as a calculated insult to the Polish community, some of whom considered that Maczek would have made a first-class instructor at the Army Staff College, had he been offered the post. Apart from this isolated but high-profile instance of degrading treatment from the authorities, the Poles, as individuals were, on the whole, well received by the ordinary people of Scotland. Examples of physical violence against Poles were few, the worst being

⁸⁵ Ziarski-Kernberg, *op. cit.*, 67

⁸⁶ SCA DE68/6/4 Note concerning Technical Education for Polish students, 7 Dec 1946

⁸⁷ SCA DE68/6/6 Report of private meeting in Central Hotel, Glasgow, 12 Dec 1946

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ SCA DE68/6/2 Resolution of Free Church Presbytery of Dingwall and Tain, 16 Oct 1946

⁸⁹ Ziarski-Kernberg, *op. cit.*, 69-70

⁹⁰ Peter D. Stachura, 'Poland in the Twentieth century,' *Themes of Modern Polish History* (Glasgow: The Polish Social and Educational Society, 1992), 91

an incident at Irvine in September 1946, which involved servicemen from a local repatriation camp.⁹¹ Eventually, the employment of Poles was reluctantly accepted by British organised labour and the political terror in Poland and the Cold War in due course also reduced admiration for the Soviet Union.⁹²

At the 1951 Census, there were 10,603 Polish-born people in Scotland (9,113 men and 1,490 women): of these, 1,200 lived in Edinburgh (895 men and 305 women); Glasgow, had 1,164 Polish-born.⁹³ Because of the wartime importance of Edinburgh and its wide range of educational provision, a considerable number of professional soldiers and intellectuals settled there, founding community institutions aimed at preventing Polish traditions being swamped by Scottish culture.⁹⁴ Outside Edinburgh and Glasgow (in both of which Polish men outnumbered women by around 3 to 1), the reverse was the case. Very few Polish women lived outside these two cities and so most Poles married Scots women — such Scottish-Polish unions helping Poles to adjust to life in Scotland and to be accepted by Scots; many Poles even went so far as to stop taking part in organised Polish community activities.⁹⁵

It is to the credit of the Scottish Ukrainian community that they supported their Polish colleagues in the 1950s, when Poland was still in the grip of Communism. After a meeting in Edinburgh in 1953 to protest at the imprisonment of 1,000 Polish priests and 15 Polish bishops (including Ukrainian bishops and priests), Fr Matyczak, Ukrainian Catholic parish priest in Scotland, thanked Archbishop Gray:

We were glad to be able to be present with other people of our Faith at the Public Meeting of Protest organised by the Scottish-Polish Society, and listen to your impressive words ... We deeply sympathise with our Polish neighbours whose Bishops and Priests and whose Primate Cardinal Wyszyński have been imprisoned by the Polish Communist Government.⁹⁶

The Ukrainians (of whom there were some 30,000 in Britain) found sympathy from Scottish Catholics and also from the Church of Scotland. In 1964, Fr Matyczak, looking to buy premises for a church, described to Archbishop Gray the co-operation he had received from the Rev James W. Robertson of the Pilrig-Dalmeny Street Church of Scotland in Edinburgh: 'When I saw him yesterday morning he was good enough to introduce me to

⁹¹ Ziarski-Kernberg, *op. cit.*, 75

⁹² *Ibid.*, 76 - 77

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 79

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 79

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 81

⁹⁶ SCA DE68/2/1 Fr M. Matyczak to Abp G. J. Gray, 27 Nov 1953

some of his Church Elders who have expressed a genuine pleasure for having sold this property to our Community for religious purpose.⁹⁷

But there were also other significant Catholic national communities in Scotland. As late as 1957, there were several Hungarian refugee camps, as well as Hungarian settlements scattered all over the country.⁹⁸ In 1958, the French consulate in Edinburgh also reported that there were some 308 French nationals there, over 400 in Glasgow and an additional fifty French men and women who had settled in Scotland after marrying Scots.⁹⁹ Such ethnically diverse groupings brought a variety of devotional heritage which enriched the life of the Catholic community.

Sex and Marriage

By the mid-1930s, sexual ethics became a major concern for the bishops, especially scientific advances in birth-control and abortion. Speaking in January 1935 at the Usher Hall, Archbishop McDonald complained that the small numbers of Catholic women in the National Council of Women of Great Britain who had attempted to put forward the Church's condemnation of artificial methods of birth control had been easily out-voted:

Clinics are openly teaching loathsome lust in neo-onanism, dignified by the high-sounding title of Birth Control. Pseudo scientists and some medical practitioners are advocating the murder of the weak and unresisting in abortion.¹⁰⁰

By 1946, however, the concerns of the Catholic Church were taken on board by the Edinburgh Council of Social Service; in a policy proposal for an Edinburgh Marriage Guidance Council, it was suggested that the use of scientific contraception to assist married couples to regulate the spacing of their children should be a question of individual judgement for advisers, and workers in the Council should only recommend the use of scientific contraception in their individual capacity and on their own premises.¹⁰¹ In spite of similar moves to accommodate the Catholic Church, the hierarchy was still highly critical of doctors' clinical judgement, condemning the 'pagan attitude' of the medical profession.¹⁰² Not surprisingly, it was not until 1958 that the Church fully overcame its opposition and

⁹⁷ SCA DE68/26/1 Fr M. Matyczak to Abp G. J. Gray, 13 Jun 1964

⁹⁸ SCA DE68/1/10 Fr B. Vadkerti to Abp G. J. Gray, 15 Oct 1957

⁹⁹ SCA DE68/1/12 S. le Camus to Abp G. J. Gray, 23 Feb 1958

¹⁰⁰ SCA ED14/89/12 Abp A. J. McDonald MS, 16 Jan 1935

¹⁰¹ SCA DE145/2/3 A. Ashley: suggested policy for an Edinburgh Marriage Guidance Council on scientific contraception, 30 Mar 1946

¹⁰² SCA DE65/7 Religion and the doctor's exercising of clinical judgement, 1947

accepted the need for marriage counselling, finally establishing a Catholic marriage advisory service.¹⁰³

Youth Problems

In many respects, Catholics were as calvinist as their Protestant neighbours. Adolescence was seen by the bishops as exposing their flock to temptations and dangers of all kinds, 'occasions of sin.' It might be the problems of Catholic girls in service at the end of the nineteenth century or the pernicious effects of dance music in the 1920s, which Bishop Henry Grey Graham condemned as likely to increase the number of 'mixed marriages':

... the disgraceful style of some popular modern dances of which the Council [Fort Augustus Decree XXIV. 13] Fathers could have had no conception. And we would add, with tenfold greater reason do we condemn mixed dancing of Catholics and Protestants, no matter in what halls it may take place, and no matter how few the Protestants, as a fruitful source of mixed Marriages and other evils.¹⁰⁴

On the eve of the Second World War, Archbishop McDonald warned his priests that young Scottish Catholics were 'in grave danger of falling away from the Church' because of their ignorance of Catholic teaching and want of interest in religion; he laid the blame squarely on the shoulders of Catholic schools, from which children left 'imperfectly equipped to meet the dangers with which they are faced when they are launched into the world ...'¹⁰⁵ McDonald first planned to remedy the situation with a series of lectures given by the Catholic Evidence Guild, but, as the War progressed through April 1942, he became increasingly concerned that, in a land that was only nominally Christian, 'whose very indifference' was 'a grave menace to Christianity,' the government might take over control of the Catholic Youth Movement away from the Church.¹⁰⁶

Like many other institutions, the Scottish Catholic Church continued to be increasingly pessimistic about the decadence of youth culture, as evidenced by a report on youth problems in Edinburgh compiled in December 1942, which again highlighted dancing as a prime cause of moral degeneration:

¹⁰³ SCA DE145/7/10 Abp G. J. Gray to Dr J. Marshall, 19 Dec 1958

¹⁰⁴ SCA ED5/46/2 Bp G. Smith to Abp A. MacDonald, 25 Jul 1899; SCA ED10/45/1 Bp H. G. Graham: ad clerum, 10 Feb 1926

¹⁰⁵ SCA DE32/11/3 Abp A. J. McDonald to clergy, 14 Jun 1939:

¹⁰⁶ SCA DE35/17/3 Deanery of St Patrick: Report on Special Youth Conference, 29 Apr 1942

... thousands of our young people of twelve years and upwards parade the streets night after night — at dusk, in moonlight, even in pitch darkness — thus exposing themselves to inimical influences ... The streets at night, especially between 8 and 11 p.m are unsafe for young people. Girls are in danger from insolent men, and boys in danger from undesirable women. All see and hear things which may do incalculable harm e.g. rowdyism, bad language, intoxication, improper behaviour ... there is not one dancehall in the city fit to be patronised by young Catholics ... The present standard of dancing is very low; ‘jitterbugging’ is common in the rowdier halls ... the movements of the dancers are sensual and often degrading. This type of dancing is encouraged by the lighting effects ... and by the barbaric music ... From observation of crowded streets, picture house queues and packed dancehalls, it is obvious that most young people spend nearly all their leisure time outside the home.¹⁰⁷

The archdiocese did what it could to cope with social problems of every kind, mainly through the Catholic Enquiry Office. At the height of the war, the CEO with its Catholic social workers had oversight of wartime nurseries (with 360 children) and evacuated children (163); it conducted statistical surveys on young girls in streets, stations, dance halls and public parks, had girls in need referred (62), conducted family casework, provided an advisory clinic for mothers, a child guidance clinic, court and probation work, and dealt with unmarried mothers and adoption.¹⁰⁸ During and after the War, Catholic Boys clubs provided activities for teenagers while a Catholic Youth Adviser supplied the bishops with strategic advice.¹⁰⁹

Wars and Armies

In times of conflict, Catholics contributed their share to the war effort. As part of their duties, the bishops were called upon to meet the spiritual needs of Catholics serving in the armed forces. In 1894, for example, the adjutant of the Galloway Volunteers asked for a Catholic service in their camp near Hawick; four years later a service was held to celebrate the centenary of the Scottish Borderers (which included Catholic soldiers).¹¹⁰ At the time of the Boer War, moreover, care was taken that all children of Catholic servicemen killed or died in action, should first be referred to the archdiocesan authorities, before they were placed in any orphanage.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ SCA ED24/10/9 Report on Youth Problems, 1942

¹⁰⁸ SCA ED24/10/6 Catholic Enquiry Office: general surveys, 1 Jan 1942 - 31 Dec 1942

¹⁰⁹ SCA ED21/82 Report of Catholic Youth Adviser, 1 Dec 1951 - 29 Feb 1952

¹¹⁰ SCA ED5/26/1- 3 Bp W. Turner to Abp A. MacDonald, 7 May 1894; SCA ED5/29/4-5 Bp W. Turner to Abp A. MacDonald, 1898

¹¹¹ SCA ED6/120/1 R. D. Kerr to Bp J. Smith, 11 Mar 1900

In the early years of the First World War, the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles complained that all the young men of his diocese had gone to Flanders; in St Andrews and Edinburgh 516 men out of 9,132 serving (from a population of 71,205) had been lost by 1915.¹¹² As if to refute the anti-Catholic prejudice of Presbyterian commanders such as Field Marshall Earl Haig, Catholic priests threw themselves willingly into chaplaincy work.¹¹³ Among these was the aristocratic Fort Augustus monk, Englishman Fr John Lane-Fox: while the German members of his Benedictine community were interned, he joined the Irish Guards, earning the undying respect of members of his regiment, such as the Irish-born socialist writer, Patrick MacGill.¹¹⁴ In the conflict which followed he was awarded the Military Cross:

He is absolutely the idol of the regiment ... This is Father Lane-Fox, the chaplain of the London Irish, who joined in the famous charge of the battalion at Loos, absolving those who were shot as they fell and arriving in the German trenches with the foremost.¹¹⁵

Such was the dedication of many of the chaplains that they refused to abandon their men no matter the cost. In 1917, Fr Hugh Cameron, chaplain to the Lovat Scouts in Salonika, was appointed auxiliary bishop of Argyll and the Isles, but refused to accept the post: he was allowed to decline it only after he had argued his case at a personal interview with Pope Benedict XV in Rome.¹¹⁶

A generation later, during the Second World War, the Catholic Young Men's Society in Edinburgh's largest parish (St Patrick's, Cowgate) had 59 members in the armed forces.¹¹⁷ Writing to his priests, Archbishop McDonald took steps to prepare them for contributing to the war-effort:

... it is essential that the Catholic clergy should pull their weight in National services ... With a view to preparing the clergy for emergency and of rendering them competent to play their part efficaciously in any crisis that may arise, it has been arranged to have a special course of lectures for the clergy only.¹¹⁸

¹¹² Michael Snape, 'British Catholicism and the British Army in the First World War,' *RH*, vol. 26, No 2 (Oct 2002), 324; SCA ED12/20/3 Census [Jan 1916], 26 Feb 1916

¹¹³ Snape, op. cit., 329

¹¹⁴ Patrick MacGill, *The Great Push* (first publ. London: Herbert Jenkins, 1916. London: Caliban Books, 1984), 183-85

¹¹⁵ MacDonagh, Michael, *The Irish at the Front* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1916), 120

¹¹⁶ AA. EE. SS. 234: 124: Scozia (1917); *CDS* (1932), 327

¹¹⁷ SCA GD10/18 CYMS: St Patrick's Branch, Jan 1937 (revised Apr 1940)

¹¹⁸ SCA DE32/11/1 Abp A. J. McDonald to priests, 18 Jan 1939

War broadened the horizons of those priests who went as chaplains overseas. The future Bishop Kenneth Grant of Argyll and the Isles (1900-59) had served in the ranks with the Seaforth Highlanders during the First World War. At the outbreak of the Second World War, he joined the 4th Cameron Highlanders as chaplain to a brigade of the 51st Division.¹¹⁹ In 1940 he was captured at St Valery-en-Caux and took part in a forced march through France, Belgium and Holland. During five years of captivity in Bavarian prisoner-of-war camps, Fr Grant sustained his fellow-prisoners by importing a prefabricated church from Sweden and setting up an organisation known as the 'POW University', where the subjects taught included Gaelic. It was during these years of captivity that:

He learned what it is to suffer cold, hunger, terror, depression of spirits and even the temptation to despair. But in compensation he experienced also a knowledge of men at their best and at their worst; he knew the meaning of true comradeship, and the charity which is proved only in adversity ...¹²⁰

After the Second War, appalled at what they called 'the awful prospect of possible atomic war,' the Scottish bishops opposed the stock-piling of nuclear weapons, taking part (through the Catholic Truth Society) in public protests.¹²¹ But, in spite of their best efforts to condemn the hydrogen bomb, the bishops felt themselves ignored by the Press; Archbishop Gray complained that the media in Scotland were still not prepared to take the Catholic viewpoint seriously:

... I preached in the Cathedral yesterday and although a write up was sent to the Scotsman, it as usual ignored all reference ... I suppose it is the old story. The Catholic Church must not be allowed to give a lead. The Church of Scotland must always speak first in matters of national importance.¹²²

Literature

Although the bishops sometimes struggled to make their voice heard in public, the writings of Catholic authors had wider impact. Based permanently or fleetingly in Scotland at the beginning of the twentieth century, was a network of 'decadent' writers, most of them converts, many of them from south of the Border. Over them all hung the purple mantle of Oscar Wilde — André Raffalovich and his Edinburgh literary salon; his protégé, the poet Fr

¹¹⁹ *The Oban Times*, 12 Sep 1959

¹²⁰ *CDS* (1960), 326

¹²¹ SCA DE30/1 Bp J. Black to Abp G. J. Gray, 10 Mar 1955

¹²² SCA DE27/1 Abp G. J. Gray to Bp J. McGhee, 14 Mar 1955

John Gray (thought to have been the model for Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*); 'Frederick Baron Corvo' (John Rolfe, 1860-1913, author of the satirical novel, *Hadrian VII*); Ronald Firbank (1886-1926), briefly a member of the papal guard. The historian and future Abbot of Fort Augustus, Sir David Oswald Hunter Blair (a fellow-student of Wilde's at Oxford), provided a link between them all.¹²³ Like Gray (who, however, disapproved of Rolfe's extravagant literary style), Rolfe had been a student at the Scots College, Rome; unlike Gray, he was encouraged to leave, having caused the rector considerable embarrassment.¹²⁴ Gray, Raffalovich and Hunter Blair gave the Catholic Church cultural respectability; they lived sober religious lives that were, however, 'a peculiar blend of asceticism and aestheticism', concealing an intriguing undercurrent of sensuousness.¹²⁵

But it was what Archbishop Andrew Joseph McDonald referred to late in the 1940s as 'the great renaissance in Catholic literature and culture in the past twenty years,' which brought Catholic thought and culture most effectively into the public arena.¹²⁶ McDonald went on to add that 'After undergoing a prolonged period of difficulty struggle, and hardship, the Catholics of this country have at last won their way to that position where they can make a definite and very appreciable contribution to the moulding of public opinion in Britain.'¹²⁷ Leading this movement were a number of convert writers, including the novelist, Sir Compton Mackenzie (1883-1972) who, in 1931, was elected rector of Glasgow University on a Scottish Nationalist platform.¹²⁸ Mackenzie eventually became a 'grand old man of letters, and the sun king of Edinburgh society, holding court during the morning in a small four-poster bed.'¹²⁹ In their novels, Mackenzie and Bruce Marshall (1899-1987), both glorified and satirised the Scottish Catholic establishment, while A. J. Cronin (1896-1981) established himself as one of Britain's most powerful writers. Later converts included Moray McLaren (1901-71), George Scott-Moncrieff (1910-74), the novelists Tom Macdonald (*Fionn MacColla* 1906-75) and Muriel Spark, and the poet, George Mackay Brown (1921-96).¹³⁰ Providing a link between literature, art, the environment and religion was the itinerant artist

¹²³ Charles R. Cammell, *Heart of Scotland* (London: Robert Hale, 1956), 121; Ellis Hanson, *Decadence and Catholicism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 311 - 329

¹²⁴ SCA ED4/98/1 Fr J. Campbell to Abp W. Smith, 17 May 1890; SCA ED6/124/12 Fr J. Gray to Abp J. Smith, 17 Aug 1903; Hanson, op. cit., 329 - 345

¹²⁵ Hanson, op. cit., 328

¹²⁶ SCA DE162/21/1 Abp A. J. McDonald MS, nd

¹²⁷ SCA DE162/21/1 Abp A. J. McDonald MS, nd

¹²⁸ Stewart J. Brown, 'Presbyterians and Catholics in Scotland,' in Stewart J. Brown and George Newlands (eds.), *Scottish Christianity in the Modern World* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2002), 269

¹²⁹ Andro Linklater, *Compton Mackenzie A Life* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1987), 320

¹³⁰ Patrick Reilly, 'Catholics and Scottish Literature,' *IR*, vol. 29 (1978), 183-203

and historian, Peter F. Anson (1899-1975), a former Anglican monk, who followed a Catholic 'circuit' across Britain from cloister to cloister, writing and recording religious architecture and the life of fishing communities in pen and ink. Anson founded the Society of Marine Artists, co-founded the Apostleship of the Sea and was for some time curator of the Scottish Fisheries Museum in Anstruther.

