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# **Making Roman Catholic Priests in the Nineteenth Century**

**A Prosopographical Study of Scottish Mission's  
France-Trained Students and Seminarian Social  
Identities, 1818-1878**

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PhD History  
The University of Edinburgh  
2017







## Declaration

This thesis has been composed by me and is my own work. It has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified. Any included material is my own work except where indicated.

This thesis includes no previously published works *verbatim*, but an article derived from Chapter III has been published in a peer-reviewed journal. This has been indicated in the footnotes.

In Dundee, 15 March 2017,

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Iida Saarinen



## Abstract

In the nineteenth century, Scottish Catholic priests were not simply trained; they were made. Preferably selected and intensely trained since boyhood, seminarians – priests-to-be – were set on a lengthy career path which expected them to become exemplary Christians, brilliant scholars, disciplined (celibate) males, loyal subjects of the Pope, and approachable ‘fathers’ to their parishioners in a Presbyterian country historically unsympathetic to their faith. By the time they left the seminary system they had been thoroughly transformed: from children to adults, from boys to men, from students to professionals and from, in many cases, labourers’ and shoemakers’ sons to gentlemen. Aspects of their lives were permanently affected by the process of moulding them into missionary priests in an immersive environment in a foreign country. But regardless of their unique experience, seminarians have rarely been the focus of historical scholarship.

This thesis examines the lives and the social identities of a subsection of the Scottish Mission’s seminarians: those trained on French soil between 1818 and 1878 inclusive. It uses the prosopographical method to analyse the lives of a population of 225 France-trained individuals before, beyond and during their study migration abroad. It details the system for the education of missionary priests for Scotland before concentrating specifically on France and the post-Revolution setting of the students’ further studies there, previously undocumented by historians. It addresses the Gallican and Sulpician peculiarities of the French ecclesiastical culture reigning at the seminaries and the impact of the instability of the host society on the Scots seminarians. By using the lenses of gender, class, nation and race, it addresses different intertwining facets of this experience, elaborating on these lives through the concept of belonging.

This thesis makes a significant contribution to scholarship on Roman Catholic priesthood, seminary education and Scots Colleges abroad. The individual seminarian lives highlight the paradoxical nature of a Roman Catholic clerical education, designed to mould individuals into cosmopolitan priests for the Scottish Catholic Mission.



## Lay Summary

Priests-in-training have rarely been the focus of historical scholarship. Preferably selected and intensely trained since boyhood, seminarians were set on a lengthy career path which expected them to become exemplary Christians, brilliant scholars, disciplined men, loyal subjects of the Pope, and approachable ‘fathers’ to their parishioners. They were educated with the awareness that they were to serve congregations in a Presbyterian country. By the time they left the seminary system they had been thoroughly transformed: from children to adults, from boys to men, from students to professionals and from, in many cases, labourers’ and shoemakers’ sons to gentlemen. Aspects of their lives were permanently affected by the process of moulding them into missionary priests in an immersive environment – a significant portion of their studies taking place in a foreign country.

This thesis examines a group of 225 Scots seminarians who trained in France at any point between 1818 and 1878. It inspects the lives of these individuals before, beyond and during their stay abroad, and concentrates on their identifications and loyalties and the impact their studies had on them.

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## Abbreviations

AN	Archives Nationales Archives Nationales de France, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine (near Paris)
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
<i>IR</i>	<i>The Innes Review</i>
SCA	Scottish Catholic Archives, Edinburgh (Columba House) and Aberdeen (University of Aberdeen Special Collections) <sup>1</sup>
<i>SCD</i>	<i>Scottish Catholic Directory</i> <sup>2</sup>
SNL	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
SPC	Scotland’s People Centre, Edinburgh

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<sup>1</sup> The original collection is currently divided. Material is held both at the University of Aberdeen Special Collections, and at Columba House, Edinburgh. Material held in Aberdeen is now officially referred to as the ‘Scottish Catholic Historical Collection’ and the material held in Edinburgh as the ‘Scottish Catholic Archives’. This study was completed during a transitory period during which the collection was divided. It uses ‘Scottish Catholic Archives’ to refer to material held in either Aberdeen or Edinburgh, as some material consulted in Edinburgh was later moved to Aberdeen.

<sup>2</sup> The year that follows is the year the *Directory* refers to, which is not necessarily the same as the year of publication of that particular directory.

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## Introduction

Here it may be remarked that his long residence in the French capital – ten continuous years – left noticeable traces on his character all his days. [...] It goes without saying that he was an accomplished French scholar. He retained an unbounded admiration for the French ecclesiastical training, and in conversation he loved to dwell pleasantly on many an incident in his college life.<sup>1</sup>

Robert Clapperton was born in the summer of 1831 into a Roman Catholic merchant family in Fochabers. A village situated in the Enzie on the eastern bank of the river Spey, it was located in an area that was one of the traditional Catholic strongholds in Scotland. During his childhood, it was decided that he should become a priest. He was sent to Aberdeenshire at age fourteen to begin his studies at the Scots junior seminary, and it was decided that he could pursue his classical studies at a French junior seminary the same year. The teenager boarded a ship and travelled to the North of France, from where he made his way to Paris. There, he was admitted to a junior seminary at Vaugirard near the outskirts of the French capital. Working on the classical curriculum in an international setting, he remained at the French establishment for five years. There were no interruptions during which he could have made a journey to Scotland, even though he received news of the death of his mother in 1852. At age twenty, he moved on to St Sulpice, a famed Parisian senior seminary, for two years of philosophy, followed by two years of theological study. At the minimum age of twenty-four, in May 1856, he was ordained in Paris as a priest for the Scottish Mission. That July, he travelled back to Scotland in order to begin his career as a missionary priest in Dumfries, over two hundred miles from his place of birth. The fourteen-year-old had spent ten years abroad and grown into a young man. He began his career in earnest upon his return, having just turned twenty-five.<sup>2</sup>

Robert Clapperton and his fellow Scottish Catholic priests in the nineteenth century, were not simply trained; they were made. Ideally selected and intensely

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix 4: Biographical Catalogue: ‘Clapperton, Robert (1831-1906)’.

<sup>2</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register); SPC: Census 1841: Bellie, RD 126-00, 001-005.

trained since boyhood, most seminarians – priests-to-be – were set on a lengthy career path which expected them to take on an ambitious number of roles. The priests were to be exemplary Christians, brilliant scholars, local figures of authority and loyal subjects of the Pope, but they were also expected to be disciplined (and celibate) males and approachable ‘fathers’ to their parishioners. The multifaceted role was even more so in the northern peripheries of Roman Catholic Christendom where priests were trained with the awareness that they were to serve congregations in a Presbyterian country historically unsympathetic to their faith. In most cases sponsored financially by the Scottish Mission (or the ‘Scots Mission’), the seminarians were expected to swiftly complete their studies – including a foreign facet of significant duration – and live long, productive lives as labourers to the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland. By the time they left the seminary system they had been thoroughly transformed: from children to adults, from boys to men, from students to professionals and from, in many cases, labourers’ and shoemakers’ sons to gentlemen. The young men often retained a strong sense of national, ethnic or cultural belonging and remained in touch with their biological families. However, these aspects of their lives were permanently altered by the process of moulding them into missionary priests in the immersive environment of the seminary – usually first in Scotland and then abroad. While Robert Clapperton’s (1831-1906) ten-year stay in Paris was unusual in its length, his experience highlights the formative nature of this process of priest-making. The seminary experience resulted in a web of social identifications which this thesis will attempt to unravel.