Broadcasting

Immediately after the Second World War, the Catholic Church's role in broadcasting and the media was hotly debated. A potential conflict emerged in 1951 when it became clear that the BBC was trying to limit religious broadcasting to a (diluted) agreed syllabus, to what the Scottish Church's representative, Fr Agnellus Andrew, called a 'lowest common-denominator doctrinal position' in the defence of what (according to the Corporation) were 'Christian values.'¹³¹ Andrew, skilled in the machiavellian politics of broadcasting, detected an ulterior motive:

From the beginning our Catholic relations with the Religious Broadcasting of the BBC have been uneasy. The basic cause of this lies in the growing understanding of Protestants that Radio and Television were giving to us an easy and regular access to the minds and hearts of the people of the country ...¹³²

The following year, Andrew invited Archbishop Gray to serve on the BBC's Central Religious Advisory Committee.¹³³ In May 1953, Gray (who had considerable physical presence and a resonant bass voice of professional broadcasting standard) was invited to take part in a pre-Coronation radio morning service and, in the autumn, Andrew supervised the televising of a Mass from Edinburgh, the success of which came as a relief to the Archbishop, as he had had forebodings about broadcasting close-up shots of the central religious 'mystery': 'I had quite candidly felt a little scared of any televising of the Blessed Sacrament except at long range.'¹³⁴ A further initiative was taken in 1954, when Andrew suggested a sponsored Catholic television newsreel. Gray's spontaneously positive reaction revealed how aware he was of his responsibility for leading Catholics in a direction that would be relevant for the future: it 'would be ... a tremendous tonic to our Catholics,' he

¹³¹ SCA DE159/2/3 Fr A. Andrew: Catholics and the Policy of the BBC, reprinted from *CR*, Apr 1951

¹³² SCA DE159/17 Fr A. Andrew: A Note on Religious Broadcasting in the BBC (1962)

¹³³ SCA DE159/8/2 Fr A. Andrew to Abp G. J. Gray, 15 Jan 1952

¹³⁴ SCA DE160/7 Abp G. J. Gray: Scottish Home Service script — Pre-Coronation Morning Service, 31 May 1953; SCA DE159/8/10 Abp G. J. Gray to Fr A. Andrew, 8 Sep 1953

replied, 'and have a wonderful propaganda value throughout the country ... I should hate people in 20 years to say I had missed the boat.'¹³⁵

Publishing

In the 1880s, relations between the press and the Catholic Church in Scotland were generally good; in Edinburgh, Charles Cooper, first Catholic editor of *The Scotsman*, was anxious to make a favourable impression on Archbishop William Smith by publishing a review of a recent study of Latin and Greek verbs. Smith was a formidable scholar of Hebrew and Oriental languages with an international reputation and author of the highly-respected *The Book of Moses; or, The Pentateuch* (1868). He had recommended Gavin Hamilton's recently-published *The Latin of the Latins* (1886) to Cooper who promised:

When the Gavin Hamilton book reaches me it shall have the best attention which the best reviewer I can get can give it. I sincerely trust that it may be my happiness some day to make myself better known to you.¹³⁶

At the turn of the century, A. Riach, editor of *The Edinburgh Evening Dispatch* was equally ingratiating towards William Smith's successor, Archbishop James Smith:

I am especially obliged for the hints that you gave regarding contributions on Catholic subjects ... You can understand our desire is to be fair and just to all creeds ... I have communicated to the members of my staff the substance of your letter, and warned them against accepting any information about diocesan affairs unless it is either official or confirmed by substantial authority.¹³⁷

Later, difficulties did arise, not so much with the secular press, but with the proprietors of a number of Catholic newspapers, 'whose attitude,' complained the bishops, 'seemed to indicate a spirit of disloyalty and independence of ecclesiastical authority.'¹³⁸ One of the consequences of the fuel crisis during the Second World War was a restriction on Catholic newspapers: 'The banning of our Catholic press for the past two weeks is just another instance in point. Things have come to a sorry pass when a man like Mr. Shinwell can have the power not merely to ban the Catholic press from the category of newspapers to

¹³⁵ SCA DE159/9/5 Abp G. J. Gray to Fr A. Andrew, 9 Feb 1954

¹³⁶ SCA ED4/130/7 C. Cooper to Abp W. Smith, 1 Feb 1886; Gavin Hamilton, *The Latin of the Latins and the Greek of the Greeks* ... (Edinburgh, 1886)

¹³⁷ SCA ED6/129/20 A. Riach to Abp J. Smith, 17 Oct 1906

¹³⁸ SCA ED29/91 SCMB, 10 Jun 1936

the category of periodicals ... What was the reason for the ban? Was it saving of fuel?'¹³⁹ Two years after the Second World War, groups such as the Young Christian Workers still felt compelled to protest at the government's banning of religious newspapers.¹⁴⁰

In contrast, the post-war years saw a marked growth in Catholic historiography. Following in the footsteps of the antiquarian writings of the Third Marquess of Bute (who had bought *The Scottish Review* in 1886) and the reminiscences of Abbot Sir David Oswald Hunter Blair, the Scottish Catholic Historical Association was formed in 1949; its journal, *The Innes Review*, first appeared the following year; in 1951 Edinburgh University's School of Scottish Studies was founded by convert Calum Maclean, helping to integrate Catholicism further into Scottish culture.¹⁴¹ In the same period, however, the weekly Catholic press in Scotland (with some notable exceptions) largely languished (in the words of Owen Dudley Edwards) as 'a parochial adjunct of piety and Philistinism.'¹⁴²

Films

While literature and music reached thousands through the skill of the recording engineer, it was the moving image which intoxicated millions. The relationship between the Scottish Catholic Church and the cinema was often uneasy: 'These entertainments are in very many cases of an objectionable nature ...' the bishops decided in 1934; they agreed that 'it might become necessary to forbid the Clergy to frequent such shows, & to issue a warning to the laity as to their duty in the matter.'¹⁴³ Two years later, the bishops quickly set up a small committee (consisting of members of the clergy and lay men and women) to consider the implications of the encyclical *Vigilante cura* (1936).¹⁴⁴ One of Archbishop McDonald's favourite causes was a crusade for cleaner films.¹⁴⁵

While the bishops agonised over the morality of the medium, a subtle conquest of hearts and minds was already taking place, largely unrecognised by the hierarchy but fully appreciated by the ordinary Catholic in the pews. Banning films only applied to public (secular) showings; they did not affect private, parish-based screenings. Films from

¹³⁹ SCA DE162/28/5 Abp A. J. McDonald MS: Fuel Crisis re Banning of Catholic Press, nd

¹⁴⁰ SCA DE171/272 Young Christian Workers (Girls) of Scotland: protest at banning of religious newspapers by Government (1947)

¹⁴¹ Brown, op. cit., 273 - 274. I am also indebted to Br Paschal Downs of Pluscarden Abbey for much of this information.

¹⁴² Owen Dudley Edwards, 'The Catholic Press in Scotland since the Restoration of the Hierarchy,' *IR*, vol. 29 (1978), 182

¹⁴³ SCA ED29/91 SCMB: Attendance at Cinemas, 8 May 1934

¹⁴⁴ SCA ED29/91 SCMB: Films, 13 Oct 1936

¹⁴⁵ SCA DE162/21/1 Abp A. J. McDonald: crusade for cleaner films, nd

Hollywood fed the imagination of their eager audience and influenced their sensibilities. Gangster films such as *Little Caesar* (1930) with Edward G. Robinson, were 'haunted by ... a sensual religion of ritual, liturgy, and certainty, of priests, altar boys, celebrations, and incense ...'¹⁴⁶ But it was the clerical melodrama which had the greatest impact: Pat O'Brien playing Fr Jerry Connolly, a 'battling, two-fisted clergyman,' in *Angels with Dirty Faces* (1938); Spencer Tracy as Father Flanagan in *Boys Town* (1939); Bing Crosby as Fr Charles O'Malley (the best known of all the fictional priests), in *Going My Way* and *The Bells of St Mary's* (both 1945).¹⁴⁷ O'Brien, Spencer Tracy and Crosby made the 'Roman collar a powerful and positive icon, undermining anti-Catholicism at the very primitive level where prejudices are found, the level of memory, association, and emotion.'¹⁴⁸ The Second World War proved the effectiveness of the film as propaganda, both for the Axis leadership and for the Allies. The Scottish bishops increasingly became aware that the cinema was a two-edged sword: it had the potential for seducing audiences into doing things that were morally questionable but it could also be a powerful tool for communicating religious truth. By 1948, the success of the Edinburgh Festival had shown Archbishop McDonald that forbidding his clergy or his laity to go to the theatre or the cinema was neither practical nor wise; it was better to ride the whirlwind of the silver screen.¹⁴⁹

Conclusion

The advances made by the Catholic Church in Scotland during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries were built on the twin pillars of Irish migration and the conversion of a substantial proportion of the Scottish aristocracy. The replacement in 1878 of vicars apostolic by an episcopate set up a pastoral structure in the Scottish Catholic Church which was geared to the geography of fast-developing Catholic communities; it established an administration which was articulated to meet the changing needs of the people. This, coupled with the determined suppression of 'secret societies,' led in turn to better-structured, more stable communities which offered their members a wider and more effective range of spiritual and social mechanisms for improving themselves, socially as well as financially. The work of Canon Edward Hannan at St Patrick's, Edinburgh, in the late nineteenth century was exemplary: he organised and trained the largely indigent population of the Cowgate

¹⁴⁶ Les and Barbara Keyser, *Hollywood and the Catholic Church; the image of Roman Catholicism in American movies* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1984), 47

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 63

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 94 - 95

¹⁴⁹ Abp A. J. McDonald, 'Allocutio' *Synodus dioecesis Sancti Andree et Edinburgensis septima* (Edinburgh: privately published, 23 Nov 1948), 11

using a broad range of clubs and sodalities, both recreational and spiritual in purpose, aimed at raising the aspirations of the community. In such self-help organisations, wealthy and aristocratic Catholics (many of them converts) were consciously involved in the activities of the poor, offering the latter a degree of self-respect and new opportunities in joint ventures such as the Catholic Young Men's Society where social engineering combined with the patronage of prominent Catholics (for example, the CYMS president, advocate and landowner, Aeneas Macdonnell of Morar) and of non-Catholic civil administrators and entrepreneurs such as lord provost William Chambers, the eminent publisher.

Throughout the period 1878-1965 the bishops consciously supported the monarchy, sometimes in the face of opposition from their priests, many of whom were Irish. Yet, the case of Fr Edward Hannan reveals a more complex response to the host nation and its political structure. Whether it was over the sending of loyal addresses to Queen Victoria, ordering *Te deum*'s to be sung, playing 'Rule Britannia' on church bells or accepting invitations to Holyroodhouse, the migrant Irish in the East of Scotland largely acquiesced in the political conservatism of the bishops, reaching a *modus vivendi* where Irish culture could be celebrated without crossing the boundaries of legitimate dissent or spilling over into open conflict. Moreover, the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between Britain and the Vatican in 1914, helped legitimise British Catholicism and its adherents, strengthening their identification with the state.

The 1918 Education (Scotland) Act brought Catholic education into the state system, improving the facilities and staffing of Catholic schools, gradually providing the same resources and standards as other schools in Scotland and imposing the same educational targets. Although (in terms of university entrance), it took until 1945 for improved attainment to work its way through Catholic schools, the final result was a Catholic community that was more appropriately equipped to meet the challenges of the twentieth century and more able to hold its own in terms of academic achievement and job satisfaction.

The lifting of the additional burden of privately financing Catholic schools allowed the bishops to transfer their resources to meet other needs — among them the construction of churches and missionary activity. Underpinning the Scottish Catholic Church's struggle for survival, were the changes in financial control made necessary by a series of scandals (over the division of the Mitchell and the Menzies trusts) and later demanded by the 1917 revision of the code of canon law; new and specialised administrative councils took over the management of diocesan income and expenditure from cathedral chapters. This made the

Church, its dioceses and parishes, more secure and financially viable. Such changes also brought the Church into line with existing financial best practice in Scotland.

In the world wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45, the service and the sacrifice of Catholics from all over Scotland showed that they were as loyal to their country as any other denomination. Moreover, their long record of political activism to social and economic reform demonstrated a commitment to Scotland's future. The activities of Sinn Fein in Scotland in the early 1920s proved to offer no real threat, either to Scottish industrial or military installations (as the government first feared), nor to the local population.¹⁵⁰

The contribution of Scottish Catholics to the war effort was promoted by the bishops with lay men and women fighting in the armed forces and priests acting as military chaplains. Irish Home Rule in 1922 saw Catholics in Scotland increasingly desert the Liberal Party for Labour, although a minority (famously Sir Compton Mackenzie) became members of the Scottish National Party and others of the Conservative Party (Unionists or 'Progressives'). A number of the latter represented relatively affluent wards on Edinburgh Town Council.¹⁵¹ The open sore of Irish Home Rule largely healed, by 1945 Scottish Catholics were increasingly integrated into Scottish culture, though the partition of Ireland still left residual sectarian scars. New ethnic groupings, Italian, Polish, Ukrainian, were absorbed into the Catholic community; in the case of the Poles, after the 1945 Yalta agreement, the Scottish hierarchy had, for a time, the pro-Soviet sympathies of the British government to contend with. There were other changes: after 1945, the bishops moved from their militant, anti-materialist stance, showing a new sensitivity to the pressures affecting ordinary Catholics; these persuaded the hierarchy to adopt a more pastoral attitude to marriage guidance and birth-regulation and to abandon the rules governing attendance at the theatre and the cinema.

Having appropriated Abbotsford and the legacy of Sir Walter Scott for its purposes, from 1900 the Scottish Catholic Church participated in a resurgence of literature, music, historical research and the study of folklore. Catholic writers contributed to the culture of Scotland, both in what could be loosely defined as a school of 'decadence' in the early part of the twentieth century, and (in the 1930s, 40s and 50s) a more political school of historical criticism and satire in the novels of writers such as Bruce Marshall, Compton Mackenzie and Fionn MacColla. Building on the post-1870 writings of the Third Marquess of Bute and Abbot Sir David Oswald Hunter Blair, there was also a rebirth of Catholic historiography

¹⁵⁰ NAS 55/62 *Irish Disturbances (1920-24)*

¹⁵¹ James Gorman (1930s); James Stone (1940s); George Hedderwick (1950s); see also Bernard Aspinwall, 'The transatlantic Catholic conservatism of Colm Brogan,' *IR*, vol. 53, no. 2 (Autumn 2002), 201

with the formation of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association in 1949 and the appearance of its journal, *The Innes Review*, the following year.

After 1945, the Church's new commitment to radio and television broadcasting helped to connect Scottish Catholics with the powerful techniques of the broadcast media. Moving pictures, in spite of initial misgivings on the part of the hierarchy, helped to persuade the general public that there were positive values to be found in Catholic life and religion.

Between 1865 and 1955, in these many dimensions, Catholicism in Scotland, having clawed its way painfully from obscurity to reach status and public achievement, developed into a diverse, visible and thriving community. After 1955, Catholics in Scotland no longer felt themselves to be at the cultural or political margins: they had come through two world wars and were now fully engaged in helping to shape the nation.

8. FLING WIDE THE GATES 1955 - 1965

Introduction

For the Catholic Church worldwide the defining event in the period 1955-65 was the Second Vatican Council. On 28 October 1958 Cardinal Angelo Roncalli was elected Pope John XXIII; three months later he announced his intention of calling an ecumenical Council.¹ The announcement caught Catholics and the rest of the world by surprise. In Britain, it came at a time when, following a period of post-war austerity, institutional religion was in visible recovery: 'Traditional values of family, home and piety were suddenly back on the agenda.'² John XXIII, however, saw a world threatened by imminent self-destruction. He pointed to 'the terrifying actions of a great number of men' and warned that 'Their disordered cries fill the cities and the fields,' adding that 'we must always keep ourselves, against human betrayal, against diffusive weakness, against individual and collective infidelity to the most sacred laws of life.'³ The unexpected announcement of the Council came at a period when other visionary collective initiatives to counter global threats also appeared: on 1 January 1958, the European Common Market came into effect; on a wider, global stage, Premier Bulganin of the USSR called for greater East-West dialogue, while President Eisenhower of the USA urged the USSR to join in a ban on warfare in space.⁴ According to Pope John XXIII, the aims of the new Council were the internal renewal of the Church (*aggiornamento*), with the ultimate goal of Christian unity.⁵ As the Council's work unfolded, parallels were drawn (on 20 October 1964, for example) during the discussion on the schema on *The Church in the Modern World*) between the dynamic of the Council and *The Phenomenon of Man* (1955), the controversial but seminal book written by the palaeontologist and biologist Jesuit, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, with its messianic vision of the convergence of all creation (including the pilgrim People of God) as it strains towards the 'omega point.'⁶

¹ SCA DE411/5 John XXIII: *motu proprio*, 25 Jan 1959

² Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain* (London: Routledge, 2001), 172

³ SCA DE1/13/3 John XXIII: Easter message, 2 Apr 1961

⁴ Derrik Mercer (ed.), *Chronicle of the 20th Century* (London: Chronicle Communications, 1989), 810

⁵ Alain Woodrow, 'How Vatican II changed the Church 3,' *The Tablet*, 26 Oct 2002

⁶ Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *The Phenomenon of Man*, (first publ. by Editions du Seuil; English translation publ. by London: Collins, 1959), 257-60; see also Denis E. Hurley, *Eyewitness to Vatican II* [book-on-line] (Cape Town: The Southern Cross, 2001,

The Second Vatican Council's overarching theme of rebirth was acknowledged by Archbishop Gray in 1965, when he described the gynaecological symbolism of the Council: 'The Council opened on the Feast of the Motherhood of our Blessed Lady. It will close on the Feast of her Immaculate Conception.'⁷ Whether intended for *aggiornamento*, *ressourcement* (a return to sources) or *renouvement* (renewal), the announcement of the Council revealed a genuine effort at the heart of the Catholic Church to bring about a revolution in religious thought and practice by testing traditional values against the benchmarks of late twentieth century experience. The Council represented a stand against fragmentation and obsolescence and was intended to ensure the continued relevance of the Catholic Church. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the Church's liturgical life, where Judaeo-Christian simplicity overlaid by Latin was enmeshed in the obsequious body-language of the Byzantine imperial court. Boldly, the Council changed the Church's principal liturgical language to the vernacular (in Britain's case, modern English); the Scottish bishops, led by their new president, Archbishop Gordon Gray, welcomed the vernacular rite but took care to introduce its changes gradually, to allow ordinary Catholics to digest them more easily. The bishops implemented their programme of change, steering a course between those Catholics who were impatient for renewal (the 'zealots') and those others who could not bear the loss of the sonorous Latin incantation.

As has been shown in Chapter Six, harmonious relations between Catholics and other denominations in Scotland and ecumenical contacts of various kinds predated the Second Vatican Council. These early uncoordinated initiatives were supported by the hierarchy, but such first creative achievements were largely confined to the clergy and landed gentry. After the Council, ecumenism became more 'official', but still failed to touch the wider body of Catholics, often being confined to well-meaning social gatherings of ministers and priests which hesitated to step into the more contentious waters of theology and church history.

One of the principal challenges faced by the Second Vatican Council was to offer the laity a new sense of self-worth and a fresh understanding of their central role in the life of the Church, motivating them to see the Church as intimately bound up with their own lives — at a time when few of the clergy were prepared to share responsibility. The growing concern over sexual ethics, particularly birth control, led to a conflict between the dictates of the Church's teaching *magisterium* and existing pastoral practice. In the final analysis, the use of methods of birth control condemned by the Church came down to a question of

accessed 23 May 2003), Chapter 10; available from http://www.thesoutherncross.co.za/Vatican_II/chapter10htm

⁷ SCA DE31/17/3 Abp G. J. Gray: pastoral, 30 Nov 1965

individual conscience; as Archbishop Gray pointed out: 'Conscience has its own peculiar guide lines & a sincere acceptance of the dictates of conscience even if inculpably erroneous, is the final arbiter in the last assessment of subjective moral guilt.'⁸ Other concerns of the laity, such as the low wages and poor working conditions which existed all over Britain in the 1950s and 1960s, were also taken on board by the bishops. Moreover, Gray's ongoing initiative in sending a succession of his priests to evangelise parts of Nigeria in response to Pius XII's call in the encyclical *Fidei Donum* (1957), demonstrated that the developed world acknowledged its responsibility for the underdeveloped nations. The bishops now felt themselves confident enough to speak out beyond the confines of their own denomination, capitalising on the international media platform the Second Vatican Council provided. As the Council drew to a close, Gray saw its work as fulfilling John Henry Newman's conversion of hearts and minds over a century before: 'December the eighth [1965] must surely herald the advent of a new spring in the Catholic Church.'⁹

The Second Vatican Council

The initial reaction of some of the Scottish bishops to the business of the Council was outwardly co-operative but inwardly unengaged. Both Archbishop Gray and Archbishop Donald Campbell of Glasgow (the senior archbishop and also president of the Scottish episcopal conference) were asked to nominate representatives to sit on the ante-preparatory commission, whose remit was to invite *vota* (suggestions for the Council agenda) from the bishops and Church institutions; both said they could not think of anyone qualified for the work or who had enough free time.¹⁰ In spite of such diversionary tactics, Campbell found himself picked for the commission, in which he was later to make an active contribution (in November 1961) on matters such as non-Catholic observers. In a letter of 17 May 1959, on behalf of the new commission, Archbishop Pericle Felici called for responses, in which he asked for the *vota* to be returned by the beginning of the following August.¹¹ As well as the *vota* submitted by the bishops, Scotland's religious orders and congregations had the opportunity to submit their views through national representatives. According to Gray, however, Campbell neither consulted his fellow-bishops, nor reported back to them.¹² As a member of the preparatory commission in June 1962, Campbell made an intervention on the

⁸ SCA DE161/75/6 Abp G. J. Gray to Newman Association MS, nd

⁹ SCA DE31/17/3 Abp G. J. Gray: pastoral, 30 Nov 1965

¹⁰ SCA DE135/53/5 Abp G. J. Gray to Abp G. P. O'Hara, 19 Oct 1961

¹¹ SCA DE4/11/2 Abp P. Felici: Ante-preparatory Commission, 17 May 1959

¹² SCA DE163/97/2 Abp G. J. Gray: Autobiography MS, nd

system of Catholic schools in Scotland, which he somewhat complacently described as 'a practical solution ... which fully satisfies the needs of Catholics.'¹³

Among the Scottish bishops, Francis Walsh of Aberdeen, a former African missionary and a man of independent mind, was the first (27 August 1959) to send in his *vota*; it took the remainder of the hierarchy another nine months to reply — Gray (4 April 1960), followed by Archbishop Donald Campbell (Glasgow) two days later, with Bishop Joseph McGee (Galloway) and Bishop Hart (Dunkeld) writing on 18 April.¹⁴ Bishop James Black of Paisley (who was struggling with a heart condition) and Bishop James Scanlan of Motherwell were part of a joint English-Scottish submission (dated 11 April 1960 and headed by Cardinal William Godfrey), which asked for a clarification on a number of points, including the relationship between bishops and religious orders and possible revisions of the list of matrimonial impediments. They also called for a greater emphasis on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and insisted that the text of new Vatican decrees should, as a courtesy, first be sent to the bishops before they were published, and not immediately issued for general consumption, as had previously been the case.¹⁵ Casting a shadow over preparations was the death in late 1959 of Bishop Kenneth Grant of Argyll and the Isles; it was not until nine months later that he was succeeded by Bishop Stephen McGill.¹⁶

Gray apologised to Felici for the lateness of his response (mysteriously citing administrative complications), but these uncreditable delays on the part of most of the Scottish bishops have to be set in context, as there were some bishops who, even two years later, had still not replied.¹⁷ The Bishop of Wollongong in Australia, for example, took six months and six lines to say that he had very little to suggest.¹⁸ Nevertheless, some 1,998 (77%) of the 2,594 bishops who had been approached finally did submit 9,000 *vota*.¹⁹

Taken together, the *vota* of the Scottish hierarchy showed little consensus as to which topics were of greatest concern. Gray included suggestions on canon law, the eucharist, mass stipends, indulgences, administration, the advisability of returning parish priests to the status of curate after six years service and the release from their vows after ten years had passed from the date on which priests had left the priesthood; Campbell, to his credit, wanted

¹³ ADP vol. 2, pt 4, 145-46

¹⁴ ADA vol. 2, part 1, 3-5; SCA DE4/11/1 Bp F. Walsh: *vota* MS, 27 Aug 1959; ADA vol. 2, part 1, 31-35; 13-14; 12-13; 10-12

¹⁵ ADA vol. 2, pt 1, 47-48

¹⁶ CDS (1960), 324-28

¹⁷ SCA DE4/11/12 Abp G. P. O'Hara to Abp G. J. Gray, 25 Jun 1962

¹⁸ Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak (eds.), *History of Vatican II*, vol. 1 (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996), 99

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 99

guidance on how non-Catholics could be saved ('extra ecclesiam nulla est salus') and what attitude Catholics should take towards the World Council of Churches, Moral Rearmament and Church-State relations; McGee made a plea for a change in the age at which confirmation was administered.²⁰

Two bishops (McGee and Hart) each asked for the introduction of the vernacular; two bishops (Hart and Gray) raised the problems posed by marriage outside the Church and two (Campbell and McGee) asked questions on confirmation. Walsh highlighted the problems of indulgences, mass stipends and canon law. A graduate in English Literature, Gray asked for the Index of prohibited books to be revised. Campbell, however, showed a more traditional devotional orientation in pleading for the recitation of the rosary during mass to be retained in the diocese of Glasgow and in urging that the role of the Virgin Mary as co-redemptrix be emphasised.

Although the remit for compiling *vota* was open-ended, the Scottish bishops, lacking self-confidence, exercised a certain degree of self-censorship. Gray, moreover, had also intended to question nuclear weapon testing and stockpiling. However, he was advised against it by his canon law expert, Fr John Barry (rector of the diocesan seminary at Drygrange in the Borders), who pointed out that Pius XII had already made comprehensive statements on the matter.²¹ In the early winter of 1960, Barry received a letter from the Congregation for Seminaries asking him to start discussions among his students to help them better understand the work of the Council and its aims.²² Barry reported that his students had shown great interest in the Council and, encouraged by visiting expert speakers, had already held discussions and written essays on its proposed agenda — including the reunion of Christendom and the Ecumenical Movement.²³

In 1961, during the discussions held by the ante-preparatory commission, one Scot, Cardinal William T. Heard (1884-1973), also made significant contributions to the debate. An Edinburgh-born canon lawyer (although a priest of the Westminster diocese), Heard argued at length over procedural matters — the setting-up of the conciliar commissions, the methods of recording the discussions of the participants in the Council, voting in the Council and the role of non-Catholic observers.²⁴

²⁰ ADA vol. 2, part 1, 31-35; SCA DE4/16/1 Fr J. C. Barry to Abp G. J. Gray, 1 Apr 1960; SCA DE4/16/2 Fr J. C. Barry: *vota* MS [Latin], Mar 1960; ADA vol. 2, part 1, 13-14; 12-13; 10-12

²¹ SCA DE4/16/1 Fr J. C. Barry to Abp G. J. Gray, 1 Apr 1960

²² SCA DE135/12/14 Fr J. C. Barry to Abp G. J. Gray, 11 Dec 1960

²³ *Ibid.*; SCA DE135/12/14 Abp G. J. Gray to Card. G. Pizzardo, 30 Dec 1960

²⁴ ADP vol. 2, pt 1, 177-180; 212; 299-301; 484

By 1 May 1961, the pace of preparations had visibly increased. Felici wrote to every bishop asking for background documentation such as articles or books which recorded 'the most significant and important events ... in your territory in preparation for the Council.'²⁵ Towards the end of May, as part of the advance work undertaken by the Vatican Secretariat for Press, Cinema, Radio and Television, Gray was invited (along with other British bishops and Catholics working in ITV and the BBC), to a meeting at St Gabriel's, Hatch End, Middlesex — the Catholic Centre for Radio, Television and the Cinema — aimed at gathering ideas on how best to present the work of the forthcoming Council to the general public.²⁶

One outcome of the Hatch End meeting was that in July 1962 a Catholic Press Bureau was set up in Edinburgh staffed on a voluntary basis by members of the Guild of St Francis de Sales (who were also working journalists) led by Rennie McOwan — at that time a sub-editor on *The Edinburgh Evening News*.²⁷ That autumn, Gray appointed Fr John Symon as his media representative in the diocese and set up direct links with the American administrative centre in Rome, in order to receive Council news more quickly and accurately. This arrangement was intended to by-pass the Vatican Council press office which, complained Gray, 'treated the Media like children. It resented its presence and, when it eventually issued Press reports, they were inadequate, superficial and out of date.'²⁸

At the Vatican Council, Gray had planned to speak in the first debate on the Liturgy schema, but he was so ashamed of his schoolboy Latin that he could not face speaking in front of so many fluent Latinists; instead he submitted a written intervention.²⁹ In that first session especially, Gray strongly resented the use of Latin which he felt 'resulted in a succession of set speeches and the absence of any real dialogue. 'We were "preached at"... Without the opportunity of reply', he complained; 'although there was an attempt to provide simultaneous translation, the technicians were unable to confine the broadcast within the walls of the Vatican, and so it was abandoned.'³⁰ The Latin interventions, moreover, were 'often addressed at rapid speed and in local almost dialect pronunciation,' while outside the debates, Gray's ignorance of Italian also put him at a disadvantage and made him, like many other overseas bishops, resent the power of the Vatican *dicasteries* (departments).³¹

²⁵ SCA DE4/11/6 Mgr B. Torpigiani to Abp G. J. Gray, 1 May 1961

²⁶ SCA DE135/37/7 Bp G. Andrew to Abp G. J. Gray, 24 May 1961

²⁷ SCA DE157/6/1 Abp G. J. Gray to R. McOwan, 23 Jul 1962

²⁸ SCA DE163/97/1 Abp G. J. Gray: Early years in Episcopate MS, nd

²⁹ SCA DE163/97/2 Abp G. J. Gray: Autobiography MS, nd

³⁰ SCA DE163/98/1 Card G. J. Gray: Autobiography MS — Vatican Council 1962-63, nd

³¹ SCA DE163/98/3 Card G. J. Gray: Autobiography MS — Vatican Council 1962-63, nd

At the beginning of December 1962, the Council adjourned for eight months. Gray had recently become a member of the International Committee for English in the Liturgy (ICEL), one of whose principal functions was to translate the liturgy from Latin into English. Speaking to the Scottish press about Church unity, Gray predicted:

It is quite probable that in the next six months we will have a certain measure of vernacular in the instructional part of the Mass — up to, and including, the Creed ... In reforming the Church, the bishops have reformed themselves. They have become really catholic in their outlook.³²

Between the first and second sessions the bishops returned home to the routine of episcopal business.³³ Back in Scotland, there was considerable expectation that renewal of Church life would get under way immediately. However, the bishops were caught between the progressives (the 'zealots who had read those parts of the documentation that appealed to them') and their own policy of caution about introducing the changes; Gray, for example, believed caution would prove the right policy and re-iterated the mantra of the Scottish hierarchy 'Walk with Rome. Walk with the Holy Father. Neither ahead nor behind.'³⁴

One outcome of this policy was a warning letter sent out by Gray to his clergy, reminding them of the Holy Office's instruction on the Ecumenical Movement, namely that 'The Catholic Church does not take part in congresses and other conventions called "ecumenical".'³⁵ By March, Gray had begun to introduce some liturgical changes in keeping with the new, more generous spirit of Vatican Two and its recognition of advances in biblical scholarship: critically, the word *perfidis* (very treacherous/faithless), in the prayer of the Good Friday service ('for the conversion of the Jews'), was deleted.³⁶

The summer of 1963 was cataclysmic for the Scottish bishops. First, Pope John XXIII died on 3 June; then Pope Paul VI was elected on 21 June and the following day announced his intention of continuing the Council. On 22 July, Archbishop Campbell died suddenly while on pilgrimage to Lourdes; as the senior Scottish bishop, Gray immediately became president of the Bishops' Conference. On the same day, Gray's close friend, Bishop Frank Walsh of Aberdeen was finally forced by Roman disapproval to hand in his resignation over his unpopular (and potentially scandalous) championing of the convert wife of a Church of

³² SCA DE158/24/9 Tom Brown, *The Scottish Daily Express*, 'My Hopes for Church Unity' [early Dec 1962?]

³³ SCA DE163/98/1 Card G. J. Gray: Autobiography MS — Vatican Council, 1962-63

³⁴ SCA DE163/98/2 Card G. J. Gray: Autobiography MS — Vatican Council, nd

³⁵ SCA DE32/34/2 Abp G. J. Gray: ad clerum, Jan 1963

³⁶ SCA DE32/34/7 Abp G. J. Gray: ad clerum, Mar 1963

Scotland minister, to whom he had offered his personal protection (much against the advice of the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop O'Hara) and had engaged as his house-keeper.³⁷

At the end of September 1963, as he was once more setting off for Rome, Gray wrote to the superiors of convents, summing up the conciliar process through which the Catholic Church was passing, as one of personal rather than institutional renewal: 'The Church is turning a searchlight on the needs and problems of this twentieth century. But really you and I are the problems of the twentieth century!'³⁸ In Rome, along with the bishops of England and Wales and many others, the Scots bishops (anxious to avoid the sometimes excessive Marian devotion of previous generations), urged that the schema on the Blessed Virgin Mary should be integrated into the structure of *De Ecclesia* and not stand on its own — this was narrowly accepted by the Council Fathers.³⁹ At the beginning of November, Gray expressed his disquiet about a part of the same schema, which seemed to suggest that sanctity could only be achieved by those members of the laity who had taken religious vows.

Then, the Council, like the rest of the world, felt the shock-wave of the assassination of the American President, John F. Kennedy (22 November). Five days later, Gray celebrated mass in St Peter's, followed by an audience with the Pope for all the Scottish hierarchy.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the Scottish bishops continued to be circumspect. Writing on the schema for *De Oecumenismo*, Gray pointed out to the Council that Catholics in Scotland were 'a tiny flock in a land which was traditionally Protestant', but added that there had been increasing co-operation and understanding between denominations over the past few years.⁴¹ Early in December, he returned to Scotland, glad of a break from the heavy conciliar schedule.⁴²

The start of 1964 saw Gray broadcast on the BBC Scottish Home Service (19 January) in a programme entitled 'Fling wide the gates', transmitted during the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity. In Gray's script could be seen some of the first fruits of the Council:

We, as Catholics have perhaps been too much on our defence for a long time, and as a result, have been looking for faults among our separated brethren. And I think the converse is true. There's got to be

³⁷ SCA DE163/98/1 Card G. J. Gray: Autobiography MS — Vatican Council, 1962-63

³⁸ SCA DE32/35/6 Abp G. J. Gray to superiors of convents, 25 Sep 1963

³⁹ AS vol. 2, pt 3, 816 Abp John C. Heenan [including Scots bishops]; see also Hans Küng, tr. Edward Quinn, *On being a Christian* (Glasgow: William Collins & Sons & Co., 1978), 461

⁴⁰ SCA DE32/35/9 Abp G. J. Gray: ad clerum, 8 Dec 1963

⁴¹ AS vol. 2, pt 6, 188 Abp G. J. Gray: schemata of *De Oecumenismo*

⁴² SCA DE32/35/9 Abp G. J. Gray to clergy, 8 Dec 1963

an attitude of acknowledgement that we've all erred, at least in charity, and there's got to be an attempt at forgiveness.⁴³

Ten days later, the Scottish hierarchy was re-shuffled. Bishop James Scanlan (a close friend of Gray and formerly bishop of Dunkeld and then Motherwell), was translated to the vacant archbishopric of Glasgow.⁴⁴

In the middle of September, Gray (supported by the other Scots bishops) showed his awareness of pastoral issues: he wrote of his dissatisfaction with the wording of a section of *De Ecclesia* — Chapter Two ('The People of God'). Gray asked for the description of the role of priests in relation to lay people to be changed from 'forms and rules' to 'forms and shepherds', because the verb 'rules' suggested domination.⁴⁵ With the other British bishops and those of Australia, New Zealand and France, the Scots also put their names to an intervention on the 'Declaration on Human Liberty', adding that, in Britain, the right to religious liberty was guaranteed by the state.⁴⁶

As November came, Gray and his fellow-bishops felt the strain of long debates and discussions, but the Council had been a very effective exercise in team-building:

... It is no state, institutional Church that is portrayed, but the whole People of God bearing witness to Christ ... When we first met here in October of 1962, we were little more than a gathering of individuals ... Gradually, the vision broadened ... The assembly of individuals became imperceptibly welded into a corporate, united body ...⁴⁷

However, the atmosphere of re-examination was not risk-free. In a Vatican Radio broadcast, Gray warned Scottish Catholics that 'Aggiornamento is not without its dangers ... it is to be expected that new ideas should be voiced, new theories proposed, perhaps some false hopes raised ...'⁴⁸ In St Andrews and Edinburgh, an archdiocesan liturgical commission had just been set up; comprised of priests and laymen, the commission's remit was to give advice on the liturgical apostolate so dear to Gray's heart — for this purpose, a conference at Craiglockhart College, Edinburgh, was organised.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, the Council neared the end of the third session. On 21 November three key documents were issued: 'The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church' (*Lumen Gentium*), 'The Decree On the Catholic Churches of the Eastern Rite' (*Orientalium Ecclesiarum*) and