Scottish Catholics had well-established bases in continental Europe by the late eighteenth century. Since the Reformation of 1560, Catholicism had to survive underground and elite-level higher education was simply not available closer to home. The academic education necessary for the making of the priest – the classical curriculum followed by theological studies – was to be acquired in countries more sympathetic to their faith. A tradition of further study in continental Europe developed, complete with the founding and maintenance of specific educational establishments, ‘Scots Colleges’. A cosmopolitan education and the fluency in a foreign language were considered advantageous, even if they offered little practical instruction on how to serve scattered congregations in Scotland. This training was costly, included precarious travel, was difficult to manage directly from Scotland, and was vulnerable

to military, social and political crises in the host country. Yet, the benefits outweighed the negatives, and continued to do so even after the restrictions to the training of priests in Scotland were lifted.

By the nineteenth century, the training bases abroad included two Scots Colleges (one in Rome and one in Valladolid, Spain), a monastery seminary in Regensburg ('Ratisbon'), and a collection of French junior and senior seminaries that admitted Scots seminarians. Additionally, the College of Propaganda Fide in Rome received the occasional student. None of the study locations appear to have been specific to any of the Scottish Mission Districts,<sup>3</sup> but Rome was a particularly prestigious study location due to its geographical closeness to the Holy See. However, France, too, held a special place in the hearts and minds of many Scots. The Auld Alliance created a special relationship between France and Scotland, but Robin Eagles has found that there existed an even more far-reaching 'love affair', even during the Napoleonic wars.<sup>4</sup> Paris, in particular, retained an aura of splendour to the British.<sup>5</sup> French remained 'the fashionable language',<sup>6</sup> and among the English aristocracy 'abroad' could even act as a synonym for France.<sup>7</sup> In this thesis, France is used as a starting point for the investigation of the future priests of the Scottish Mission. A completely straightforward and uneventful study path appears to have been the exception rather than the norm in nineteenth-century Europe, and France is particularly interesting due to its many revolutions (1830, 1848, 1870) which had direct consequences to the seminarians' studies and, potentially, their future careers in Scotland.<sup>8</sup>

The Roman Catholics in Scotland had been an excluded and marginalised minority, unable to practice their religion officially for more than two centuries. The geographically marginal Scottish Mission was an enterprise of its own, fully separate from both the Irish and the English equivalent. Marginalised and excluded from the affairs of the Protestant state, Catholicism was forced to adapt. The 'Mission' status

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<sup>3</sup> Further research and a greater sample might reveal patterns not visible here.

<sup>4</sup> Robin Eagles, 'Beguiled by France? The English Aristocracy, 1748-1848', 71, in Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood (eds), *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c.1750-c.1850* (Manchester, 1997), 60-77.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>6</sup> SCA: OL/1/29/7, Archibald Chisholm to Bp Scott, Inverlochry 7 Nov 1839.

<sup>7</sup> Eagles, 'Beguiled by France?', 74.

<sup>8</sup> These are further explored in Chapter II.



signified that the government of the Roman Catholics in the area was under the care of vicars apostolic rather than a domestic hierarchy of appointed Bishops and Archbishops, answering directly to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome (often referred to simply as ‘Propaganda’). This status would not be changed to that of a ‘Church’ until the hierarchy was officially restored by the Pope in 1878.<sup>9</sup>

Catholic historian Sheridan Gilley has characterised the nineteenth century as ‘a period of paradox in the history of the Roman Catholic Church’.<sup>10</sup> The organisation was forced deal with rapid growth and religious revival, but also continuing religious and denominational persecution. It endured strife from within and without, but also political and military attacks to its very heart in Rome. Likewise, the Roman Catholic Missions of Great Britain continued to experience internal and external challenges in the course of the nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Following the initial minor concessions made in 1793 by the first Relief Act for Scotland, the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 (this following shortly from the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts), secured Catholics an official place in the affairs of the state. Around 1755, there were approximately 33,000 Catholics in Scotland (around 2.6 per cent of the population), most of whom were based in the counties of Inverness, Argyll, Banff and Aberdeen.<sup>12</sup> However, in the course of the nineteenth century, the Catholic population of Scotland grew substantially: by 1878, the population had increased to around 350,000, about nine per cent of the total population of Scotland.<sup>13</sup> By 1851 the vast majority of Catholics in Scotland were now based in the industrial South-West, in and around Glasgow.<sup>14</sup> The increase was largely due to migration from within Britain. Great numbers of poor Irish migrants crossed the Irish Sea and settled permanently in the

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<sup>9</sup> See Appendix 2 for a list of the vicars apostolic of the Scottish Mission in office between 1818 and 1878.

<sup>10</sup> Sheridan Gilley, ‘The Papacy’, 13, in Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (eds), *The Cambridge History of Christianity: World Christianities c. 1815 – c. 1914* (Cambridge, 2006), 13-29.

<sup>11</sup> David Hempton, ‘Religious Life in Industrial Britain, 1830-1914’, 312, in Sheridan Gilley and W. J. Sheils (eds), *A History of Religion in Britain: Practice & Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present* (Oxford, 1994), 306-321.

<sup>12</sup> James Darragh, ‘The Catholic Population of Scotland since the Year 1680’, 59 (Appendix II), in *IR* 4/1 (1953), 49-59.

<sup>13</sup> Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom 1815-1914* (Harlow, 2008), 267.

<sup>14</sup> Darragh, ‘The Catholic Population of Scotland since the Year 1680’, 59 (Appendix II).

Western District of the Scottish Mission, especially after the Great Irish Famine in the 1840s.<sup>15</sup> The impoverished Scottish Mission was forced to adapt and provide priests to see to the spiritual needs of the largely Catholic and mostly penniless migrant communities. Due to these rapid and highly visible changes in the demographics of Scotland, Catholicism was also accused of being detrimental to progress.<sup>16</sup> The differences in language and worship alienated Scottish Catholics as well as Protestants, and not even the Catholic clergy was immune to prejudiced attitudes towards the Irish, distrusting Irish-born and Irish-trained priests who were thought to be spreading dangerous political ideas.<sup>17</sup> These fears, not all of which were unfounded, discouraged the Mission from accepting more frequent support from across the Irish Sea, even though necessity often demanded it. Further challenges arose from the attitudes to Scottish Catholics in Scotland. The apparently questionable Scottishness and Britishness of Scottish Catholics begs further attention.

Suspicious as to where the Catholics' loyalties lay remained deeply ingrained in the non-Catholic population. British Catholics were suspect as they maintained a double allegiance: to civil state and the sovereign, but also to the Pope. The Holy Father, at this point, was not simply a spiritual authority.<sup>18</sup> The Catholics seemed more threatening in their growing visibility and foothold in the everyday affairs of the nation, especially after the Great Disruption of 1843 and the resulting division and splintering of the Church of Scotland. The declaration of papal infallibility and the Restoration of the English Hierarchy in 1850 precipitated anti-Catholic fervour in response to what was dubbed 'papal aggression'. The environment in which the Scottish Catholic Mission operated was generally hostile; this heightened the need to contribute to Scottish society and to be seen to do so. Although Linda Colley's famous study has suggested that British identity developed as an essentially anti-Catholic and an anti-French one,<sup>19</sup> it has been convincingly argued by S. Karly Kehoe, among

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<sup>15</sup> For an overview of the Irish in Britain, see for example Donald M. MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Basingstoke, 2011).