⁴³ SCA DE160/20 Abp G. J. Gray: script MS — *Fling Wide the Gates*, 1964

⁴⁴ SCA DE155/6/3 Abp G. J. Gray to Rev. J. R. Gray, 1 May 1964

⁴⁵ AS vol. 3, pt. 1, 717 Abp G. J. Gray

⁴⁶ AS vol. 3, pt 2, 569 Abp J. C. Heenan

⁴⁷ SCA DE160/21 Abp G. J. Gray: script MS, 10 Nov 1964

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ SCA DE32/39/9 Abp G. J. Gray: ad clerum, 15 Nov [1964]

'The Decree on Ecumenism' (*Unitatis Redintegratio*). Gray was beginning to feel the insistent pressure for change in his own diocese, but was determined to hold firmly onto the reins:

... Alrcady, I have had requests for permission to participate in non-Cath. Church services ... This is an age of questioning, of free speech ... But — in faith & morals, the Church must have the final word & make the final judgement.'⁵⁰

It was September 1965, before the Council reconvened. The effects of Council debates, such as those on the role of the laity, were felt in Scotland. During the Unity Octave, Archbishop Gray was invited to take part in a BBC television programme in which Esmond Wright interviewed two Scottish observers to the Council — Dr Allan McArthur and Rev William Baker.⁵¹ Gray was heavily involved in talks over the siting of churches in West Lothian's Livingston New Town, showing interest in the proposal for an ecumenical Livingston Churches' Centre, as a way of making Christianity more relevant in the context of the anonymity of urban renewal.⁵² Towards the end of February 1965, Gray began to prepare his people for the coming further liturgical changes to an existing innovation — the recently-introduced Latin 'dialogue' mass.⁵³

On 7 March 1965, Pope Paul celebrated mass in the vernacular (Italian), the first day that this change was permitted. On 10 June, came a gesture of reconciliation, this time towards the scientific world, as the Pope declared the astronomer Galileo Galilei to be rehabilitated. By September, Gray was dealing with another change: he was already paving the way for communion under both kinds (bread and wine) in Scotland.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, lay members of Gray's new liturgical commission were asking for guidance on their responsibilities.⁵⁵ And there were other signs of development: at Drygrange (the diocesan seminary in the Borders), a new wing was rising rapidly and the number of young men applying to train for the priesthood was increasing every year; nevertheless, funds were low, Gray complained, and his commitments to the 130,000 Catholics in the diocese, heavy.⁵⁶

The fourth session of the Council (14 September to 8 December 1965), saw Gray and his fellow bishops submit their final written intervention — on 'The Church in the Modern

⁵⁰ SCA DE161/75/5 Abp G. J. Gray: sermon MS, Feast of Immaculate Conception, nd

⁵¹ SCA DE159/20/7 Dr R. Falconer to Abp G. J. Gray, 26 Nov 1964:

⁵² SCA DE155/6/18 Abp G. J. Gray to Rev R. C. Mackie, 4 Feb 1965

⁵³ SCA DE31/17/1 Abp G. J. Gray: pastoral letter, 22 Feb 1965

⁵⁴ SCA DE32/39/1 Abp G. J. Gray: ad clerum, 8 Sep 1965

⁵⁵ SCA DE155/6/20 J. Home Robertson to Abp G. J. Gray, 11 Jul 1965

⁵⁶ SCA DE31/17/2 Abp G. J. Gray: pastoral letter, 13 Aug 1965

World.'⁵⁷ The Council came to a climax with another raft of key documents — decrees on 'The Pastoral Office of the Bishops,' (*Christus Dominus*), on 'The Renewal of Religious Life,' (*Perfectae Caritatis*), on 'Priestly Training' (*Optatam Totius*) and declarations on 'Christian Education' (*Gravissimum Educationis*), on 28 October 'The relation of the Church to non-Christian Religions' (*Nostrae Aetate*), a dogmatic constitution on 'Divine Revelation' (*Dei Verbum*); on 18 November a decree on 'The Apostolate of the Laity' (*Apostolicam Actuositatem*). On 6 December a long-awaited reform of the Curia was announced and then came a 'Declaration on Religious Freedom' (*Dignitatis Humanae*) and the 'Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World' (*Gaudium et Spes*), setting the ultimate goals for the implementation of the work of the Council.

Liturgy

At the heart of the work of the Second Vatican Council was a desire to involve the confessing community more actively in every aspect of the Church's life. Nowhere was this more evident than in the liturgy, where Catholics celebrated the cycle of the Church's year. An integral part of the Council's renewal was the use of the vernacular. While an English translation of the text of the mass had been available for some time for congregations to follow, up to the time of the Council the prayers of the mass itself were still recited in Latin. As late as 1947, Pius XII had discouraged the use of the vernacular for the eucharist, preferring instead the awe-inspiring *lingua franca* of Latin, whose linguistic structure, he believed, enshrined doctrinal orthodoxy.⁵⁸ Those rank and file Catholics who knew no Latin, were encouraged to engage in simultaneous private prayer; hence, the mass too often tended to become a distant, arcane ritual performed by the priest, separated by a virtual rood screen of Latin behind which, *ex opere operato*, the sacred mysteries automatically ran their efficacious course, shrouded in a fog of unknowing.

With the Second Vatican Council came a dramatic reversal. In a press release of 4 September 1964, following the 'Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy,' the Scottish bishops announced that, from the first Sunday of October, the epistle and gospel at 'low' (those with less ceremonial) masses would be read in English on Sundays and Holydays of Obligation, and would also be extensively permitted in the administration of sacraments and sacramentals (eg the use of holy water); the bishops hoped that through the use of English 'the faithful will participate more and more intimately in the celebration of Holy Mass.'⁵⁹

⁵⁷ AS vol. 4, pt 2, 901

⁵⁸ Pius XII, *Mediator Dei* (On the Sacred Liturgy), sect. 59-60, 20 Nov 1947

⁵⁹ SCA DE135/90/5 Bp S. McGill: press release, 4 Sep 1964

This was later followed by the 'dialogue mass' where priest and congregation were given some limited opportunities to share in the recitation of the text (but still always in Latin). As Gray later explained, 'it was recognised that the congregation present at Mass was not an audience, but a praying community.'⁶⁰

Many of the 'novel liturgical practices' once condemned by Pius XII's encyclical on the Liturgy, *Mediator Dei* (1947) were subsequently approved by Vatican Two.⁶¹ The old Tridentine form of the mass was replaced by the new rite (which included the use of the vernacular); those who could not adapt easily to the changes (pointed out Gray), perhaps saw Lutheran iconoclasm; they missed the 'air of mystery ... [the] remote ceremonial and soft, distant chant, and murmur of Latin, [which] created an atmosphere of prayerful peace & solemn silence.'⁶² In Gray's opinion, it was principally the noise of the new rite, with its loud-speakers and communal singing which offended; speaking of a very dear friend of his who resented the liturgical changes, Gray, recalled that '[I] gave him an old Tridentine Missal & ear plugs and he is happy.'⁶³

The first unwieldy suggestions for compromise were gently brushed aside. In March 1961 two pious ladies, alarmed by what they saw as a general lack of understanding by Catholics, asked permission to have a second priest recite the mass in English while the celebrant did so in Latin. Gray pointed out that this was not permitted by the current regulations, but added that 'A great many Bishops are hoping that the coming General Council may allow a greater use of the vernacular in public services.'⁶⁴ By March 1965, the introduction of English was being welcomed by Catholics, even converts, one of whom wrote to Archbishop Gray that 'I became a Catholic in 1925 & the feeling has never left me that I was not fully taking part in the Mass. Now the English text gives me understanding & co-operation.'⁶⁵ With relief Gray commented to the Bishop of Galloway: 'I have found the same reactions to the vernacular Mass here in the Archdiocese that you have found in Galloway. With a few if any exceptions the people are delighted.'⁶⁶

Among the earliest concerted attempts to replace Latin in the liturgy was a campaign by the Vernacular Society of Great Britain. Originally known as the English Liturgy Society, it was founded in 1943 to promote the use of the vernacular in the liturgical worship of the

⁶⁰ SCA DE161/7/3 Abp G. J. Gray: New Rite of Mass [talk] MS, nd

⁶¹ Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, sect. 59, 20 Nov 1947

⁶² SCA DE161/7/3 Abp G. J. Gray: New Rite of Mass, MS, nd

⁶³ SCA DE161/7/2/2 Abp G. J. Gray: Notes on objections to the new rite of Mass, nd

⁶⁴ SCA DE135/22/5 Abp G. J. Gray to Misses H. Bain and L. Christie, 3 Mar 1961

⁶⁵ SCA DE170/120 Mrs N. Cairney to Abp G. J. Gray, 21 Jan 1965

⁶⁶ SCA 1965 DE27/4/11 Abp G.J. Gray to Bp J. McGee, 17 Feb 1965

Catholic Church in Britain.⁶⁷ In the eyes of the Society (which also made a submission to the Council's preparatory commission), the retention of Latin was merely 'a means of consoling an older generation which could not easily accept change.'⁶⁸ By 1965, Gray was chairman of the Episcopal Committee of ICEL, which represented the episcopal conferences of ten English-speaking countries.⁶⁹ Not only was English in the liturgy promoted in Scotland, but other indigenous languages were encouraged as well, with a 'Gaelic Mass' produced by the Church Music Committee of Argyle and the Isles, which numbered the international concert tenor, Canon Sydney MacEwan, among its members.⁷⁰ Bishop McGill enthused to his clergy: 'I know that the congregations in the isles are singing the 'Gaelic Mass'' and I am delighted to hear it. I should be pleased if you could enlist the aid of your parochial choirs to encourage congregational singing. More and more I should like all the congregation to sing.'⁷¹ This was not the first Gaelic version of the mass: Fr Allan McDonald had used Gaelic in children's masses at Dalibrog, South Uist in 1885 and published a Gaelic metrical paraphrase of the mass, along with several hymns in 1889.⁷²

But there were those who found the new dispensation hard to accept. In 1965, a Scottish branch of *Una Voce* (the international association for the preservation of Latin in the liturgy) was established in Edinburgh; two of its activists in St Andrews wrote to Archbishop Gray of their distress at no longer being able to 'participate wholeheartedly' in the Mass now that it was in English and they begged him to instruct his clergy to provide at least one Latin Mass on every holiday of obligation.⁷³ The two correspondents accepted the use of English in the Mass except for the reception of communion and absolution, whose sacred character, they believed, demanded the use of Latin; they explained that the majority of *Una Voce* members foresaw the possible break-up of Catholic unity and universality — 'Some of us have already experienced the sense of no longer being *civis mundi* in churches abroad.'⁷⁴ When Gray enquired as to the size of *Una Voce*'s membership, he was told that there were 27 members in his archdiocese and another 32 (or 50%) of students at St Andrews

⁶⁷ SCA DE20/19/8 Memorandum submitted by The Vernacular Society of Great Britain, 27 Sep 1961

⁶⁸ SCA DE154/63 The Vernacular Society of Great Britain: *Newsletter*, No 38, May 1965

⁶⁹ SCA DE152/20/3 Abp G. J. Gray to R. P. A. Bugnini, 18 Nov 1965

⁷⁰ SCA DE33/18/7 Bp S. McGill: ad clerum, 11 Feb 1965

⁷¹ SCA DE33/18/7 Bp S. McGill: ad clerum, 17 Mar 1965

⁷² John L. Campbell, 'The Sources of the Gaelic Hymnal, 1893,' *IR*, vol. 7 (1956), 101-111

⁷³ SCA DE154/65/1 M. G. C. Neilson and M. Vaughan to Abp G. J. Gray, 5 Nov 1965

⁷⁴ SCA DE154/65/2 M. G. C. Neilson and M. Vaughan to Fr P. Grady, 12 Nov 1965

University.⁷⁵ In spite of this lack of numbers, Gray decided to meet the *Una Voce* demands as far as he could, recognising that change was invariably painful.⁷⁶

One of the key instruments for the introduction of the vernacular was a new Roman Missal which appeared in 1961; as well as a translation of the Mass into English, it also incorporated the recent reforms in the *rubrics* — there were changes in blessings and incensings and a reduction in bows, genuflections and the use of bells.⁷⁷ For the prayers of the faithful, recited after the sermon, Archbishop Gray wrote his own translation, which had already been tried out on large congregations of clergy and laity — the former were ‘pleased,’ the latter ‘thrilled.’⁷⁸

From 1961, Gray had been aware that ‘a version of the Scriptures acceptable to Catholics and Protestants alike could be of immense value’ both for conversions and for Christian unity.⁷⁹ Detailed preparations for a Catholic edition of the *Revised Standard Version* emerged in 1963, with the intention that Gray would provide an *imprimatur* (permission to publish).⁸⁰ Scrupulous to the last, Gray was anxious to cover himself from the accusation of doctrinal error by obtaining approval from the Holy Office and including a preface written by the apostolic delegate.⁸¹

In the autumn of 1963, the University of St Andrews held a conference on pastoral liturgy which included contributions from Dominican Fr Laurence Bright on ‘The Church as the People of God’ and Fr Jock Dalrymple (then a professor at the diocesan seminary, Drygrange) on ‘Liturgy and Salvation.’⁸²

By September 1964 Gray had set up an archdiocesan liturgical commission and a commission on sacred music, which included his charismatic Cathedral choirmaster, the composer, the late Arthur Oldham (also chorusmaster of the Edinburgh Festival Chorus and the Scottish Opera chorus).⁸³ Other dioceses, such as Argyll and the Isles, were also establishing bodies for liturgy and music.⁸⁴ By the following year, a national liturgical

⁷⁵ SCA DE154/65/3 M. G. C. Neilson and M. Vaughan to Abp G. J. Gray, 12 Jan 1966

⁷⁶ SCA DE158/26 Abp G. J. Gray: pastoral on the Latin Mass, nd

⁷⁷ SCA DE154/35/1 Principal changes in the rubrics of the missal [1962]

⁷⁸ SCA DE22/1/8 Abp G. J. Gray to bishops, 9 Dec 1964; SCA DE152/1/7 Abp G. J. Gray to Prof. H. P. R. Finberg, 9 Dec 1964

⁷⁹ SCA DE156/18/6 Abp G. J. Gray: Imprimatur MS [nd 1961?]

⁸⁰ SCA DE156/20/9 Fr J. C. Barry to Abp G. J. Gray, 28 Nov 1963

⁸¹ SCA DE156/21/14 Abp G. J. Gray to Rev R. C. Fuller, 10 Feb 1964; SCA DE156/23/5 Abp G. J. Gray to Rev R. A. F. MacKenzie, 18 Mar 1965

⁸² SCA DE153/1/1 Conference of Pastoral Liturgy, University of St Andrews, 3 - 5 Sep 1963

⁸³ SCA DE151/1 Liturgy: inauguration and membership of Archdiocesan Liturgy Commission, 1964; see also Arthur Oldham, *Living with Voices* (no place of publication given: Thames Publishing, 2000), 43-45

⁸⁴ SCA DE27/4/10 Abp G. J. Gray to Bp J. McGee, 10 Sep 1964

commission offered guidance on the use of liturgical texts and music.⁸⁵ In 1965, Gray also served as vice-president of the non-denominational Church Music Association.⁸⁶

Gray continued to be innately cautious about implementing the liturgical changes too quickly.⁸⁷ On the one hand, he told his clergy that while there was tremendous scope for experimentation, there should be no blanket changes — each parish should only make the changes which were appropriate to their own local needs: ‘What suits one locality does not necessarily suit another.’⁸⁸ To the lay intellectuals of the Newman Association there was a slightly different message: Gray warned them that ‘Renewal is not without its dangers. It can easily develop into the cult of novelty.’⁸⁹

Following the Second Vatican Council, bishops faced the risk of well-intentioned iconoclasm. Principal among these was the need to change the orientation of the priest and the altar. While priests now faced the people, instead of turning their backs to them, the stylistic architectural integrity of churches could be damaged by a rush to insensitive physical alteration. Early in 1965, Bishop McGill of Argyll and the Isles, alarmed at unintentional vandalism, wrote to his priests:

Now that the Liturgy of the Word according to the new *Ordo Missae* takes place away from the altar the feeling is growing that it is less necessary to have altars facing the people. So please don't think it is necessary to change your altar overnight.⁹⁰

Neither Gray, however, nor many of his people were ready for the introduction of modern liturgical art. While the archdiocesan liturgical experts (such as Fr Walter Glancy of St Peter's, Morningside) had approved an avant-garde set of Stations of the Cross by sculptor Fred Carson for the walls of St Gabriel's Church, Prestonpans, Gray (conservative in his artistic taste) hesitated; he showed colour photographs of the proposed work to eighty Catholics (including his fellow-bishops), only five of whom approved.⁹¹

This first design was rejected as being too stylistically barbaric, and Carson was asked to re-submit a second design. This, more figurative ceramic relief was eventually accepted, along with its eucharistic symbolism.⁹² More problematic were the well-

⁸⁵ SCA DE151/8/1 Recommendations of National Liturgy Commission, 9 Mar 1965

⁸⁶ SCA DE171/102/1 Rev W. Purney to Abp G. J. Gray, 21 Feb 1965

⁸⁷ SCA DE160/19/1 Abp G. J. Gray: BBC TV script MS — *Meeting Point From Rome* 1964, 22 Jan 1964

⁸⁸ SCA DE35/22/3 Abp G. J. Gray to Fr J. A. McMahon, 8 Jun 1964

⁸⁹ SCA DE161/75/6 Abp G. J. Gray to Newman Association MS, nd

⁹⁰ SCA DE33/18/8 Bp S. McGill: ad clerum, 7 Apr 1965

⁹¹ SCA DE39/29/3 Abp G. J. Gray to Fr W. Glancy, 14 May 1965

⁹² Telephone conversation with Fred Carson, 31 Mar 2003

intentioned architectural reforms made at St Peter's by Fr Glancy. Born in New Jersey, USA, educated at Cambridge University, Glancy, a member of Edinburgh Town Council's Education Committee, initiated a series of changes at St Peter's in response to the Second Vatican Council, some of which caused dismay among some members of his congregation. In 1963, during a first stage of transformation of the sanctuary, the massive painting of 'The Confession of St Peter' by Sir Frank Brangwyn (1867-1956) was removed from behind the altar and re-hung at the back of the church; the large crucifix which had hung over the sanctuary took its place, so re-ordering the original arrangement commissioned by Canon John Gray and André Raffalovich.⁹³

Ecumenism

With the 'Decree on Ecumenism' (*Unitatis redintegratio*) issued on 21 November 1964, the Catholic Church set itself a target and a challenge — the restoration of unity among all Christians.⁹⁴ Ecumenism was not a new phenomenon, but it had not always been officially approved by the Catholic Church. In 1864 Rome had condemned the Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity (founded in 1857 by F. G. Lee and Bishop Forbes of Brechin on the Anglican/Episcopal side, and by A. De Lisle and A. W. Pugin on the Catholic side).⁹⁵ Fr James Quinn (later to be a consultor on the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, 1968-73), believed that Rome had misjudged the APCU, 'perhaps because of a misunderstanding of its theological basis, which seemed to suggest the "branch theory" of the Church' — the notion that Christianity was fragmented and had to be pieced together from its broken parts.⁹⁶

During the Second Vatican Council, Archbishop Gray came to believe that ecumenism meant more than a search for a lowest common denominator.⁹⁷ This positive understanding of ecumenism could also be seen in post-war Edinburgh, where contacts between Catholics and Protestants were facilitated by former Church of Scotland minister, Ronnie Walls, who (along with his wife and family) had become a Catholic in 1948. In 1957, Fr Jock Dalrymple (then an assistant priest at St Mary's Cathedral) and Dr Ronald

⁹³ Patricia Napier, *St Peter's, Falcon Avenue* (Open University project, 1975)

⁹⁴ Austin Flannery (ed.), *Vatican Council II, The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents* (Newport: Costello Publishing Company, first publ. 1975; rev. edition 1988), 452

⁹⁵ SCA DE161/102 Fr J. Quinn: Ecumenism and Scottish Catholics MS, nd (post 1967)

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* For a survey of Ecumenism in Scotland see James Quinn, *Ecumenism and Scottish Catholics*, IR, vol. 33 (1982), 204-210

⁹⁷ SCA DE4/24 Card. G. J. Gray, 'Vatican II — start of a revolution,' *Life and Work* (1972?), 24

Selby Wright, minister of the Canongate Kirk, were searching for ways to start informal meetings between clergy of both denominations over joint pastoral concerns.⁹⁸ Fr Quinn and Fr Lawrence Glancey, the Rev Roddie Smith (brother-in-law of Ronnie Walls) and the Rev Campbell MacLean (also a relative of Walls by marriage) first met in 1958 at the Walls' home in Edinburgh.⁹⁹ In the same year, Fr Hugh Gordon, parish priest of St Andrews, brought up the eminent theologian, Fr Bernard Leeming from Heythrop College, Oxford, to meet with ministers of the Church of Scotland. 'The ministers I met were very friendly,' Leeming reported to Archbishop Gray, 'and I really think that there is hope in working through them ... I do think we ought to make an effort to spread ideas among the group.'¹⁰⁰ Later, at the 1960 Faith and Order Conference at St Andrews, Mgr (later Cardinal) Johannes Willebrands, executive secretary to the newly-constituted Secretariat for Christian Unity (then preparing for the coming ecumenical Council in Rome), accompanied three theologians acting as Catholic observers to the conference.¹⁰¹ Other initiatives followed — in April 1961 the annual conference of major religious superiors entertained a large number of Presbyterian ministers at Craiglockhart Convent, Edinburgh, an event which included a talk by Fr Leeming on ecumenical theology within the context of Catholic ecclesiology.¹⁰² T

hat year also, the first ecumenical course for laity was launched by the Grail at Bonnington House, Edinburgh, while the White Fathers of St Columba's College, Newton St Boswells, were invited by the New College Missionary Society to provide a speaker on 'The attitude of Catholics confronted with Islam in North Africa' — a request Gray welcomed, explaining to the NCMS that '[we] are being asked quite a lot to provide speakers for various Church of Scotland groups, and I am sure a talk on your missionary work will be an inspiration to the students of New College.'¹⁰³

It was at this time that Mgr Willebrands corresponded with the Rev Archie Craig over a proposed visit by him to the Pope.¹⁰⁴ Early in the winter of 1961, rumours in the press began to circulate that Craig, Moderator of the General Assembly, was to receive an invitation to meet the Pope during his visit to preach at the centenary celebrations of St

⁹⁸ Walls, *op. cit.*, 244

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 245

¹⁰⁰ SCA DE155/1/3 Fr B. Leeming to Abp G. J. Gray, 5 Feb 1958

¹⁰¹ SCA DE155/1/4 Fr J. Hamer to Abp G. J. Gray, 25 Jul 1960; Letter to author from P. Nelson, 30 Apr 2003

¹⁰² Walls, *op. cit.*, 246-47

¹⁰³ SCA DE135/57/24 Fr T. Stoker to Abp G. J. Gray, 7 Nov 1961; SCA DE135/57/24 Abp G. J. Gray to Fr T. Stoker, 10 Nov 1961

¹⁰⁴ SCA DE155/2 Rev A. Craig: correspondence over meeting with John XXIII, 1961-62

Andrew's Church, the Scots Kirk in Rome.¹⁰⁵ Gray was confident that Pope John would be very happy to welcome Craig, but advised that the first move would have to come from the Church of Scotland (which had evidently already consulted its synod committees on the matter).¹⁰⁶ The outcome was a highly productive personal meeting between Craig and Pope John on 28 March 1962 which not only broke new ground but strengthened the case for having Protestant observers at the Vatican Council.¹⁰⁷

Dr Craig's visit to Rome followed a third annual ecumenical meeting in January (the previous ones at Craiglockhart and Craighead) with Presbyterian ministers during Church Unity Octave. It was organised by the Abbot of Nunraw, Dom Columba Mulcachy, who sent invitations to the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Weymss and Sir Bernard Fergusson (soon to be governor-general of New Zealand).¹⁰⁸ While Archbishop Gray was invited, he declined, saying that 'If I am present the meeting becomes at least semi-official, and at this stage I am convinced that these inter-Church meetings should be as informal as possible.'¹⁰⁹ Gray, however, recommended that the Marquess of Lothian and Major Home Robertson of Paxton be invited.

In West Lothian, meanwhile, where the new town of Livingston was being developed, church leaders deliberated about how best to carry out their ministry. Episcopal Bishop Kenneth M. Carey asked Gray 'whether it would be at all possible to build one large central Church with Chapels available for each of the denominations?'¹¹⁰ Gray was not keen on a 'super-church', preferring instead the idea of three or four churches for the 15,000 Catholics expected in a Glasgow over-spill; he did, however, show some enthusiasm for Carey's suggestion of an ecumenical youth centre.¹¹¹ What did finally emerge for Livingston (developing out of discussions held earlier at the September 1963 Faith and Order conference) was a committee of the Churches of Livingston New Town on which Frs Quinn and Dalrymple were the Catholic representatives.¹¹²

In a BBC television interview made in Rome and broadcast on 22 January 1964, Gray (contributing along with Cardinal Franz Koenig, the Bishop of Sydney, the Archbishop of Westminster and the American theologian Robert MacAfee Brown), defined ecumenism as a 'spiritual bridge,' adding:

¹⁰⁵ SCA DE135/53/5 Abp G. J. Gray to Abp G. P. O'Hara, 19 Oct 1961

¹⁰⁶ SCA DE8/29/9 Abp G. O'Hara to Abp G. J. Gray, 10 Oct 1961

¹⁰⁷ Elizabeth Templeton, *God's February* (London: BBC/CCBI, 1991), 102-105

¹⁰⁸ SCA DE167/75/1 Fr J. Murray to Abp G. J. Gray, 4 Jan 1962

¹⁰⁹ SCA DE167/75/1 Abp G. J. Gray to Fr J. Murray, 9 Jan 1962

¹¹⁰ SCA DE155/33 Bp K. M. Carey to Abp G. J. Gray, 9 Apr 1963

¹¹¹ SCA DE155//3 Abp G. J. Gray to Bp K. M. Carey, 17 Apr 1963

¹¹² SCA DE135/84 Rev R. C. Mackie to Abp G. J. Gray, 27 Jan 1964

... The C of Scotland has been very much in the advance guard of the Unity movement ... We've suddenly realized that work & prayer for unity isn't & cannot be a matter of free choice for a Christian ... ¹¹³

One of the immediate results of this insight was an ecumenical dialogue between Dominican Fr Anthony Ross and Professor Thomas Torrance, held with Gray's blessing in November 1964 under the joint auspices of the Edinburgh Circle of the Newman Association and New College's Theological Society.¹¹⁴ The latter had become aware of the valuable work being carried out at Scottish Churches House, Dunblane, where Catholics were already attending ecumenical meetings; in December 1965, the Scottish bishops went a step further by agreeing to send a permanent observer to the British Council of Churches.¹¹⁵

As well as such positive developments, the Catholic Church in Scotland was at the same time engaged in more hostile moves against some other denominations. In 1959, preparing for the 1960 Lourdes Pilgrimage, Archbishop Gray announced:

The intention for the 1960 pilgrimage will be the Conversion of Scotland ... The most effective means of countering 1960 Reformation propaganda is by prayer for the return of Scotland to its Catholic heritage.¹¹⁶

As the Second Vatican Council drew to a close, strenuous efforts were made to promote the canonisation of the seventeenth-century Jesuit John Ogilvie.¹¹⁷ But there were those who felt that it was not sensitive to the feelings of Protestants to focus attention on the martyrdom of the Scottish Jesuit, hanged in Glasgow in 1615 for being a Catholic.¹¹⁸ Accordingly, Gray and the rest of the Scottish hierarchy approached ecumenism with prudence: 'we have moved cautiously and decisively,' he explained, adding (about the Church of Scotland) that 'of course, our differences remain — stubbornly and deeply held between us.'¹¹⁹ The Scottish bishops prided themselves on their orthodoxy: reporting to Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani of the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, Gray fiercely

¹¹³ SCA DE160/19/3 Abp G. J. Gray: 'Bridge Building' MS, 22 Jan 1964

¹¹⁴ SCA DE171/279/14 Miss M. M. Perry to Abp G. J. Gray, 29 May 1964; SCA DE171/279/14 Abp G. J. Gray to Miss M. M. Perry, 5 Jun 1964

¹¹⁵ SCA DE155/6/22 Abp G. J. Gray to J. Home Robertson, 26 Aug 1965; SCA DE155/6/29 Abp G. J. Gray to Rev J. Weller, 31 Dec 1965

¹¹⁶ SCA DE32/28/6 Abp G. J. Gray: ad clerum, Nov 1959

¹¹⁷ SCA DE142/37 Fr T. Reilly to Abp G. J. Gray, 19 May 1964

¹¹⁸ For two very different views on Ogilvie see Donald Campbell, *The Jesuit a play*, (Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1976) and Des Hickey, *Miracle* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1978)

¹¹⁹ SCA DE160/19/1 Abp Gray: BBC TV script MS, *Meeting Point From Rome*, 1964

emphasised the exemplary loyalty of the Scottish bishops, compared to the dubious ecumenical initiatives seen elsewhere in the world.¹²⁰

During the early 1960s Gray had some cause to feel satisfied: in the period of the Second Vatican Council, converts to Catholicism in the archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh initially rose from 396 (1961) to 409 (1962), but then declined — 391 (1963), 390 (1964) and then plunged to 312 (1965); many of these were from the Church of Scotland: in 1961, for example, these numbered 199 (roughly 50% of all converts).¹²¹ One third of the 1964 total (109), came from Edinburgh and Leith.¹²² The Converts' Aid Society, founded shortly before 1900, offered friendship to convert ministers, sympathy and, where necessary, financial assistance to bridge the difficult transition period until the convert became self-sufficient; the Society celebrated an annual mass on the date of Cardinal Newman's reception into the Catholic Church.¹²³

At the grassroots, legitimate proselytism was sometimes replaced by anti-Protestant bigotry. In the mild summer Sunday evenings of 1964, some young Catholics took to harassing the speakers of the Scottish Protestant Union at the Mound in Edinburgh. The chairman of the SPU wrote to Gray in protest at around 70 youths aged 15 to 19 who 'maintained an uninterrupted barrage of general noise and a stream of verbal obscenities' at the speakers; most wore Sacred Heart badges and at one point even tried to set fire to the platform with lighted newspapers, shouting 'Celtic' chants and Catholic party songs.¹²⁴ In answer, Gray's secretary explained (somewhat unconvincingly) that members of the hierarchy could not be held responsible for the actions of individuals — at the time, condemnation of sectarian abuse on the part of Catholics did not often figure largely in Catholic social teaching.¹²⁵

When Catholics wanted to attend Protestant services they had to ask Archbishop Gray for permission. Whether it was an Edinburgh bailie who wanted Catholics to attend the Edinburgh Festival's opening service at St Giles in 1964 or a distinguished Jesuit invited to preach the University sermon in the same church during the Unity Octave, the answer was invariably 'no.'¹²⁶ Perhaps the most poignant case was that of Robert Johnson who accepted a

¹²⁰ SCA DE6/15/11 Abp G. J. Gray to Card. A. Ottaviani, 16 Dec 1966

¹²¹ SCA DE138/12-16 Converts, 1961-65

¹²² SCA DE54/30/1-21 Parish census: Edinburgh and Leith converts, 1964

¹²³ SCA DE171/108 Abp G. J. Gray: address to Converts Aid Society, 26 Jun 1956; SCA DE171/109 Converts Aid Society: Annual Mass, 1963

¹²⁴ SCA DE133/34/4 W. Hart to Abp G. J. Gray, 8 Jun 1964

¹²⁵ SCA DE133/34/4 Abp's secretary to W. Hart, 9 Jun 1964

¹²⁶ SCA DE135/88/10 Abp G. J. Gray to Councillor J. Henderson, 30 Jul 1964; SCA DE166/5/2 Fr T. Corbishley to Abp G. J. Gray, 21 Jan 1964

post as music master at Fettes College, but had to withdraw as his duties included playing at a school assembly. His mother pleaded with Gray who contacted the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop O'Hara, but the outcome was the same — an 1889 decree of the Holy Office still forbade Catholics to accept posts as organists in Protestant churches.¹²⁷ By contrast, the following year, William T. Heard (convert son of a former headmaster of Fettes College), was made a cardinal. Both Archbishop O'Hara and Archbishop Gray joined in the rejoicings of Scots Catholics and the new Cardinal was welcomed to the Headmaster's Lodge at Fettes, which had been his childhood home.¹²⁸ It may seem to have been hypocrisy or double-standards, but bishops such as Gray were following the canonical prohibitions governing relations with other denominations while at the same time trying to respond pastorally to human problems.

In the 1950s, the problem of *Ne Temere* civil marriages still caused diocesan chapters to scratch their heads: the deans puzzled over which relationships Church prohibitions referred to — could Catholics be bridesmaids or grooms; could Catholic mothers or relations be present; could they attend wedding receptions; could a Catholic father 'give away' his daughter; could Catholics send presents or good wishes; could Catholics be present as spectators?¹²⁹ By 1960, such scruples were largely a thing of the past, being confined to over-zealous fears that nuns cycling on holiday through apparent 'strongholds of Presbyterianism' (such as the seaside town of North Berwick in East Lothian) would inflame latent anti-Catholic feelings.¹³⁰ In 1961, when an Irishman wrote from Dublin asking permission to be best man at a Church of Scotland wedding, the answer was 'yes.'¹³¹ However, Gray was also anxious to restore the practice of the Catholic faith to those who were in relationships where church-going was made difficult. In 1961, Gray expressed his concerns to Archbishop John Heenan of Liverpool: 'Whatever the way we must help those to get back to the Sacraments who are free to marry but, because of lack of co-operation from the Protestant partner, cannot have their marriage rectified in the normal way.'¹³²

¹²⁷ SCA DE8/26/6 Abp G.J. Gray to Mgr G. Tomlinson, 7 Jul 1958; SCA DE8/26/7 R. S. Johnson to Abp G. J. Gray, 25 Jul 1958; SCA DE8/26/8 H. Johnson to Abp G. J. Gray, 27 Jul 1958; SCA DE8/26/12 Abp G. P. O'Hara to Abp G. J. Gray, 30 Jul 1958

¹²⁸ SCA DE8/27/9 Abp G. P. O'Hara to Abp G. J. Gray, 17 Nov 1959; SCA DE8/27/11 Abp G. J. Gray to Abp G. P. O'Hara, 26 Nov 1959; SCA DE135/65 I. D. McIntosh to Abp G. J. Gray, 30 Aug 1960

¹²⁹ SCA DE34/517 Fr B. O'Hanlon to Abp G. J. Gray, 7 Jun 1955

¹³⁰ SCA DE170/84/10 Fr T. McLaughlin to Abp G. J. Gray, 16 Jun 1960

¹³¹ SCA DE135/22/7 N. Hoffman to Abp G. J. Gray, 8 Mar 1961

¹³² SCA DE8/29/3 Abp G. J. Gray to Abp J. C. Heenan, 20 Mar 1961

There were official functions which Gray found difficult to attend. Invited by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh to an afternoon Holyrood garden party, Gray answered in the negative.¹³³ The same prohibition applied to military chaplains attending dedication of colours services in Protestant churches, or the Catholic Commandant of the Air Cadets going to a service of thanksgiving at St Giles. The Catholic captain commanding the No 1 (RA) company, 1st Dundee Battalion, The Black Watch, voluntarily withdrew from each morning parade when the non-Catholic cadet prayer was recited.¹³⁴ Children were not exempted: at the time of the Second Vatican Council, Catholic boys were urged to boycott the Boys Brigade, nor were Catholic scouts allowed to take part in joint services with Protestant scouts.¹³⁵

The Catholic Church in Scotland was caught on the horns of a dilemma where proselytising religious groups were concerned. Replying to a request from the Union of Catholic Mothers in 1957 to know the Church's attitude towards the Salvation Army, the chancellor of the archdiocese, Fr James Monaghan explained the problem:

The Salvation Army is of course a Religious sect and so no matter how much one may admire some of their charitable works, it would be wrong for Catholics to support them. This stems from the very foundation of our Faith, by which we know there is but one true Church ... You will appreciate therefore that it would be rather invidious for His Grace to give an authoritative statement. Such a statement, no matter how charitably framed, would be apt to be misinterpreted. It might only too readily be assumed that some particular ill-will is harboured against the Salvation Army, which of course is not.¹³⁶

In 1964, a Catholic in Bathgate wrote to Gray that Moral Rearmament was 'trying to gain a foothold' in the British Motor Company factory where he worked; he had first written for advice to two Jesuit priests: one condemned Moral Rearmament, the other approved, but the definitive answer which came back from the Archbishop's office was 'Don't take part.'¹³⁷

The People of God

¹³³ SCA DE135/21/9 Lord Provost's secretary to Abp G. J. Gray, 28 Feb 1961

¹³⁴ SCA DE135/2910 Abp G. J. Gray to Rev W. W. Henery, 24 Apr 1961; SCA DE135/61/12 P. J. Grady to Group Capt. S. R. Leitch, 26 Dec 1961; SCA DE135/2/10 J. T. W. Robbins to Mgr A. E. S. Blount, 19 Apr 1956