<sup>16</sup> Edward Norman, 'Church and State since 1800', 277-278, in Gilley and Sheils (eds), *A History of Religion in Britain, 277-290*.

<sup>17</sup> See Chapter V.

<sup>18</sup> See Brown, *Providence and Empire*, 272. See also Norman, 'Church and State since 1800', 277.

<sup>19</sup> See Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, rev. edn (London, 2012).

others, that Scottish Catholics were actively redefining their identities in a way that would allow them to contribute to the nation and the empire.<sup>20</sup>

Combined with the ongoing industrialisation and urbanisation, the formerly-homogeneous face of Scottish Catholicism was radically altered in the course of the nineteenth century.<sup>21</sup> While the small Mission of Scotland faced challenges, the new century was also full of promise and led to increasing numbers of new schools and churches, but also religious societies, orders and institutions. High-profile conversions in the wake of the Oxford Movement provided a boost for wider Catholic self-confidence, but also patronage that the Mission so sorely needed.<sup>22</sup> The number of secular priests rose in the latter half of the nineteenth century from only around 100 clergymen in 1850 to around 200 in 1870.<sup>23</sup> By 1910, Scottish Catholics were served by a body of 540 priests.<sup>24</sup> This does not only imply that the Scottish Mission (and Church) required more labourers as their congregations grew, but also that it found ways to support higher numbers of clergy.<sup>25</sup> Alongside the numbers of congregants, the number of Roman Catholic religious and voluntary organisations for females also rose rapidly, giving the church development around the mid-century an increasingly gendered form.<sup>26</sup> The seminarians and their identities at the centre of this thesis fit into this complex picture.

Assessing the seminarians' experience through the lenses of gender, class, nation and 'race', this thesis will offer an insight into a multifaceted experience not available to many. It will also draw from a collection of the students' life stories, examined by

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<sup>20</sup> S. Karly Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church: Catholicism, Gender and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-century Scotland* (Manchester, 2010), 1-2. See also John McCaffrey, 'Roman Catholics in Scotland in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries', 277, in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 21 (1983), 275-300.

<sup>21</sup> David McRoberts, 'The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy in 1878', 3, in *idem* (ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878-1978* (Glasgow, 1979), 3-29.

<sup>22</sup> See W. Gordon Gorman, *Converts to Rome: A List of about Four Thousand Protestants Who Have Recently Become Roman Catholics* (London, 1885); Bernard Aspinwall, 'The Formation of a British Identity within Scottish Catholicism, 1830-1914', 274, in Robert Pope (ed.), *Religion and National Identity: Wales and Scotland c. 1700-2000* (Cardiff, 2001), 268-306.

<sup>23</sup> Bernard Aspinwall, 'Catholic Devotion in Victorian Scotland', 33, in Martin J. Mitchell (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Irish in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2008), 31-43.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Not all of these ways sustainable: loans taken during the second half of the nineteenth century meant that 'massive debts would linger well into the twentieth century'. Darren Tierney, 'Financing the Faith: Scottish Catholicism 1772 - c. 1890' (2014), 9. An unpublished University of Aberdeen doctoral thesis. Personal copy accessed with the kind permission of the author.

<sup>26</sup> Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*, 49.

using the method of prosopography. These brief biographies are also collated in a biographical catalogue to facilitate further research.<sup>27</sup> Although based on an examination of those trained in France, the conclusions of this thesis are broadly applicable to the Mission's other seminarians who completed the foreign aspect of their training elsewhere. It will also address a number of wider themes including history of education, boarding schools, elite-making, internationalism and the corresponding identities. It examines not only unusual lives, but also the system by which priests were made, specifically to meet the changing needs of Scottish Catholics in the nineteenth century.

## Literature Review

Today, there is no apparent conflict between being a Catholic and being Scottish. Unlike in the early decades of the nineteenth century and long after, Catholics have been integrated and accepted into Scottish society.<sup>28</sup> Significant headway has been made in the last six decades to contribute to a body of scholarship that goes beyond antiquarianism and narrative, especially on the pages of *The Innes Review*, a journal dedicated for this purpose from 1950 onwards.<sup>29</sup> Yet the history of Scottish Catholicism remains under-researched and insular. S. Karly Kehoe has pointed out that, lamentably, it has been detached from the mainstream regardless of its significance to the development of Presbyterian Scottishness.<sup>30</sup> Raymond Boyle and Peter Lynch have reminded us of the significance of the Catholic Church to 'Scotland, the Scots and Scottish identity' through its reciprocal shaping of 'the specific political, economic and cultural contours' characteristic of Scotland and Scottishness.<sup>31</sup> Treating the history of Scottish Catholicism as additional to the history of Scotland would not

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<sup>27</sup> See Appendix 4.

<sup>28</sup> Raymond Boyle and Peter Lynch, 'Introduction: Catholicism and Scottish Society', 4, in *idem* (eds), *Out of the Ghetto? The Catholic Community in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1998), 1-10.

<sup>29</sup> Darren Tierney, S. Karly Kehoe and Ewen E. Cameron, 'The Scottish Catholic Archives and Scottish Historical Studies', in *The Innes Review* 65/2 (2014), 79-94.

<sup>30</sup> Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*, 2.

<sup>31</sup> Raymond Boyle and Peter Lynch, 'Conclusion: The Future of Catholic Scotland', 199, in *idem* (eds), *Out of the Ghetto? The Catholic Community in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1998), 193-199.

be sufficient. Without the Catholic facets of the story, the Scottish story is not only incomplete; it is misleading.

In terms of Scottish Catholic seminary education, numerous studies focusing on the educational establishments have paved the way for more student-focused studies. An important overview has been given by Christine Johnson in her *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland 1789-1829*.<sup>32</sup> The longer-lived seminaries abroad have been investigated to a varying degree, mostly in the form of historical monographs on the institutions. The Spanish Scots College, which moved from Madrid to Valladolid in 1771, has been examined by Maurice Taylor in 1971;<sup>33</sup> the ‘Scottish’ Benedictine monastery-seminaries in Germany have been examined by Mark Dilworth;<sup>34</sup> the history of Scots College Paris until its closure has been completed by Monsignor Halloran in 1997;<sup>35</sup> and finally, Raymond McCluskey has edited an anniversary edition of essays on Scots College Rome in 2000.<sup>36</sup> Scots College Douai is yet to receive a dedicated volume. While these works have established the significance of these individual colleges to the Scottish Mission in the form of their alumni, the emphasis has been on the institutional narrative and the story of those in charge of these establishments. Many of the Irish and English equivalents – which stemmed from operations with a completely different ‘role, position, importance and profile’ to those in Scotland<sup>37</sup> – have also been explored, the Irish Colleges in greater focus.<sup>38</sup> These publications follow a similar pattern to their Scottish counterparts and have tended to concentrate on individual institutions. Undoubtedly this stems from the availability and accessibility of archival materials, the varied language of research,

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<sup>32</sup> Christine Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland 1789-1829* (Edinburgh, 1983), esp. ch. 7.

<sup>33</sup> Maurice Taylor, *Scots College in Spain* (Valladolid, 1971).

<sup>34</sup> Mark Dilworth, *The Scots in Franconia* (Edinburgh, 1974).

<sup>35</sup> Brian M. Halloran, *The Scots College Paris, 1603-1792* (Edinburgh, 1997).

<sup>36</sup> Raymond McCluskey (ed.), *Scots College Rome, 1600-2000* (Edinburgh, 2000).