¹³⁵ SCA DE135/84/7 Fr P. J. Grady to W. I. S. Johns, 31 Jan 1964; SCA DE171/368 Abp G. J. Gray to Fr W. D. Hamilton, 20 Feb 1963

¹³⁶ SCA DE171/393/19 Fr J. Monaghan to Mrs N. London, 19 Dec 1957

¹³⁷ SCA DE135/90/10 W. Maguire to Abp G. J. Gray, 9 Sep 1964

By December 1965, the close of the Second Vatican Council, intense and prolonged debate at episcopal level began to trickle down to local churches, which were themselves beginning a process of self-analysis and internal discussion. At the Catholic Students' Centre, George Square in Edinburgh, for example, a meeting took place in May 1965 on the subject of 'The Layman and Ecclesiastical Authority' (with special reference to the schema *De Ecclesia*); the organisers included diocesan representatives, the Newman Association and the Grail, all of whom felt that meetings of this type with clergy and lay people were 'particularly appropriate at this stage of the Church's aggiornamento'.¹³⁸

At this time the Scottish hierarchy had been strengthened by the experience of working together as a college of bishops drawn from all parts of the globe; in the process, some also had their suspicions of the authoritarian habits of the Roman Curia confirmed. Archbishop Gray warned that 'The full implications of Collegiality have yet to be worked out ... There are centuries of caution bred of rigid centralisation to be overcome'.¹³⁹ Among many other matters, the Scottish bishops wanted once more to assert their distinctive local identity as being separate from the English hierarchy. In the *Annuario Pontificio* (the international directory), the English and Welsh bishops had been included with the Scots under the title 'Gran Bretagna'; Gray protested to the apostolic delegate that 'Scotland and England are distinct countries and should not be lumped together'.¹⁴⁰

While all the bishops saw their role strengthened by the Second Vatican Council, the diocesan parish clergy, however, felt themselves marginalised; they still suffered from the pinpricks of many petty local rules — vestiges of the legalism of the 1886 Council of Fort Augustus. In 1959, Gray sympathised with his priests that:

One matter that has caused me concern is the Theatre Law. During the Edinburgh Festival, many clergy from various parts of Great Britain, Ireland and abroad attend Festival performances. I have felt it unfair that the clergy of the Archdiocese, because of the decree of the Council of Fort Augustus, should alone be prohibited from attending good Festival performances. Since the decrees of Fort Augustus have been approved by Rome, I cannot alter them. I can, however, give permission to individual Priests to attend particular performances.¹⁴¹

By 1960, such regulations had become irrelevant. To a correspondent who asked Gray's permission to take his brother to the Edinburgh Festival, Gray freely gave it for The

¹³⁸ SCA DE135/99/9 Invitation to Buffet Supper and Discussion, 5 May 1965

¹³⁹ SCA DE161/75/6 Abp G. J. Gray to Newman Association MS, nd

¹⁴⁰ SCA DE8/38/15 Abp G. J. Gray to Abp H. E. Cardinale, 1 Dec 1965

¹⁴¹ SCA DE32/28/4 Abp G. J. Gray: ad clerum, Apr 1959

Royal Ballet, a Chekhov play, Verdi's *Falstaff* and the comedienne, Beatrice Lillie.¹⁴² But it was not only petty restrictions which contributed to the increasing lack of vocations to the priesthood after the mid-1960s. Gray complained to the Sacred Congregation for Seminaries that:

Growing materialism and opportunities for success in secular professions militate against vocations of a good intellectual calibre. Also the new emphasis on the Lay Apostolate suggests to some young men that they can work more effectively as laymen than as priests. Today young men want early responsibility. Under the present system, they may have to serve for 20 or 25 years as assistant priests. They feel that in the priesthood they will suffer frustration.¹⁴³

Every part of the Church was feeling the 'wind of change,' none more so than religious orders for women. Between 1957 and 1958, momentous transformations had been taking place. The distinction between lay sisters and choir nuns, for example, was abolished, among the Ursulines at St Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh; however, Gray urged caution in making the change, advising that nuns should still be seen in public dressed traditionally as novices and postulants, rather than wear modern black veils and ordinary coats.¹⁴⁴ There were other restrictions. A Sister of Mercy studying French literature at Edinburgh University had to write to the Archbishop for permission to use books prohibited by the Church which were required reading for her studies — these included the works of Voltaire, Albert Camus, André Gide, Marcel Proust and Jean Anouilh — Gray (a student of literature himself) had no hesitation in giving permission.¹⁴⁵

While boundaries were beginning to shift in the lives of religious orders, an equal uncertainty of role could be seen among the laity. Early in 1957, four years before the Second Vatican Council met, lay Catholics all over the world prepared to gather at a Second World Congress for the Apostolate of the Laity to consider the theme 'The Laity in the Crisis of the Modern World: Responsibility and Formation.' In Edinburgh, Archbishop Gray summoned two representatives of each of the twelve main diocesan lay organisations; the delegates were then split into four study groups, each considering a questionnaire for study

¹⁴² SCA DE135/4/13 Abp G. J. Gray to Dr T. Cairns, 5 Jul 1960

¹⁴³ SCA DE6/94 Abp G. J. Gray: *Relatio de statu seminariorum* [1962-67]

¹⁴⁴ SCA DE170/400 Abp G. J. Gray to Rev Mother Superior, 9 Apr 1957; SCA DE170/400/8 Abp G. J. Gray to Sr Mary Xavier, 28 May 1957

¹⁴⁵ SCA DE170/375/21 Sr Mary Therese to Abp G. J. Gray, 11 Nov 1958; SCA DE170/375/22 Abp G. J. Gray to Sr Mary Therese, 13 Nov 1958

and discussion.¹⁴⁶ At this time, initiatives of the Lay Apostolate still continued to be largely in the gift of the bishops.

During and immediately after the Second Vatican Council, some priests and bishops felt unsure as to how the laity and the clergy should work together. Part of the difficulty was that *Lumen Gentium* left the role of the laity defined in contradictory terms: while the whole People of God shared in the priesthood of Christ by virtue of baptism, the ministerial priesthood differed from that of the laity in essence and degree.¹⁴⁷ Repeated attempts to resolve this bifurcation have seldom been totally convincing. Thomas J. McGovern in *Priestly Identity* (2002) suggests an interpretation which is unrealistically compartmentalised.¹⁴⁸ Robert Hendrie's vision of the priest as a man at the same time blessed and cursed is nearer the mark, but the fact remains that the role of the laity has tended to be defined negatively — as being that part of the baptismal priesthood not reserved to the ministerial priesthood.¹⁴⁹

When discussion began in October 1963 on Chapter Three of the schema on 'The Church', a number of conservative-minded bishops attacked all statements which spoke of the 'priesthood of the faithful' or the 'universal priesthood': they believed that both concepts 'seemed to imply a whittling away of the traditional distinction between the hierarchical priesthood and the rest of the faithful.'¹⁵⁰ According to the American theologian David Power, however, 'confusion about the required duties of the priest is in the long run the most important sociological factor ... which ... stands behind his loss of status or the decline in numbers of candidates for ordination.'¹⁵¹ Similarly, Hans Küng traces the responsibility for the crisis in the ministry of the Church 'to the general process of secularization and democratization and to the particular uncertainty about function that attaches to the ministry...'¹⁵²

Something of the confusion between the priestly and the lay vocation can be seen in Archbishop's Gray's attitude to lay participation in the administrative functions of the Church. While he agreed that lay people should be 'more deeply and intimately involved in Church affairs,' he did not believe that there should be lay supervision of Church finances

¹⁴⁶ SCA DE32/26/1 Abp G. J. Gray: letter to priests, 30 Jan 1957

¹⁴⁷ Austin Flannery, op. cit., 360-361; see Hurley, op. cit., Chapter 6

¹⁴⁸ Thomas J. McGovern, *Priestly Identity* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), 45-52

¹⁴⁹ Robert Hendrie, 'Priesthood of All Believers,' *TST*, vol. 6, No 2 (Autumn 1999), 81

¹⁵⁰ Xavier Rynne, *The Second Session* (London: Faber and Faber, 1964), 107-108

¹⁵¹ David N. Power, *The Christian Priest: Elder and Prophet* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1973), 4

¹⁵² Hans Küng, *Why priests?* (first publ. as *Wozu Priester?* Benziger Verlag. tr. John Cumming. London: William Collins & Co Ltd, 1972), 13

and parish Councils, as these duties had been (and continued to be) quite successfully carried out by the clergy.¹⁵³ What worried Gray more was the 'inadequate communication between laity on one side, priests & especially the Bishop on the other.'¹⁵⁴

It was in sexual ethics that the conflict between Church law and pastoral practice became most evident. In 1958, the Scottish Catholic judge Lord John Wheatley had to pass judgement on a legal question as to whether artificial insemination constituted adultery, a case which also drew the criticism of the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁵⁵ Two years later birth control was very much in the public eye, given further emphasis by books such as *Contraception and Holiness* (1965), where Archbishop Thomas Roberts' introduction stated that 'No issue in recent years has so rent the Catholic community and so awakened the interest of non-Catholics in the effectiveness of Pope John's up-dating of Catholic thought as has the question of contraception.'¹⁵⁶ For their part, the Scottish bishops issued a pastoral letter in 1960 condemning 'family planning by practices within marriage which are contrary to the natural law'; they ruled that 'Self-control is the one method of family limitation that is in conformity with the moral law ... The infertile period ... may be used provided sufficient reasons are present. These reasons may be social, economic, eugenic or medical.'¹⁵⁷

By 1964 it had become clear from information supplied to the bishops by doctors, nurses and priests that birth control was already as widely practised among Catholics as among non-Catholics; the torment of Catholic married couples torn between the use of 'forbidden means' of birth regulation and 'the heroic virtue of complete abstinence' was not lost on the bishops, who hoped that some effective means which was also acceptable to the Church would soon be developed by science.¹⁵⁸ These were problems which also absorbed the Roman authorities. Shortly before the end of the Second Vatican Council, the apostolic delegate, Archbishop Cardinale, informed Gray that he had written to an Edinburgh doctor who had enquired about the Church's teaching on contraception: 'In my reply I told him that the Holy Father had only one wish, namely, to obtain all possible information that might contribute to an understanding of the problem.'¹⁵⁹

What did immediately develop in Edinburgh was the provision of informed advice for Catholic married couples. Fr John Barry, the diocesan canon lawyer and rector of the

¹⁵³ SCA DE161/75/6 Abp G. J. Gray to Newman Association MS, nd

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ SCA DE8/253 Abp G. J. Gray to Abp G. P. O'Hara, 16 Jan 1958

¹⁵⁶ Thomas D. Roberts, Stanley Kurtz, et al, *Contraception and Holiness* (London: William Collins & Sons Ltd, 1965), 13

¹⁵⁷ SCA DE33/3/4 Archbishops and Bishops of Scotland: a pastoral letter, 22 May 1960

¹⁵⁸ SCA DE25/3/5 Bp S. McGill to Abp G. J. Gray, 26 Feb 1964

¹⁵⁹ SCA DE8/385 Abp G. J. Gray to Abp H. E. Cardinale, 20 Apr 1965

seminary at St Andrew's, Drygrange, warned Gray in September 1963 that his diocesan clergy believed a marriage guidance council was an urgent necessity.¹⁶⁰ Barry wrote again a month later, asking the vicar general, Fr James Monaghan, to give the matter urgent attention.¹⁶¹ Monaghan acted quickly, issuing a letter to all priests which advised them that a Catholic Marriage Advisory Council would be established in the very near future.¹⁶² By August 1965, the CMAC staff had been selected and were ready to begin work.¹⁶³

Another area of difficulty which preoccupied the bishops was industry and employment. A memorandum prepared for Archbishop Donald Campbell of Glasgow in 1956 on the causes of industrial unrest then being experienced nationally, described it as class warfare and blamed the absence of a minimum wage as one of the chief causes.¹⁶⁴ Other reports the following year criticised the state of factories and workshops, warning of the increasing strength of Communism: 'The atmosphere appears frequently to be pagan and demoralising ... many Catholics have been affected by the current laxity in moral standards ... In the mining and industrial areas, Communism exerts an influence out of all proportion to its nominal membership.'¹⁶⁵

The reception of Vatican Two

Pope Paul VI was well aware that, of themselves, the Council documents could not effect change; the Council 'had to be applied and translated into practical terms;' this was the local bishops' responsibility.¹⁶⁶ But the implementation of the Council worldwide was not without difficult but necessary growing pains and even conflict, whose existence should not be erased from the record — as Hans Küng warned: '... I want to counter harmonizing historians who in the most recent histories of the church, theology or councils (Vatican II!) conceal unwelcome developments and trivialize conflicts.'¹⁶⁷

In the implementation of the Vatican decrees, Scotland was not alone in slowing down the pace of change. In August 1964, even while the Council was still in progress, Archbishop John C. Heenan of Westminster had to reassure novelist Evelyn Waugh (one of

¹⁶⁰ SCA DE145/9/1 Abp's Secy to Fr J. C. Barry, 24 Sep 1963

¹⁶¹ SCA DE145/9/4 Fr J. C. Barry to Fr J. Monaghan, 18 Nov 1963

¹⁶² SCA DE145/9/5 Fr J. Monaghan: to all parish priests, 26 Nov 1963

¹⁶³ SCA DE145/14/3 Abp G. J. Gray to Fr T. Power, 26 Aug 1965

¹⁶⁴ SCA DE20/10/5 Bishops Conference: Memorandum to Abp D. A. Campbell — Present-Day Industrial setup [1956]

¹⁶⁵ SCA DE8/24 Report to Delegate: Religious and Moral conditions in Scotland, Dec 1957

¹⁶⁶ Peter Hebblethwaite, *Paul VI, The first modern Pope* (London: HarperCollins, 1993), 457

¹⁶⁷ Hans Küng, *My Struggle for Freedom* (New York: Continuum, 2003), 1

the key advocates of the retention of the Tridentine Rite) of his intention to ensure liturgical pluralism after the Council: ‘We shall try to keep the needs of all in mind — Pops, Trads, Rockers, Mods, With-its and Without-its.’¹⁶⁸ However, in the years immediately following the end of the Council, commentators also noted a degree of *protestantisation* in the attitude of Western Catholics caught up in Ecumenism.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, Heenan was to complain that liberal Catholic intellectuals dismissed him and his fellow-bishops as ‘mitred peasants.’¹⁷⁰ In Ireland ‘the bishops feared that Irish Catholics might be disturbed by the changes, and their traditional faith threatened’; they hesitated to put new wine into old bottles.¹⁷¹ In Poland the hierarchy were even suspicious of the Council reforms; Dennis Sewell writes that ‘Like other East European bishops, he [Cardinal Wszyński] was not enamoured of the Council and thought it would make life difficult at home by encouraging progressives ...’¹⁷²

Looking back to the Second Vatican Council, the journalist Rennie McOwan (media officer to the Scottish Bishops and editor of *The Scottish Catholic Observer* and a new convert), recalled that ‘there was a feeling of élan in the air’ which expressed itself in debates and discussions at The Grail and the University Chaplaincy over authority in the Church, mandatory celibacy and inter-communion, while at grassroots level it was the introduction of English into the liturgy which had the greatest impact.¹⁷³ McOwan adds that ‘Overall, one senses nowadays that the Council which promised so much is regarded by a lot of Catholics as a missed opportunity.’¹⁷⁴

Scotland, in some ways, was no different than many other countries. Discussing the ways in which post-Vatican II liturgy impacted on the design of St Peter’s Seminary, Cardross, Diane Watters of The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland comments:

On the whole, the climate in the Scottish church during the decades of mounting reformist pressure was one of conservatism, tempered with an openness to reform. This was hardly an unusual stance, in international terms; it would be misleading and anachronistic to paint a picture of backward Scotland and progressive Europe, although clearly debate in a country where the Church enjoyed minority status would differ in character from that in a

¹⁶⁸ Dennis Sewell, *Catholics, Britain’s Largest Minority* (London: Viking, 2001), 159

¹⁶⁹ Aidan Nichols, *Catholic Thought since The Enlightenment* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1998), 160

¹⁷⁰ Sewell, *op. cit.*, 159

¹⁷¹ Louise Fuller, *Irish Catholicism since 1950* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2004), 110

¹⁷² Dennis Sewell, *Catholics, Britain’s Largest Minority* (London: Viking, 2001), 159

¹⁷² Hebblethwaite, *op. cit.*, 458

¹⁷³ Rennie McOwan, letter to author, 19 Nov 2004

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

predominantly Catholic country on the Continent. Resistance to reform was widespread both on the Continent and across the English-speaking world ...¹⁷⁵

Conclusion

During the Second Vatican Council and in the years immediately after, the Scottish bishops held the Catholic Church in Scotland together at a time when there was a very real danger of fragmentation — over sexual ethics, working conditions in industry, over communication, ecumenism and, above all, over liturgical changes. The bishops could depend on the influence and experience of Archbishop Gray, senior bishop and president of the bishops' conference, a member of the International Committee on English in the Liturgy and a 'hands on' enthusiast for the modern communication media: this informed Scotland's implementation of the liturgical reforms and led to the fruits of the Second Vatican Council being carefully related to the ordinary Catholic in the pew in easily-digestible stages.¹⁷⁶ The bishops, strengthened and motivated by the experience of months of episcopal collegiality in Rome, showed signs of positive leadership, even if the pace of change was firmly controlled — liberty could so easily degenerate into licence.¹⁷⁷

The key conciliar documents were issued in a rolling programme, beginning with 'The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy' (4 Dec 1963) and concluding with 'The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World' (7 Dec 1965). The staggered delivery of the documents and the attendant worldwide publicity had its effect on Catholics in Scotland, as elsewhere: the documents were impossible to digest immediately, indeed, their recommendations would take several generations to come into effect. At the heart of 'The Dogmatic Constitution on The Church' was the concept of the pilgrim 'People of God,' sharing in the priesthood of Christ through baptism: this renewed insight into what it meant to be Church would eventually lead to the partial erosion of many of the distinctions between 'priest' and 'lay,' with profound implications for Church organisation and canonical responsibility. Furthermore, the Council's acceptance in 'The Dogmatic Constitution on The Church' that the Catholic Church was not co-terminous with the Church of Christ went beyond previous marginalising notions of 'baptism of desire' as a way of explaining that membership of the Church could not be denied to non-Catholics (or even non-Christians).