<sup>37</sup> Raymond Boyle and Peter Lynch, ‘Introduction: Catholicism and Scottish Society’, 3, in *idem* (eds), *Out of the Ghetto? The Catholic Community in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1998), 1-10.

<sup>38</sup> See, for example, the recent examples of Patricia O’Connell, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostela, 1605-1769* (Dublin, 2007), and an edited collection of essays by Dáire Keogh and Albert McDonnell (eds), *The Irish College, Rome, and Its World* (Dublin, 2008). An overview of all the Irish colleges abroad has been completed by Cathaldus Giblin in his ‘The Irish Colleges on the Continent’, in Liam Swords (ed.), *The Irish-French Connection, 1578-1978* (Paris, 1978), 9-20. For a more focused look on the Irish Colleges in France, see Tomás Ó Fiaich, *The Irish Colleges in France* (Dublin, 1990). Liam Chambers’ work on the Irish College in Paris is also available through Centre Culturel Irlandais: Liam Chambers, ‘The Irish Colleges in Paris, 1578 - 2002: History’ (2012).

specificity of funding obtained, and practical reasons of time and enormous scope. However, the most recent contribution on literature on the Scots Colleges abroad by Tom McNally, published in 2012, analyses all the Scots Colleges abroad from 1575 until 1799 as the ‘sixth Scottish university’.<sup>39</sup> This is a valuable contribution to the early modern history of the Colleges, but it is of limited use when discussing peculiarities of the nineteenth century.

While the institutional significance of the Scots Colleges to Scottish Catholicism is well-established, the members of the student body have hitherto drawn attention primarily when they went on to do extraordinary things. A notable exception is Liam Chambers’ overview on the Irish College.<sup>40</sup> While this is still a work in progress, Chambers has quantitatively analysed those who attended between 1832 and 1939, producing a data set of 2,100 of both clerical and non-clerical students.<sup>41</sup> This is building upon his earlier work on early modern Irish *fondations* and *boursiers* in Paris,<sup>42</sup> and indicates a new focus on the macro and the demographic. In terms of the micro, Lisa Curry’s transcriptions introduced in “‘My Dear Nephew’: Letters to a Student Priest’ have also opened the door to further interest in the social history of seminary education.<sup>43</sup> On an international scale, the priest has received considerable interdisciplinary scholarly attention, but historical studies of priests-to-be are harder to come by. Jean-René Chotard’s monograph *Seminaristes... Une Espèce Disparu?*, which examines the history of a junior seminary in France between 1822 and 1966, was published forty years ago.<sup>44</sup> The most comprehensive sociological study on priests, including their formation, remains Andrew Greeley’s *The Catholic Priest in the United States: Sociological Investigations*.<sup>45</sup> Written forty-five years ago, there is

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<sup>39</sup> Tom McNally, *The Sixth Scottish University: The Scots Colleges Abroad, 1575-1799* (Leiden, 2012).

<sup>40</sup> See Liam Chambers, ‘Creating a Clerical Elite: The Students of the Irish College, Paris, 1832-1939’, an unpublished conference paper given at the Irish Elites in the Nineteenth Century’, Conference of the Society for the Study of Nineteenth Century Ireland, Institute of Irish Studies, University of Liverpool, 30 June - 1 July 2011. Accessed with the kind permission of the author.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>42</sup> See Liam Chambers, ‘Irish Fondations and Boursiers in Early Modern Paris, 1682-1793’, in *Irish Economic and Social History* 35 (2008), 1-22.

<sup>43</sup> See Lisa Curry, “‘My Dear Nephew’: Letters to a Student Priest”, in *IR* 59/1 (2008), 49-76.

<sup>44</sup> See Jean-René Chotard, *Seminaristes... Une Espèce Disparu? Histoire et Structure d’un Petit Séminaire Guérande (1822-1966)* (Sherbrooke, 1977).

<sup>45</sup> Andrew Greeley, *The Catholic Priest in the United States: Sociological Investigations* (Washington, 1972).

room for a further inquiry. Marie Keenan's sociological inquiry into child sexual abuse is one of the few that analytically touches upon seminaries from an academic point of view.<sup>46</sup> The initial psychological challenges of priestly life have been examined, for example, by David K. O'Rourke,<sup>47</sup> and while they are not the focus of this essay, interesting comparisons can be drawn.<sup>48</sup> However, it is the history of elite education that might be most relevant when explaining this experience.

Seminary education (like most elite-level education at this time) took place in single-sex boarding institutions. The main assumption is that this kind of education had an impact beyond its academic content. Ciaran O'Neill, who has examined Irish Catholic schooling in England in the second half of the nineteenth century, has pointed out that even though such an experience was 'likely to have made a significant impact', measuring the specific effect of an education abroad is difficult.<sup>49</sup> Although our answers can never be comprehensive, we may be able to draw attention to certain patterns discernible in Scottish seminarian education. For example, the seminaries in France were, without exception, boarding schools. Erving Goffman's idea of a 'total society' is evoked to assess the impression left by the experience of education abroad.<sup>50</sup> It is not in the scope of this thesis to discuss Jungian psychoanalyst Joy Schaverien's ideas about 'boarding school syndrome'.<sup>51</sup> However, the effects of removal from home and insertion into a total institution undoubtedly had an impact on developing pre-adolescent minds. The closely controlled environment paired up with strict discipline was considered necessary in the creation of priests.

In addition to being comparable to other boarding institutions, these schools can be seen as 'tools for reinforcing power relationships and cultural identities'.<sup>52</sup> In the

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<sup>46</sup> See Marie Keenan, *Child Sexual Abuse & the Catholic Church: Gender, Power, and Organizational Culture* (Oxford, 2012).

<sup>47</sup> David K. O'Rourke, *The First Year of Priesthood* (Huntington, 1978).

<sup>48</sup> Ralph Gibson has also weighed in on priestly education in his *A Social History of French Catholicism, 1789-1914* (London, 1989), esp. ch. 3, 'The Secular Clergy', 56-103.

<sup>49</sup> Ciaran O'Neill, *Catholics of Consequence: Transnational Education, Social Mobility, and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900* (Oxford, 2014), 4, 2.

<sup>50</sup> See Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (New York, 1961).

<sup>51</sup> Her most recent book on the subject appeared in 2015. See Joy Schaverien, *Boarding School Syndrome: The Psychological Trauma of the 'Privileged' Child* (London, 2015).

<sup>52</sup> Abigail Gundlach Graham, 'The Power of Boarding Schools: A Historiographical Review', in *American Educational History Journal* 39 (2012), 467.

nineteenth century, an immersive boarding school experience functioned as an indicator of ‘elite’ education.<sup>53</sup> Pierre Bourdieu’s ideas about ‘cultural capital’ are helpful in addressing the consequences of the experience.<sup>54</sup> The socio-economic status of the priest was a complicated one, but all aspirants to priesthood were encouraged to think of themselves as gentlemen. The elite status of the seminarians was strongly enforced and nourished in these institutions which offered a seminary education distinctly elite in curriculum, cost and cosmopolitanism. The horseshoe pattern of this study migration – from the European periphery to the relative centre and back – was designed to efficiently produce a new generation of priests for the Mission in Scotland, but other than that it differed remarkably little from the standard genteel education.

In exploring the experience of being educated abroad, this study is as much about crossing borders as it is about education. Going abroad was not (always) about academic aspirations, but ‘about acquiring an international education of high quality and high status’.<sup>55</sup> After the completion of the studies, the seminarian was not only educated according to the curriculum, but in a wider sense through cosmopolitanism and cultural capital not to mention fluency in a foreign language. As with Ciaran O’Neill’s Irish students educated in England, it was not insignificant to the Scots that they could gain ‘valuable experience of the core in order to position oneself in the periphery’.<sup>56</sup> This was comparable to the eighteenth-century rite of passage to the wealthy, the Grand Tour.<sup>57</sup>

Although based on an examination of those trained in France, this thesis allows for generalisations on the Mission’s other seminarians, trained elsewhere, as well as several wider themes including history of education, boarding schools, elite-making, internationalism and the corresponding identities. It examines not only a number of unusual lives, but also the system by which priests were made, specifically to meet the changing needs of Scottish Catholics in the nineteenth century.

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<sup>53</sup> O’Neill, *Catholics of Consequence*, 16.

<sup>54</sup> See Pierre Bourdieu, ‘Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital’, in Reinhard Kreckel (ed.), *Soziale Ungleichheiten* (Göttingen, 1983), 183-198.

<sup>55</sup> O’Neill, *Catholics of Consequence*, 3.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-4.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*



## Theoretical Framework: Identity and Belonging

At the seminaries, in Scotland and elsewhere, the seminarians were taking part in the process of ‘becoming’ priests. The process was gradual and imposed. Throughout their studies the seminarians were learning to identify as priests, already performing the appropriate roles for priests-to-be. This applied to both those who began their studies as children as well as the few who found their vocation in adulthood, but it is particularly the former group that stands out. Trained from childhood, as most priests in the nineteenth century were, these individuals were not just trained and educated, but brought up in a way that reflected their future careers. While the career may not have been for everyone with its rigorous rules and responsibilities, the status achieved through genteel education and power within their communities was not to be easily dismissed, even if the financial prospects were poor and the setting an antagonistic Presbyterian nation. The ways in which these individuals were encouraged to ‘belong’ at the seminary required some adjustment in their intersecting identifications. This is one of the key foci of this thesis.

‘Identity’ is a much-used catchword today, supposedly understood by all, and part of our vernacular when addressing current political issues or conversing with one another. A commonsensical explanation of identity might point out that it relates to people’s ‘sense of who they “really” are’,<sup>58</sup> and it involves perceptions of exclusion as well as inclusion.<sup>59</sup> Those who do not share an identity category with an individual are outsiders, embodying Otherness. But as usually is the case, the concept is not that straightforward.

In the 1950s Erik H. Erikson coined the expression ‘identity crisis’ in the context of psychoanalysis.<sup>60</sup> The term was taken on in the social sciences, but it quickly evolved into something rather imprecise by the 1970s.<sup>61</sup> Academics discovered and

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<sup>58</sup> Arthur L. Greil and Lynn Davidman, ‘Religion and Identity’, 549, in James A. Beckford and N. J. Demerath III (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of the Sociology of Religion* (London, 2007), 549-565.

<sup>59</sup> Ailsa Henderson, *Hierarchies of Belonging: National Identity and Political Culture in Scotland and Quebec* (Montreal, 2007), 16.

<sup>60</sup> Philip Gleason, ‘Identifying Identity: A Semantic History’, 910, in *Journal of American History* 69/4 (1983), 910-931. See also Erik H. Erikson, *Identity and the Life Cycle: Selected Papers* (New York, 1959).

<sup>61</sup> Greil and Davidman, ‘Religion and Identity’, 549.

rediscovered the concept within their own narrow fields, which is why it is so notoriously difficult to define in a way that can be accepted across disciplinary boundaries. In the mid-1980s, Peter Boerner complained that ‘the various disciplines follow separate paths [...] and no broad survey exists of the various interpretative approaches’.<sup>62</sup> Historians have not been blind to the problems with the term. Most recently, the ‘promiscuous’ use of the concept has been heavily criticised by Peter Mandler, who in 2006 stated that ‘identity is only rarely the proper province of the historian’.<sup>63</sup> He complained that researchers too often rely on a sort of ‘historians’ folk wisdom’ about identity, taken to be true without much methodological and theoretical scrutiny.<sup>64</sup> This folk wisdom, he has claimed, has come to include somewhat outdated (or at least recently challenged and debated) concepts borrowed from other disciplines, while obliviously ignoring the existence of more recent theoretical debates and research in those fields. This problem is not exclusive to history.<sup>65</sup> As an analytical concept, Margaret Wetherell has claimed, identity remains ‘slippery, blurred and confused’ and lacks the solidity to stand on its own.<sup>66</sup> However, even with its problems, it is not without its uses.

The troublesome term ‘identity’ has a number of more specific alternatives. Instead of ‘national identity’, Peter Mandler’s preference is to speak of ‘forms of national consciousness’.<sup>67</sup> Many rather speak of ‘belonging’.<sup>68</sup> Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper concur while also highlighting other available terms such as ‘categorisation’, ‘self-understanding’, ‘social location’, ‘commonality’, ‘connectedness’, or

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<sup>62</sup> Peter Boerner, ‘Introduction’, 7, in in *idem* (ed.), *Concepts of National Identity: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue – Interdisziplinäre Betrachtungen zur Frage der nationalen Identität* (Baden-Baden, 1986), 7-17.

<sup>63</sup> Peter Mandler, ‘What is “National Identity”? Definitions and Applications in Modern British Historiography’, 271 and 275, in *Modern Intellectual History* 3/2 (2006), 271-297.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 272-273.

<sup>65</sup> Andrew Thompson, ‘Nations, National Identities and Human Agency: Putting People back into Nations’, 18, in *The Sociological Review* 49:1 (2001), 18-33.

<sup>66</sup> Margaret Wetherell, ‘The Field of Identity Studies’, 3, in Wetherell and Mohanty (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Identities*, 3-26.

<sup>67</sup> Mandler, ‘What is “National Identity”?’, 276.

<sup>68</sup> Paul Jones and Michał Krzyżanowski, ‘Identity, Belonging and Migration: Beyond Constructing “Others”’, 38, in Gerard Delanty, Ruth Wodak and Paul Jones (eds), *Identity, Belonging and Migration* (Liverpool, 2008), 38-53; Nira Yuval-Davis, *The Politics of Belonging: Intersectional Contestations* (London, 2011), 10.

‘groupness’, all of which have slightly different nuances.<sup>69</sup> Some of this change in the use of concepts has already taken place. Toon van Meijl has stated that ‘identity’ has already been gradually replaced by the notion of ‘identifications’.<sup>70</sup> The terminological change has been supported by Zygmunt Bauman, among others.<sup>71</sup> These alternatives will always be imperfect, but perhaps not to the same extent as the original.

Social memberships in real or imagined groups are constructed in different terms from individual selfhoods.<sup>72</sup> We do not know what exactly went on in people’s heads,<sup>73</sup> but we can still look at people’s general sense of belonging. They also provide ‘a focus for adherence and aspiration’.<sup>74</sup> This thesis will show that seminarians were brought up in a way that made acquisition of a collection of very specific seminarian identities non-negotiable.

There are a few widely accepted (social) identity categories that have been intensively studied. These categories are highly unstable,<sup>75</sup> and they are as much ‘socially constructed in a linguistic economy of difference’ as identity is.<sup>76</sup> For the purposes of academic research, identity categories have long been approached individually. Themes such as nation and gender are enormous and therefore rare as a dual field of expertise. The genesis and manifestation of these categories has also varied enormously, requiring extensive study but also separate analysis.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, the categories themselves are in flux. They each have an ontological base

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<sup>69</sup> Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, ‘Beyond “Identity”’, 14-21, in *Theory and Society* 29/1 (2000), 1-47.