¹⁷⁵ Diane M. Watters, *Cardross Seminary: Gillespie, Kidd & Coia and the Architecture of Postwar Catholicism* (Edinburgh: RCHAMS, 1997), 10

¹⁷⁶ For a full explanation of the function of the president of the bishops' conference and the seniority of bishops, see Mario Conti, *Oh Help! The Making of an Archbishop*, (Edinburgh: Black and White Publishing, 2003), 80-81

¹⁷⁷ SCA DE161/75/5 Abp G. J. Gray: sermon on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, nd

Thus Catholics were henceforward to be committed not only to ecumenism (dialogue between Christians) but also to relations with non-Christian faiths:

This Church [of Christ] ... subsists in the Catholic Church ... Nevertheless, many elements of sanctification and of truth are found outside its visible confines.¹⁷⁸

In late December 1965, the Catholic clergy and people of Scotland, many intoxicated by the heady winds of change unleashed by the Second Vatican Council, followed the Scottish bishops' cautious lead at their own pace, through what might well otherwise have become a theological and liturgical minefield. The Second Vatican Council charted and gave shape to a new vision of what it meant to be Catholic. Inevitably, this led to a more critical understanding of ecclesial life. Archbishop Gray spoke for the Scottish bishops when he described his own hunger for the national integration and unity which the word 'Catholic' so undeniably implied. Not only a *Roman*, he and his fellow bishops saw themselves as true Scots, whose greatest desire was to see Scotland united: 'I am Scottish to the marrow of my bones. I want Scotland to be one — and not only politically ... Today it is not "one."¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ Flannery, *op. cit.*, 357

¹⁷⁹ SCA DE163/97/1 Abp G. J. Gray: Early years in the Episcopate MS, nd

CONCLUSION

I

The years 1878 to 1965 saw momentous changes in the Archdiocese and Province of St Andrews and Edinburgh. The period began with the restoration of the Scottish hierarchy and ended with the closure of the Second Vatican Council. In these eighty-seven years the Catholics of Scotland experienced two world wars, a radical change in the system of Catholic schools and an on-going struggle to come to terms with the challenges posed by migration, industrialisation and urbanisation.

The two defining factors in the development of the Catholic community in Scotland were large-scale Irish migration and the conversion of significant numbers of the Scottish aristocracy. Understandably, the first reaction of Catholics migrating from Ireland was to embrace systems of self-help, such as parishes and parish associations provided (and these were also well-supported by the convert aristocrats). But there was always a danger that, in finding strength in unity, Catholics might become inward-looking, cut off from the world around them, a denomination creeping into its shell for safety and security.

In the 1870s there were several reasons for Catholics in Scotland to express loyalty to the Pope and Ultramontanism provided a mechanism for combining them.¹ While Irish Ultramontanism brought to Scotland dependence on the Pope because the Irish migrants looked for political and moral support from the Holy See in the cause of Irish Home Rule, it also involved strong emotions which liturgical ceremonies and evangelical missionary preaching liberated and directed. Conversely, the more subdued and moderate devotional profile of Scottish Catholics (which the Irish soon came to resent and despise) also embraced the same Ultramontane viewpoint; lastly, there was the enthusiastic ‘can-do’ Ultramontanism of the newly-converted Scottish aristocracy. The hostile interaction of Irish and Scottish Catholic communities immediately prior to 1878 led to a potentially catastrophic upheaval in the Scottish Catholic landscape. Ironically, this only subsided through the influence of the same Ultramontanism which, after Archbishop Manning’s report on the Western District and the demise of *The Glasgow Free Press* (1868), united Catholics from all ethnic backgrounds in loyalty to Rome. Subsequently, through two world wars, twentieth-century Scottish Catholicism willingly engaged in the growing internalisation and

¹ Bernard Aspinwall, ‘Faith of our Fathers living still ...’ in Thomas M. Devine (ed.), *Scotland’s Shame* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2000), 110

institutionalisation of ultramontane discipline — promoted by parish priests, bishops and a succession of papal encyclicals. By the time of the Vatican Council, the Catholic community (part also of the 'global village' promoted by the media and new technology) had discovered a fresh rationale for loyalty towards a once-remote papacy which had now dared to throw itself open to the media and to radical change and, in the person of John XXIII, exuded self-evident pastoral concern and charismatic humanity.

In the previous decades of the twentieth century it was not surprising that Catholics overreacted to the hostility of Protestant extremists who were anxious to safeguard their own employment opportunities at times of economic hardship, or who relished the chance to demean further what they saw as an 'alien' migrant population (so different from the more acceptable, self-effacing 'native' Scottish Catholics). In the 1920s and 1930s, national bodies such as the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland or individual activists such as Bailie John Cormack of Edinburgh Town Council and his 'Protestant Action', gave the appearance of official public approval to anti-Catholic hostility. At the same time, the secret societies that had been proscribed by successive popes were vigorously attacked by the bishops and clergy. Even though (in the early 1920s), Sinn Fein made its presence felt in Stirling and Fife, when Irish Home Rule became a reality soon after, the organisation proved to be no threat to the welfare of Scots on the mainland.

There were other powerful threats to the health of the Catholic community. Part of the iconography of anti-Catholicism was the supposed unnatural fecundity of the Irish Catholic migrant: such attitudes tended to demonise the migrants and, by association, their Scottish co-religionists. Underpinning population and birth rates, at the centre of Catholic moral theology and social teaching was a reverence for the processes of human reproduction and the value of human life. Respect for marriage, the family and networks of relationship were seen by Catholics as core values. Increasingly, from the 1930s in particular, birth control and abortion (along with Communism and Materialism) were perceived by popes, clergy and bishops as threatening the very core of Catholic life.

Throughout the period 1878-1965, 'mixed marriage' between Catholics and non-Catholics (of whatever religious persuasion) was seen by bishops and priests as a threat to the survival of the Catholic community. Up to 1908, Catholics in Scotland marrying non-Catholics were able to do so with a dispensation from Rome and in terms which followed forms of marriage also recognised under Scots Law. After 1908, however, as *Ne Temere*, the 1563 Tridentine decree, *Tametsi* came into force in Scotland for the first time. This required the non-Catholic partner to marry in front of a priest and to submit a written promise to raise any children as Catholic, promises which, in some cases, led to resentment or other

difficulties between the partners.² What disturbed the Catholic Church most, however, was that parish statistical returns provided increasing evidence that so-called 'leakage' (Catholics abandoning the practice of their faith) could be directly attributed to the negative effects of 'mixed marriages'. At the same time, the other Churches in Scotland were outraged, protesting that, in the light of *Ne Temere*, Catholics condemned Protestant marriage as unsacramental. In this way *Ne Temere* aggravated moderate Protestant opinion and also provided a convincing rationale for anti-Catholic extremism.

II

There were other weaknesses in the Catholic community, some of their own making. During the 1860s and 1870s a near-schism developed in the west of Scotland between Irish migrant and Scots 'native' Catholics. The pages of *The Glasgow Free Press* between its first edition in 1851 and its last in 1868 reflected the outrage felt by many Irish Catholics (even in St Andrews and Edinburgh, as far east as West Lothian) at their treatment by their co-religionists. Although this fracture had its epicentre in Glasgow and Lanarkshire, the solution proposed by Cardinal Henry Manning (and effected by the Congregation of Propaganda in 1878), changed diocesan boundaries in the other parts of the country, leading to complaints from some within the new hierarchy that the old diocesan structures were being 'dismembered'. After their counter-productive experiences with James Lynch as vicar apostolic for the Western District (1866-69), Propaganda avoided appointing another Irish-born bishop to Scottish dioceses; there were to be no more Irish-born bishops in Scotland until August 1985, when Antrim-born Fr Keith Patrick O'Brien was ordained Archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh.

While the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act effectively ensured the future financial stability of Catholic schools, one part of the 'triple guarantee' of ethos, access and teacher approval proved to be only partially successful. To be effective, the approval of teachers depended on a uniform national system of religious approval and, crucially, not only on competence to teach but on accurate assessment by parish priests of a candidate's character and religious commitment. That priest supervisors often failed to be rigorous or accurate in their assessments is born out by the complaints of successive diocesan authorities, from Bishop Henry Grey Graham to Archbishop Gordon Gray, who complained about the inadequacy of the approval system and the shortage of Catholic teachers. The fact that approval could not be withdrawn unless a teacher moved schools was a significant weakness.

² John C. Barry, *I am a Catholic Protestant* (privately published: 1997), 87

In spite of the material benefits and resources brought by the 1918 Act, the first matriculation statistics for Edinburgh University appear to show that state ownership of Catholic schools, while building a broad base of primary and secondary education with nationally uniform staffing, syllabuses, resources and standards of achievement, did not have any immediate impact on the number of Catholics attending institutions of higher education. The numbers of Catholics matriculating at Edinburgh University fell marginally between 1918 and 1937-38 and it was not until the Second World War, with the influx of considerable numbers of Polish students, that the numbers rose significantly. This shortfall may well have been caused by the relative poverty of potentially high-achieving Catholics in secondary schools or their lack of aspiration for high status employment or, indeed, lingering prejudice against Catholics within the ranks of Scottish firms and knowledge-based sectors such as the medical or legal professions.

The picture of the life of the Scottish clergy provided by episcopal archives suggests that seminary training, while academically sound, may have at times have been inappropriate in its methods of recruitment and in its preparation of candidates for the life of a diocesan priest. Perhaps no amount of training could have done so. Inevitably (given the isolation and remoteness of many Scottish communities — so different, Irish priests found, from the close networks of parishes in Ireland), loneliness, absence of a consistent mechanism for supervision and support, frustration at the lack of resources, are many of the factors which emerge from the lives of priests which were brought to the notice of the bishops, particularly in the nineteenth century when missions were still in process of formation and Catholic communities were often small, or mobile or scattered units.

Nevertheless, most of the diocesan clergy responded effectively to the challenges of their vocation. Occasionally they might be tempted by the attraction of the lifestyle on the other side of the denominational fence or by the consolation offered by alcohol, the excitement of disorderly conduct, illicit sexual relationships or the opportunities to misappropriate Church funds. The solutions to such problems were limited: some men the bishops moved abroad or to other parishes, in the hope of rehabilitation; some had their priestly 'faculties' (episcopal permission to officiate) withdrawn altogether or were in a few cases consigned to mental health institutions. In practice, the clergy were neither more nor less prone to human weaknesses than those in other caring professions.

Paradoxically, in the case of religious Orders (even in enclosed communities), the relative lack of supervision and the opportunities to stray could also be considerable. The internal turmoil which in the 1890s led the new Benedictine community at Fort Augustus, Inverness-shire, to leave the more relaxed ethos of the English Benedictine Order and

embrace the pre-Raphaelite fundamentalism of the German Beuronese monastic way of life, resulted in insolvency and spiritual sterility by 1910. After a revival under Abbot Andrew J. McDonald, the abyss beckoned again for Fort Augustus in the mid-1930s: the monks had invested unwisely on the stock exchange and were only bailed out at the last minute by a fortuitous inheritance. In Edinburgh, during the mid-1930s, the community of the Poor Clares was also torn apart by internal divisions which, only after a great deal of private agony and public conflict with Archbishop McDonald, was finally brought to closure.

Among the bishops themselves finance was the area of greatest mismanagement, with the conflict over the Menzies and Mitchell Trusts exposing the confusion and the naive accountancy procedures of Archbishop John Strain and a some of his fellow-bishops. Later, in 1918, Archbishop James Smith attracted the censure of the apostolic visitor, Mgr William Brown, who revealed Smith's poor grasp of investment practice and prudent financial housekeeping. Archbishop McDonald, the former Abbot of Fort Augustus, was not only implicated in the Harrison and Renfrew scandals but was also seduced by an over-ambitious scheme to bring his former monastery and school out of the Highlands, down to the south of Edinburgh at the Melville Grange estate.

The relationship between lay people and the hierarchy and clergy fluctuated between subjection and conflict. The most extreme example was John Patrick, Third Marquess of Bute, who had studied scripture, theology and liturgy more deeply than many of the bishops. The latter, while being perfectly prepared to welcome his largesse, deeply resented his schemes, such as the Oban Choir or his plan to move the monastery at Fort Augustus to St Andrews and amalgamate all the Scottish seminaries into the university there. In the parishes, benevolent despots such as Canon Edward Hannan at St Patrick's in Edinburgh set up structures designed to provide his parishioners with the education and training to improve their lot. Hannan also knew (as in the case of the fledgling Hibernian football club) how to manipulate, cajole and even bully, while many of his fellow-priests were adept at controlling their flock with the weapons of fear and guilt. Like Lord Bute, the laity were regarded as a resource to be used as the bishops saw fit, but most of the laity were not permitted to entertain independent thought. In the twentieth century, for example, Catholic Action was seen by bishops and clergy as very desirable but only when controlled and directed. However, after the Second World War, Scottish Catholics finally enjoying the fruits of the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act, were no longer prepared to be as subject as before to the authority of the clergy, however well-intentioned.

III

The strength of the Scottish Catholic community in the final quarter of the nineteenth century was two-fold. First, it lay in the massive and rapid increase in its numbers brought by large-scale Irish migration. Nevertheless, tensions had to be overcome in relation to potentially seditious activities such as secret societies, support for Charles Stewart Parnell and (in the early 1920s), clandestine Irish republican military training in many parts of Scotland, both east and west. After the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, Catholics of Irish origin continued to be a source of political strength to the Scottish Church. However, the exploitation of migrant seasonal Irish labourers continued all over Scotland well into the 1970s. Between 1850 and 1950 the Church needed to make a herculean effort to provide spiritual and educational resources for the Irish and Italian migrant population as well as for the more quiescent Scots Catholics. But, without the Irish, Italian and Polish migrants, the Scots Catholic community would probably have remained numerically insignificant and politically unassertive.

The second factor which contributed to the strength of the Scottish Catholic community was the widespread effects of John Henry Newman's conversion (1845) and his direct personal influence on Scotland through his many converts, particularly Robert Hope-Scott at Abbotsford, which Newman visited in 1852 and 1872. Without Newman, there would have been very few elite or aristocratic members of the Catholic community — John Patrick, Third Marquess of Bute; Robert Monteith, the Marquess of Lothian and his family, the Duchesses of Argyll and Buccleuch and many others. These figures contributed enormously to the welfare of Catholics in Scotland, funding the construction of churches, endowing parishes and using their wealth and influence to support the bishops, clergy and people. The foundation of St Benedict's Abbey at Fort Augustus is probably the most complete example in Scotland of how Newman and his aristocratic network south and north of the Border not only dreamed visions but were able to turn them into reality.

Politically, this network, which continued to show its resilience throughout the twentieth century, had as one of its central supports the Duke of Norfolk, partly through inter-marriage. Directly and indirectly, the Scottish bishops could count on his advice and influence during the delicate negotiations over the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act. Inter-marriage between aristocratic families gave resilience to the network whose strong religious faith in the Catholic Church included a desire to have a hierarchy that was effective and had status and a laity which was provided with churches and liturgies which would enable them to express their beliefs.

To the laity (many of them poor and many, between 1878 and 1945, inadequately educated), the Catholic aristocracy were seen as paternalistic but also as leading members of the same Catholic Church who used their wealth for the needs of others. With organisations such as the Catholic Young Men's Society in Edinburgh, parishes could provide basic vocational education at parish evening classes or in parish libraries, while also offering broader development in dramatic societies and football clubs. Under Canon Hannan, St Patrick's in the Cowgate took the lead in many of these enterprises — Hannan's practical guidance for the development of the Hibernian Football Club in the 1870s, for example, inspired the formation of Glasgow's Celtic Football Club in 1888. At the heart of parish life were the sacraments — baptism, confirmation, eucharist, marriage, ordination, penance and extreme unction, with other ritual seasonal activities such as processions, the rosary, litanies and choirs. These gave opportunities for family rites of passage to be integrated into the wider communal life of the Church; they gave structure and purpose to the lives of Catholics, many of whom struggled against poverty or discrimination and so better prepared them for survival in the world outside the parish.

Moreover, the survival of the Minutes of St Patrick's CYMS was fortuitous — discovered many years later hidden under the bed of a former parish priest of St Patrick's after his death. The detailed picture of a central parish organisation which the CYMS Minutes afford is invaluable for historians seeking to understand the resurgence of the Scottish Catholic community at the end of the nineteenth century. Although reports of CYMS general conferences were regularly published, the intimate glimpse into a fast-developing parish provided by the Minutes of St Patrick's CYMS appears to be unique in Scottish Catholic history. The declared aim of the Society was 'The religious and social elevation of the working classes of the Catholic community' — not only social engineering, but also (with its allusion to the 'elevation' of the bread and wine at the sacrifice of the mass) a radical and profound transformation [*transubstantiation*] of the condition and attitudes of the working class.³ The evidence which emerges from the Minutes is of a body which, under Fr Hannan, was unashamedly interventionist and paternalistic. Membership of the CYMS was a privilege open to all men over 15 who were prepared to contribute by weekly subscription and active participation with the exception of shebeen-keepers or those with criminal convictions. The Society's premises were policed by a vigilance committee, with the neighbourhood guilds supervised by wardens making house to house collections. Social events for the members were at first encouraged but were soon condemned when they degenerated into 'dancing assemblies.' Assaults in the Society's ball court were punished

³ SCA GD82/812 Minute Book of St Patrick's Young Men's Society, Edinburgh, 1 April 1869

and Hannan rapidly took steps to integrate the nascent Hibernian Foot Ball Club which had ‘appeared outside our direction’ (2 Jan 1877), showing that its independent origin and functioning would not be tolerated. This contradicted the popularly-held view that Hannan founded Hibernian Football Club, rather than actively assisted its further expansion. Paradoxically, Hannan would (in exceptional circumstances) allow Protestants to join the Dramatic Society but he blocked their admission to the Football Club.

The CYMS’s care was comprehensive; it provided a financial safety-net for its members through a yearly Sick and Funeral Society and a Penny Savings Bank but declined to set up a Co-operative store (25 Mar 1870). A more questionable development was the election of Fr Hannan as treasurer (22 Jan 1878); at the end of his life the chaotic state of his personal finances suggests that in later years, at least, he was not adequate for the task.

In the Minutes the tension between Irish and Scottish culture emerges as finely balanced. The names of the neighbourhood guilds even-handedly sought the patronage of Irish saints (Patrick, Bridget) and Scottish ones (Margaret, Andrew). Although lectures, plays and concerts were almost invariably Irish in content, in the Society reading-rooms information and education were available from *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Scotsman* as well as *The Cork Examiner* and *The Ulster Observer*. Politically, Hannan trod a fine line, refusing to support the radical Donegal Defence Fund, but welcoming Charles Parnell to Edinburgh, much to the irritation of his archbishop.

Changes were also abroad in the understanding of what it meant to be a priest. As his role changed from the good shepherd advocated by the Council of Fort Augustus (1886) to the warrior summoned for the fight against Communism and Materialism in the 1930s and 1940s, that of the bishop also developed after 1878, as the episcopate struggled to come to grips with more complex administrative and social challenges than those that faced the pre-1878 vicars. There were also structural differences between east and west: after the death of Archbishop Strain in 1883, the Archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh was slower than Glasgow to introduce a consultative chapter of canons. However, Edinburgh introduced rural deans (*vicars forane*) in 1935, well before they appeared in Glasgow; along with Aberdeen, St Andrews and Edinburgh were also first (1939) to erect parishes canonically, eight years before Glasgow. In introducing the new hierarchy, however, Glasgow benefited from the long and stable tenure of the financially astute Charles Eyre (1869-1902), first as apostolic administrator and then as archbishop — during the same period, there were four successive archbishops in the east. Lastly, while the bishops of Scotland have, on the whole, exercised their office with some efficiency, few were distinguished for their scholarly achievements. The notable exception was Edinburgh-born Archbishop William Smith, (1819-92) a

formidable scholar of Hebrew and Oriental languages with an international reputation and author of the highly-respected *The Book of Moses; or, The Pentateuch* (1868).