<sup>70</sup> Toon van Meijl, ‘Anthropological Perspectives on Identity: From Sameness to Difference’, 64, in Wetherell and Mohanty (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Identities*, 63-81. Nevertheless we have Stuart Hall helpfully remind us that ‘process of identification’ can be almost as ill-understood as ‘identity’: Stuart Hall, ‘Who Needs “Identity”?’’, 16, in Paul du Gay, Jessica Evans and Peter Redman (eds), *Identity: A Reader* (London, 2000), 15-30.

<sup>71</sup> Zygmunt Bauman, ‘Identity in the Globalizing World’, 11, in Anthony Elliott and Paul du Gay (eds), *Identity in Question* (London, 2009), 1-12; Stephen Frosh and Lisa Baraitser, ‘Goodbye to Identity?’’, 164, in *idem*, 158-169.

<sup>72</sup> Anthony P. Cohen, ‘Personal Nationalism: A Scottish View of Some Rites, Rights, and Wrongs’, 803, in *American Ethnologist* 23:4 (1996), 802-813.

<sup>73</sup> Mandler, ‘What is “National Identity”?’’, 280.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> Linda Martín Alcoff, ‘Introduction: Identities: Modern and Postmodern’, 7, in Linda Martín Alcoff and Eduardo Mendieta (eds), *Identities: Race, Class, Gender and Nationality* (Malden, 2003), 1-8.

<sup>76</sup> Kimberlé Crenshaw, ‘Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color’ [1995], 191, in Alcoff and Mendieta (eds), *Identities*, 175-200.

<sup>77</sup> Alcoff, ‘Introduction: Identities’, 2; Linda Martín Alcoff, *Visible Identities: Race, Gender and the Self* (Oxford, 2006), 10.

different from the others, but they are also ‘mutually constitutive in any concrete historical moment’.<sup>78</sup> Each content area may use different methods, priorities and theories, and much of the time the approach can be justified. However, working with just one identity category can be reductive and prompt the accusation of ignorance regarding the complexity and multiplicity of social identities.<sup>79</sup> Effective intersectionality in research remains a challenge. In 2006 Peter Mandler complained that the study of national identity ‘rarely juxtaposes other identities’, even though ‘other group identities might complement or even substitute’ national identification.<sup>80</sup> Intersectional studies are still relatively rare, but they are proliferating.<sup>81</sup> While we can agree that people themselves should not be reduced to one category at a time,<sup>82</sup> and that our categories are provisional at any given time, from an analytical perspective we are forced to divide the indivisible.<sup>83</sup>

The practice of ‘classifying research on identity into single “layers”’ remains the customary approach, regardless of its impediments.<sup>84</sup> These layers can provide a supportive framework for a complex subject matter, and a helpfully discriminating lens through which to regard different dimensions of the seminary experience. The Scottish Mission’s seminarians were forced to consolidate their developing maturity, manliness, professional identity, and Scottishness and Britishness as well as Irishness and regional identities with the Frenchness of their experience.

This thesis will look through the four rough lenses of gender, class, nation and ‘race’. While these concepts are complex and each have a long history, they can still be helpful to a social historian by helping us focus on different aspects of the experience without losing sight of the whole. These thematic lenses seep into and feed

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<sup>78</sup> Yuval-Davis, *The Politics of Belonging*, 7.

<sup>79</sup> Deborah E. S. Frable, ‘Gender, Racial, Ethnic, Sexual, and Class Identities’, 139, in *Annual Review of Psychology* 48 (1997), 139-162.

<sup>80</sup> Mandler, ‘What is “National Identity”?’, 296-297.

<sup>81</sup> See for example Crenshaw, ‘Mapping the Margins’; Glenda Sluga, ‘Identity, Gender, and the History of European Nations and Nationalisms’ [1998], in Anthony D. Smith and John Hutchinson (eds), *Nationalism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, vol. IV (London, 2000), 1542-1570; Yuval-Davis, *The Politics of Belonging*.

<sup>82</sup> For a good overview of intersectionality, see for example Rita Kaur Dhamoon, ‘Considerations on Mainstreaming intersectionality’, in *Political Research Quarterly* 64/1 (2011), 230-240.

<sup>83</sup> Ulrike Hanna Meinhof and Dariusz Gdasiński, *The Language of Belonging* (Basingstoke, 2005), 2.

<sup>84</sup> Ashmore, Deaux and McLaughlin-Volpe, ‘An Organizing Framework for Collective Identity’, 109. See also Jodi A. Campbell, Elizabeth Ewan and Heather Parker, ‘Introduction’, 6, in *idem* (eds), *The Shaping of Scottish Identities: Family, Nation, and the Worlds Beyond* (Guelph, 2011), 1-10.

one another. However, they are used in this thesis as a way of organising rich and complex material that can clarify the France-trained seminarians' complicated identity stances for most of the nineteenth century. While all of the categories require some significant theoretical qualification, this was deemed necessary in order to understand the complexities of these intersectional identities in the nineteenth century. A chronological approach would not have been ideal in terms of teasing out the different aspects of the experience, even if it might have been more focused on the individual lives. Even with all their weaknesses, gender, class, 'race' and nation provide a helpful way of observing some aspects of the complexity of lived experience. Although group membership does not equal identification with the group or make all group members the same,<sup>85</sup> the seminarian life for those training for the Scottish missionary priesthood in France had some commonalities which can be grasped with the help of the correct tools.

## Methodological Framework and Sources

This thesis benefits from the prosopographical research method.<sup>86</sup> It involves the creation of a structured body of data relating to a group of individuals with at least one shared characteristic, followed by analysis. Its first systematic practitioner is considered to be Theodor Mommsen, whose *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (published in instalments in the late 1890s) took the form of a collection of biographies of notables of the early Roman Empire. Following Mommsen, the approach has been widely used throughout the twentieth century, predominantly in the history of classical antiquity.<sup>87</sup> However, the approach is far from archaic.

While holding an established place in historiography, prosopography seems to be experiencing resurgence. Towards the end of the century and the beginning of the new millennium, an increasingly varied selection of historians have engaged with the

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<sup>85</sup> Kwame Anthony Appiah, 'The Politics of Identity', 15, in *Dædalus* 135:4 (2006), 15-22.

<sup>86</sup> Dion C. Smythe, "'A Whiter Shade of Pale': Issues and possibilities in Prosopography", 129, in K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Oxford, 2007), 127-137.

<sup>87</sup> For an overview, see Averil Cameron (ed.), *Fifty Years of Prosopography* (Oxford, 2003).

method.<sup>88</sup> Although what the term prosopography means has changed in the last hundred years, much written in the last five decades is still relevant.<sup>89</sup> Highlighting this rekindled (and continuing) interest is a large number of prosopographical studies in the field of history completed in the last two decades – there are a number of pockets within European scholarship engaging with the method, even if one only looks for studies concentrating on clergymen since the mid-1990s.<sup>90</sup>

The approach is particularly well-suited for research on the Christian clergy. Long before the more widespread professionalisation of the nineteenth century, the clerics of the major Churches had their education and work centrally supervised. The existence of hierarchical national and transnational Church organisations enabled relevant records pertaining to their clerics to be collected, organised, held and investigated (more or less) centrally. In most cases, there exists a good collection of historical sources to examine, albeit always within one religious denomination at a time. The clerics within a Church were also public men, minor celebrities known in their respective local communities, frequently prominent in local politics as well as present in their congregants' key rites of passage. They were often powerful even when

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<sup>88</sup> Koenraad Verboven, Myriam Carlier and Jan Dumolyn, 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', 43, in Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications*, 35-69.

<sup>89</sup> This includes the 1971 benchmark article by Lawrence Stone addressing its strengths and weaknesses. See Lawrence Stone, 'Prosopography', in *Daedalus* 100/1 (1971), 46-79.

<sup>90</sup> In 1994 von Olenhusen published a prosopographical study of Baden clergy in the nineteenth century: Irmtraud Götz von Olenhusen, *Klerus und abweichendes Verhalten: Zur Sozialgeschichte katholischer Priester im 19. Jahrhundert: Die Erzdiözese Freiburg* (Göttingen, 1994). Other notable prosopographical studies include Jan Plamper's 'The Russian Orthodox Episcopate, 1721-1917: A Prosopography', in *Journal of Social History* 34/1 (2000), 5-34; Fidel Iglesias, 'A Collective Biography of the Rio de la Plata Clergy, 1806-1827', in *Latin American Research Review* 33/2 (1998), 166-183; L. W. B. Brockliss and Patrick Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish Clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792', in *Archivium Hibernicum* 58 (2004), 7-166. 'The Clergy of the Church of England Database' (CCEd) has also encouraged a fair number of studies: 'The Clergy of the Church of England Database' (CCEd): <http://theclergydatabase.org.uk>. See also Arthur Burns, Kenneth Fincham and Stephen Taylor's 'Reconstructing clerical careers: the experience of the Clergy of the Church of England Database', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 55 (2004), 726-237, and Daniel Cummins' 'The clergy database as a tool for academic research: The patronage of the Archbishops of York c. 1730-1800', in Rosemary C. E. Hayes and William J. Sheils (eds), *Clergy, Church and Society in England and Wales, c.1200-1800* (York, 2013), 163-175. Matthieu Brejon de Lavergnée's doctoral thesis on the Society of St Vincent de Paul, 'La Société de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul à Paris au XIXe siècle (1833-1871): Prosopographie d'une élite catholique fervente', was only completed a decade ago in 2006. Arthur Burns' work on Bethnal Green was published in 2010: Arthur Burns, "'My Unfortunate Parish": Anglican Urban Ministry in Bethnal Green, 1809-c.1850', in Melanie Barber, Gabriel Sewell and Stephen Taylor (eds), *From the Reformation to the Permissive Society: A Miscellany in Celebration of the 400th Anniversary of Lambeth Palace Library* (Woodbridge, 2010), 269-393.

they were not wealthy. This makes them prominent as a group as well. Additionally, the clergy could boast of a social diversity not yet present in other professions: these men shared a sense of vocation with their brethren, but the individuals could come from remarkably varied circumstances.<sup>91</sup> This is the case especially with celibate priests whose occupation never ran in the family from father to son (although it could run from uncle to nephew). The clerics as a group are unified enough to warrant a prosopography, yet diverse enough to make room for the unexpected.

Another aspect of clerics makes them particularly suitable for a prosopographical inquiry: they were often the main actors of large-scale transnational movements and organisations. In the last two decades there has been a massive increase in the number of scholarly publications proclaiming a ‘transnational’ approach.<sup>92</sup> Studies of globalisation, diasporas and migrant identities have greatly encouraged this emphasis of transcending national borders.<sup>93</sup> There is no consensus on the meaning of the term, Philipp Ther’s definition, which proposed that transnationalism concentrates on ‘the relations between cultures, societies or groups of societies and intentionally transcends the boundaries of one culture or country’, seems particularly well-suited.<sup>94</sup> The nature of religions, in particular, as ‘boundary-crossing social formations’, qualify many as distinctly transnational.<sup>95</sup> The Roman Catholic Church is a model example. Its scope is international, it uses transnational forms of hierarchy and bureaucracy,<sup>96</sup> and while it sometimes functions like a state (it maintains private foreign policies)<sup>97</sup> and is, in

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<sup>91</sup> This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV.

<sup>92</sup> For example, a new programme of ‘transnational history’ became particularly prominent field of inquiry towards the end of 1990s. See Mathias Albert, Gesa Bluhm, Jan Helmig, Andreas Leutzsch and Jochen Walter, ‘Introduction: The Communicative Construction of Transnational Political Spaces’, 15, in their (eds), *Transnational Political Spaces: Agents – Structures – Encounters* (Frankfurt, 2009), 7-31.

<sup>93</sup> Patricia Clavin, ‘Defining Transnationalism’, 426, in *Contemporary European History* 14:4 (2005), 421-439.

<sup>94</sup> Philipp Ther, ‘Comparisons, Cultural Transfers, and the Study of Networks: Toward a Transnational History of Europe’, 205, in Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (eds), *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives* (New York, 2009), 204-225.

<sup>95</sup> Pnina Werbner, ‘Religious Identity’, 253, in Margaret Wetherell and Chandra Talpade Mohanty (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Identities* (London, 2010), 233-257. It is also worth remembering that this is not always the case. Some religious groups may function entirely within the framework – and even with the support of – one state.

<sup>96</sup> Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (Abingdon, 2009), 146.

<sup>97</sup> Joseph S. Nye Jr. and Robert O. Keohane, ‘Transnational Relations and World Politics: An Introduction’, 341, in *International Organization* 25/3 (1971), 329-349.

fact, led from a city state (although within another city), it aspires to transcend borders on all continents. Like the concept of transnationalism itself, it does not ignore the enduring national paradigm. In fact, its Missions and Churches are largely organised based on these geographic and political entities which should not be overlooked, even if the focus is on crossing these borders.

To complement a quantitative approach, the individual biographies – though varying in richness – provide a convenient bridge to the qualitative.<sup>98</sup> The ‘intellectual and emotional circumstances’ of the subjects of this study complement socio-economic data.<sup>99</sup> People’s social, cultural, geographic and intellectual roots may give pointers to their interests and motives.<sup>100</sup> This sort of mixed method approach, recommended by Cohen et al., will be used in this study.<sup>101</sup>

This thesis builds on an established base of high-quality studies which have taken advantage of the prosopographical method. However, this study is unusual in that it also includes those who did not become priests and therefore shifts the focus from the professional group to the prospective priests-to-be. Like von Olenhusen in 1994, this study attempts to highlight the active subjectivity of the seminarians.<sup>102</sup> Although the students had a shared experience in a heavily formative environment, many of them broke away and built different kinds of lives for themselves. The commonality between all of the individuals in the sample population of this study is the seminary study experience in France. Additionally, all of the individuals in the sample

1. studied for priesthood with the intention of working for the Scottish Mission following their ordination,
2. were advanced enough in their studies to be sent abroad,
3. were sent abroad to pursue their studies in a seminary on French soil (not necessarily in a ‘French’ seminary), and

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<sup>98</sup> See Gidon Cohen, Andrew Finn and Kevin Morgan, ‘Towards a Mixed Method in Social History: Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Methods in the Study of Prosopography’, in Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications*, 211-229.

<sup>99</sup> William Bruneau, ‘Toward a New Collective Biography: The University of British Columbia Professoriate, 1915-1945’, 65, in *Canadian Journal of Education* 19/1 (1994), 65-79.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> See Cohen, Finn and Morgan, ‘Towards a Mixed Method in Social History’.