There were some differences between the western and eastern province. According to Tom Gallagher, one of the differences between Catholicism in the East and West of Scotland was that the ‘immigrant community in Edinburgh was less clearly defined than those in the western ports of Glasgow or Liverpool ...’⁴ He goes on to point out that Edinburgh had no sizeable Ulster Protestant community committed to the union of Ireland and Britain and which ‘might well have encouraged the Catholic community to close ranks and sharpen its group identity.’⁵ Edinburgh, where the Catholic Conservative Charles Cooper edited *The Scotsman* from 1876 to 1906, was the main Liberal stronghold in Scotland, socially a conservative and stratified city, with clear boundaries.⁶ While the Catholic Church consistently opposed inter-marriage, by 1965, the percentage of Catholics in the eastern province who married Protestants was double that in the western.

Some indication of the diversity of the Catholic community in the east and in the west can be found in the language in which confessions were heard. While in 1925 St Andrew’s Cathedral, Glasgow, advertised confession in French, German, Italian and Spanish (and at St John’s in Irish and Scotch Gaelic), Edinburgh used a much smaller linguistic range for the sacrament, with the exception of the Jesuit Sacred Heart church which offered confession in French, German, Italian and Maltese.

Broadly speaking, however, the liturgical orientation of St Andrews and Edinburgh reflected the *calvinising* tendency remarked upon by Terri Colpi.⁷ With its roots in the ‘spirit of self-effacement’ and the convert aristocratic zeal represented by the Third Marquess of Bute, unobtrusive integration with the non-Catholic world was a priority (even to accepting the ruling Conservative/Liberal political ethos of the east) — rather than the unashamedly confrontational triumphalism of the Catholic west of Scotland imported from Ireland. Until 1947 the Vatican’s administrative responsibility for Glasgow also tended to make the west more Roman than the east in spite of the underlying Ultramontanist shared by both provinces; additionally, the densely distributed Catholic population of the west made a more traditionalist and triumphalist stance in liturgy (and even in moral theology) almost inevitable.

Liturgical distinctions between east and west can be seen in the apparently calculated disdain displayed towards the status of St Andrews and Edinburgh’s Archbishop John Strain

⁴ Tom Gallagher, *Edinburgh Divided* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1987), 9

⁵ *Ibid.*, 9

⁶ *Ibid.*, 11

⁷ Colpi, *The Italian Factor*, 240

in Glasgow at the consecration of Bishops John McLachlan (Galloway) and Angus MacDonald (Argyll and the Isles) in 1878 and, in 1901, the outrage of Glasgow's Auxiliary Bishop John Maguire at what he saw as the unacceptable theatricality of high mass at St Mary's Cathedral ('Tuesday's ceremony was what Sir Henry Irving might put on the stage of the Lyceum ...').⁸ At the time of the Second Vatican Council, Archbishop Donald Campbell's isolated pleading in his *vota* for the retention of the Rosary Virgin Mary reflects the yearning for *stasis* and tradition typical of the western devotional taste, still perhaps echoing the insecurity of the migrant Irish. Differences in the interpretation of canon law between the two provinces can be seen in the refusal of Archbishop Donald Mackintosh to accept Archbishop Andrew Joseph McDonald's excommunication of the Extern Poor Clare sisters in 1935 and (until 1947) the running sore between archbishops on opposite sides of the country over the legality of the term 'metropolitan.'

In politics, Catholic town councillors were in the early twentieth century chiefly Progressive or Conservative in the east (rather than Labour), but in the west of Scotland, with the dominance of the Labour Party, there were few, if any, Catholic councillors who were Progressives or Conservatives. During the mid-1930s the Scottish National Party also made common cause with Catholics who were struggling to express their identity as Scots. As regards the presence of religious orders, east and west, the western province was relatively overcrowded and lacked the large stretches of open countryside enjoyed so plentifully in the east; hence, a greater number of religious orders chose to base themselves in the more isolated tracts of the eastern province. Finally, the experience of Italian immigrants points up other differences. Terri Colpi has shown that, because of its origins in a single province, the Italian community in Edinburgh was more integrated than that in Glasgow (which came from two provinces). But by the same token, when Italian premises were targeted in July 1940, it was the visible and cohesive Italian community in Edinburgh which chiefly bore the brunt of anti-fascist demonstrations and vandalism.

IV

⁸ SCA ED6/92/3 Fr J. M. Hare to Fr J. Smith, 18 May 1878; SCA ED6/14/3 Bp J. Maguire to Bp J. Smith, 19 Jan 1901

Between 1878 and 1965 the 28 missions in the archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh grew to 93 parishes, the Catholic population also tripled (from 43,230 to 129,570) but the number of priests increased by a factor of ten (from 43 to 394) as the understanding of the role of the priest within the community developed from one of mere control to one of being more parishioner-centred. The relationship of the eastern province to the archdiocese also changed: the percentage of Scottish Catholics from the eastern province living in St Andrews and Edinburgh increased from 41% in 1878 to 52.29% in 1964, reflecting the strong attraction of the capital city and the relative depopulation of the suffragan dioceses due to economic and social factors.⁹

As the social mix of the Catholic community changed between 1878 and 1965 from a predominantly working class to a more middle class one, so the ethnic mix also diversified. By the 1950s the largely Irish Scottish Catholic community of the previous century was being successfully infused with Polish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian immigrants and those from Italy to form a rich meld of culture and aspiration.

These changes in ethnicity were accompanied by changes in ecclesial culture. Ultramontanist emerged first as a stabilising force and then as a de-stabilising one: according to Cardinal Gordon Gray, it was Archbishop Scanlan who overcame the Archdiocese of Glasgow's ethnic Irish bias in politics and culture and asserted the *catholicity* and universality of the Catholic Church in the west of Scotland; but in the time of Archbishop Thomas Winning, Gray came to resent what he saw as 'Glasgow's unquestionable ambition to make itself a little Vatican city and to concentrate in its boundaries the Offices of all our National Commissions, Councils, Seminaries and the rest.'¹⁰

Despite this administrative migration to the west, the eastern province's role in church politics found significant and independent expression in ecumenical initiatives, encouraged no doubt by the convenient location of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (held each year in Edinburgh), nearby Carberry Tower in Midlothian, Scottish Churches House, Dunblane, the location of the ecumenical community of Iona within the eastern province as well as the favourable climate for inter-faith dialogue which already existed among the Catholic convert aristocracy and in the Episcopal Church (whose Synod offices and Theological College were located in Edinburgh).

The period covered by this thesis falls between the First and Second Vatican Council. John Strain, then one of three vicars apostolic, attended the former, before he became

⁹ CDS (1878;1964)

¹⁰ SCA GD54/160 Gray's Autobiography, 1990 (MS)

Archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh; Archbishop Gordon Gray, along with Archbishops Campbell and Scanlan of Glasgow and the Scottish other bishops, took a significant part in the latter. The restoration of the hierarchy in Scotland occurred in the aftermath of a truncated First Vatican Council, cut off before it could examine the relationship of bishops to the papacy; to that extent, the Scottish bishops, changing from their former role of vicars apostolic, took up office in an atmosphere of uncertainty and some turmoil. The collegiality of bishops was not addressed until the Second Vatican Council, which asserted their special responsibility within their own dioceses and in the Church as a whole.

Both Councils (the Second more than the First), created a sense of anticipation and opened up new opportunities and challenges for the Church. The difference between the two was that the Second Council was allowed to complete its work, the First was not. There is a view that the Second was the completion of the First, but circumstances had changed by the 1960s when the Council was able to generate much more thorough and radical analyses and a more complete and wide-ranging development plan for the future. In this, the Scottish bishops played a modest but workmanlike part, often fazed by the use of foreign languages, the absence of modern technology (which might have offered simultaneous translation) and the street-wise officialdom of the curial dicasteries. Although the bishops attempted to implement Vatican Two in Scotland, they did so with considerable native caution which might sometimes be interpreted as lack of confidence rather than enthusiasm — perhaps a relic of their predecessors' class insecurity or the Scottish jansenism of old. In the bishops' circumspection it is also tempting to see the two faces of ultramontanist — an echo of the internal conflict between Irish exuberance and Scots self-effacement which precipitated the restoration of the hierarchy: the Scots suspicion of emotionalism lingered on.

But another conflict had been won. In his *Understanding Scotland — The Sociology of a Stateless Nation* (1992), David McCrone observes that 'Catholicism and Scottishness were judged by the nineteenth century to be incompatible, for, according to the myth, Catholics were the subverters of Scotland's ancient religious freedoms.'¹¹ This thesis has shown how Catholicism in Scotland had, by 1965, begun to scotch the myth, moving from subversion to integration in most aspects of national life. However, by 1965, those who could read the signs of the times might have detected the first glimpses of coming turmoil in Catholic affairs, along with a similar trend among the other mainstream churches.

¹¹ David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland — The Sociology of a Stateless Nation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 200

Only two years later, *The Scotsman's* crowded letter pages proclaimed the heading 'Civil war in the Roman Catholic Church,' with correspondents writing

Looking around at the chaos, controversy and disaffection which is now the lot of the Catholic Church, who can now reasonably deny what we have been previously too proud to admit: that the Second Vatican Council was a blunder of the first order, and a catastrophe of terrible magnitude? ¹²

Not long after the euphoria of 1965, as the Second Vatican Council ended, the genie having been let out of the bottle, Catholicism would find itself in the first stages of decline, with priests leaving the ministry in large numbers and the laity struggling to make sense of their new freedom. There would be no more large-scale migration of Catholics into Scotland over the coming years — quite the reverse, as congregations withered and church-going became, for a number of reasons, simply less attractive and less relevant. The year 1965 was, therefore, a brief interlude of optimism and relative calm which only obliquely hinted at the coming storms.

¹² Gerald Warner, *The Scotsman*, 10 Mar 1967. See also Ivan Yates, 'The Roman Catholic Crisis,' *The Observer*, 5 Mar 1967

APPENDIX I

A Saint too far — the canonisation of Mary Queen of Scots

The late nineteenth century movement to canonise Mary Queen of Scots was a curious episode in Scottish Catholic history. Initially, this had all the hallmarks of yet another public relations triumph on the part of the Scottish bishops. Then, as quickly as the question of her beatification had arisen, the supporters of Mary's cause melted away.

If Abbotsford was at the core of the Scottish Catholic cultural psyche, the Church's association with Mary Queen of Scots gave Catholics added legitimacy through this connection with royalty. The bishops of Scotland were the guardians of a number of important relics of the Queen — who also featured in Sir Walter Scott's early novel, *The Abbot* (published 1820); these relics included her prayer book, crucifix and the 'Blairs Portrait', all in considerable demand for national exhibitions.¹

Nearly ten years after the restoration of the hierarchy, the Scottish bishops welcomed the opportunity to cement their relationship with the British royal family (as well as the Anglican establishment) by participating in the celebrations for the tercentenary of Mary Queen of Scots in an exhibition mounted 'with proper honours,' as the Stonyhurst Jesuit, Reginald Coley, put it — Coley even offering to loan Archbishop William Smith a small prayer book traditionally thought to have been used by the Queen at her execution.² The exhibition was planned for the autumn of 1887 at Peterborough; it would feature portraits, rings, manuscripts and missals associated with the Queen; a later showing at Holyroodhouse was proposed.³ The celebrations appealed to a significant cross-section of the British public but it also inspired some excessive adulation from less mainstream religious quarters, notably the Countess of Caithness in her spiritualist rhapsody, *A Midnight Visit to Holyrood* (1887).⁴ The Scottish bishops (encouraged by contemporary moves to canonise more than 250 English and Welsh martyrs who were put to death between 1636 and 1679) went a step further by testing support for Queen Mary's beatification.

Opinions were, however, divided. One of the first hostile reactions came in September 1886 from the Marquess of Bute, who wrote with thinly-veiled distaste: 'it is not a subject which I have specially studied, and it is one of which I am rather afraid, as it seems

¹ For a contemporary view of the importance of the 'Blairs Portrait', see Mario Conti, *Oh Help! The Making of an Archbishop*, (Edinburgh: Black and White Publishing, 2003), 33-33

² SCA ED4/81/1 Fr R. Coley to Abp W. Smith, 23 Oct 1886

³ SCA ED4/81/4 *Programme of Tercentenary of Mary Queen of Scots Exhibition*, 19 July to 9 Aug 1887

⁴ Marie de Pomar, *A Midnight Visit to Holyrood* (London: C. L. Wallace, 1887)

impossible to handle it without losing one's temper'.⁵ Pressed by the bishops, Lord Bute elaborated his views with ominous finality: 'To enshrine such a person as a Saint, it seems to me that more is required than to regard her as one purified by affliction nobly endured ... I do not think anything could justify her marriage to her husband's murderer.'⁶ In similar vein, Bishop John Macdonald advised that 'perhaps it would be inopportune to seek for her Beatification. I should somewhat fear that it might tend to bring discredit on canonization and the cultus of the saints generally in the eyes of many of our prejudiced fellow-countrymen, and the question suggests itself, is it worth while incurring this risk.'⁷ When they heard of the Scottish bishops' campaign, the London newspapers were scathing, accusing the bishops of fanaticism and of trying to distract attention from the dubious nature of Queen Mary's candidature by associating her with more illustrious English causes, such as those of Sir Thomas More and John Fisher.⁸

Elsewhere, however, there was unqualified approval for Mary's beatification: Cardinal Herbert Vaughan took 'her case up warmly'; John Monteith of Carstairs asked 'Will not the Church exist in Scotland more nobly when she has recognised Mary as a Martyr...?'⁹ Ralph Kerr of Newbattle referred to what he saw as the bias inherent in previous historical interpretations of Mary's career: 'my feeling is that she has been so villainously handled by adverse or bigoted historians that it is due to her to do all that lies in our power to clear her fame from the depth of prejudice which exists against her'.¹⁰

The bishops were very active in collecting material for the forthcoming exhibition (notably the Blairs Portrait of Mary) and in promoting her beatification. In this, the network of influential Scottish convert aristocrats made the bishops' efforts easier; Mrs Maxwell Scott of Abbotsford, for example, advised Archbishop Smith on how to market Mary's cause:

I think you will like to have the result of my talks with the Duchess [of Argyle] and Lady Lothian about the Tercentenary. They are both interested and keen about a celebration in Edin. and are quite ready to patronise it ... The Duchess says that Lady John is very keen — She possesses many Stuart relics ... With regard to Holyrood, the Duchess says that Lord Lothian (as Secretary of State for Scotland) is the right person to ask the Queen for permission ... we feel sure he

⁵ SCA ED4/84/1 Lord Bute to Abp W. Smith, 30 Sep 1886; SCA ED4/130/3 H. Buccleuch to Abp W. Smith, 28 Nov 1886

⁶ SCA ED4/84/10 Lord Bute to Abp W. Smith, 19 Feb 1887

⁷ SCA ED4/85/3 Bp J. Macdonald to Abp W. Smith, 9 Mar 1887

⁸ *The Times*, 9 Aug 1887

⁹ SCA ED4/84/5 J. Morris to Abp W. Smith, 3 Jan 1887; SCA ED4/84/8 J. Monteith to Abp W. Smith, 18 Feb 1887

¹⁰ SCA ED4/84/7 R. Kerr to Abp W. Smith, 14 Jun 1887; see also Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whatley, *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992), 6

would be glad to ask, he is himself anxious that Scotland should have its own celebration. Lady Lothian thinks the Lord Provost of Edin. should be asked to co-operate in the Movement. The Duchess suggests that if your Grace liked to put a notice in the papers to invite contributions of pictures ... The Duke of Norfolk is I think sending his Queen Mary Rosary to Peterborough with the proviso that it shall go on to Edin. if desired.¹¹

No time was lost: an Edinburgh Mary Stuart Exhibition Committee was formed, comprising the Duchess of Buccleuch, the Marchioness of Lothian and Mrs Maxwell Scott, with Sir Joseph Noel Paton (the Queen's Limner for Scotland) as secretary; the Earl of Hopetoun promised support, as did Lord Rosebery.¹² Then, unexpectedly, the venture came to a halt — the bishops learned that an international exhibition (to be held in Glasgow the following year) had already made arrangements to show the same relics of the Queen; reluctantly, the Edinburgh exhibition was postponed.¹³ The move to have Mary beatified, however, continued. Early in 1893, James Campbell, rector of the Scots College, Rome, assured Archbishop Angus MacDonald that Queen Mary's name could, without any difficulty, be inserted into a forthcoming address to Pope Leo XIII, then celebrating the 25th anniversary of his episcopate — the Pope was already known to be strongly in favour of Mary's cause.¹⁴

The Queen's cause was argued in the archdiocese of Westminster from 24 August 1888 to 13 August 1889.¹⁵ The outcome was a decision to proceed: Campbell's successor in Rome, Robert Fraser, was instructed to forward the petition for Mary's beatification to the Sacred Congregation of Rites.¹⁶ The lengthy process of canonisation for Mary and the other 250 (English and Welsh) candidates began to move forward; it took until 1970 for 40 of the English martyrs to be canonised. Queen Mary's cause, to save time and improve its chances of success, was handed over to the hierarchy of Scotland, and there it apparently remained; although her beatification had the public approval and support of Pope Benedict XV (1914-

¹¹ SCA ED4/81/10 Mrs Maxwell Scott to Abp W. Smith, 7 Jul 1887

¹² SCA ED4/82/6 Noel Paton to Abp W. Smith, 26 Sep 1887; SCA ED4/82/8 Earl of Hopetoun to Abp W. Smith, 30 Sep 1887; SCA ED4/82/9 Lord Rosebery to Abp W. Smith, 30 Sep 1887

¹³ SCA ED4/82/14 Meeting of Mary Stuart Exhibition Committee, 18 Oct 1887

¹⁴ SCA ED5/49/9 Fr J. Campbell to Bp A. MacDonald, 22 Jan 1893; Peter Hancock. 'Promoting the Beatification Cause of Mary Queen of Scots,' *Journal of the Marie Stuart Society*, No 22, (Spring 2001), 19

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 18

¹⁶ ASV Arch. Congr. SS Rituum: Processus 5087-5088

22), whether for reasons of political sensitivity or simply the absence of miracles, it remained unresolved and was allowed by the bishops to slip quietly into oblivion.¹⁷

¹⁷ Bede Camm (ed.), *The English Martyrs* (Cambridge: Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1929) 12; 69

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