<sup>102</sup> von Olenhusen, *Klerus und abweichendes Verhalten*, 17. See also a review article in English of the same by Raymond C. Sun in *The Catholic Historical Review* 82/2 (1996), 261-263.



4. pursued their studies in France for a time between the years 1818 and 1878 inclusive.

These conditions exclude priests who came to work in Scotland (for good or on loan), for example from Ireland, if they did not associate themselves with the Scottish Mission before the end of their studies. It also excludes the large number of seminarians who interrupted their studies while they were still at a junior seminary, completed their studies entirely in Britain, or pursued their studies outwith France in one of the Scots Colleges or elsewhere. As long as all four points above applied, the individuals need not have finished their studies (i.e. reached ordination), worked for the Scottish Mission, been funded by the Mission, been born in Scotland or of Scottish parents, completed all or most of their studies abroad in France, studied in France prior to their ordination only (as long as a study experience in France took place soon thereafter), or left extensive records behind. These conditions allowed for a sample of seminarians of suitable size and variability. It also aspires to be a complete sample of those who fulfil the criteria, including also those who left few traceable records behind and perhaps warranted just a single reference to them in the accounts. Future research might be able to shed further light onto the lives of these individuals.<sup>103</sup>

Those ordained have been celebrated to varying degrees within the Mission in the yearbook of the Roman Catholic Mission (and later Church) in Scotland, the *Scottish Catholic Directory*.<sup>104</sup> The yearbook is particularly helpful with regard to its listings of ordained priests, usually including rudimentary details of where they trained, and obituaries, repeating this information in more detail as well as providing more elaborate descriptions of individuals' backgrounds, schooling, characters and careers. For this study, 110 yearbooks were reviewed, from the issue that first appeared with a section on ordinations, the *Directory* for 1832. The final yearbook consulted is the *Directory* for 1942. The *Directory* also lists where certain priests were placed at any particular time, adding to information about their careers.

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<sup>103</sup> See Appendix 4 for the biographical catalogue.

<sup>104</sup> For a fuller description, see David McRoberts, 'The Catholic Directory for Scotland, 1829-1975', in *IR* 26/2 (1975), 93-120.

To supplement the information drawn from the *Directory* – including information on those who did not finish their studies – annual statements of accounts of the *Fondation Ecossaise*, lists of students, and student registers of the Scottish seminaries of Aquhorties and Blairs have been used.<sup>105</sup> The junior seminary registers often list the destination of students who had managed to complete their early studies in Scotland, as well as those who only stayed for a short while. In most cases, they also list the parents' names. Lists of students can occasionally be found among the Mission correspondence, and these have been used when available.<sup>106</sup> The accounts ('Compte des Recettes et des Dépenses') were consulted in France at the Archives Nationales.<sup>107</sup> They can be considered fairly reliable due to the significant financial investment as funds were very limited. Every penny saved could be used for the training of another candidate for priesthood. This source also provides an uninterrupted record from 1824 onwards. It is worth noting that not everybody who qualifies for the study population is listed in these accounts. They might have been self-funded or held a private bursary. Nevertheless, the accounts are incredibly helpful as they diligently list even those who later left or were dismissed and therefore warranted no mention in the *Directory*.

The initial number of individuals discovered from the above sources was 238. However, further research enabled the combining of duplicate records, and the accurate number of seminarians who fulfil the criteria is 225. The cases where records were fused were carefully considered based on the rest of the information available.<sup>108</sup> Every care has been taken to ensure that a particular record refers to a certain individual and not another of the same name as the incorrect fusion or fission of individuals would significantly skew the numerical analysis.<sup>109</sup>

Prosopographical data entry itself is time-consuming, but the design of entry forms and database can also be very labour-intensive. The historian is forced to effectively

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<sup>105</sup> SCA: CB/4/1, Blairs College Register (page numbers referring to original, photocopy consulted); CB/4/3, Register of Aquhorties and Blairs Students, 1799-1858.

<sup>106</sup> For example, SCA: CA/1/43/16-18 (List of students at Paris or to be sent to Paris, 1838-1840).

<sup>107</sup> AN: F/17/2722-2724, 2726 (Instruction Publique).

<sup>108</sup> What was previously thought to be two individuals of similar – or similar-sounding – surnames might be discovered to be just one person as the spelling of names was by no means standardised at this time.

<sup>109</sup> Dion C. Smythe, "'A Whiter Shade of Pale': Issues and possibilities in Prosopography", 137, in K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Oxford, 2007), 127-137. In addition, a list may record a short version or another version of the same name. For example, the Latin or French 'Guillaume' (or just 'Wm') instead of 'William'.

reduce the source into a number of typed entries under certain categories. These categories are devised by the historian (not the creator of the source). Similarly, a vast amount of information is inevitably left out. Decisions regarding standardisation needed to be made early on. Sometimes it is justifiable to record both the form in the source and the standardised one for analysis; sometimes only the standardised version will do. Attention to detail and accuracy in the recording of information remains fundamental for this approach.<sup>110</sup> As in the case of this project it was considered important to be able to trace the source of any piece of information as well as to discover the sample population itself, a source-based data entry system was devised in place of an individual-based one. An entry form was created for each different kind of source. Each source's potential was therefore used to the fullest while also keeping the entry forms manageable. For example, the same form was used for recording information found in the *Scottish Catholic Directory* as well as the published biographical lists (heavily based on the *Directory*, but containing additional information). This approach duplicates data from different sources, but facilitates cross-checking.

There is a small but helpful base of published material that has been crucial in adding to and checking this project's data. Firstly, in constructing the profiles of those who reached ordination and worked for the Scottish Mission as priests, Christine Johnson's work has been invaluable. She has completed the task of tracing these often very mobile individuals within and without Scotland, especially as the data, mostly drawn from the *Scottish Catholic Directories*, has been relatively unorganised with gaps and a changing format over the decades. Her list of the Lowland District clergy was published in *The Innes Review*,<sup>111</sup> following F. Forbes and W. J. Anderson's corresponding list of the Highland clergy.<sup>112</sup> Both of these lists were continued to cover the Eastern, Northern and Western Districts, 1829-1878,<sup>113</sup> and a book was published

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<sup>110</sup> Smythe, "A Whiter Shade of Pale", 136.

<sup>111</sup> Christine Johnson, 'Secular Clergy of the Lowland District 1732-1829', in *IR* 34/2 (1983), 66-87.

<sup>112</sup> F. Forbes and W. J. Anderson, 'Clergy Lists of the Highland District, 1732-1828', in *IR* 17/2 (1966), 129-184.

<sup>113</sup> Christine Johnson, 'Scottish Secular Clergy, 1830-1878: The Northern and Eastern Districts', in *IR* 40/1 (1989), 24-68; Christine Johnson, 'Scottish Secular Clergy, 1830-1878: The Western District', in *IR* 40/1 (1989), 106-152.

to cover the later period from those ordained in or after 1879 up to 1898.<sup>114</sup> In addition to Johnson, Forbes and Anderson's lists, a similar collection of those born in Ireland has been compiled by Bernard J. Canning.<sup>115</sup> *Irish-Born Secular Priests in Scotland 1829-1979* includes those who came 'on loan', were 'affiliated with the Scottish Mission', and those who served in parishes during summer months. Canning's profiles also include extracts from contemporary newspapers. A final list of short biographies to credit is that of James Darragh's, examining the Catholic Hierarchy of Scotland between 1653 and 1985.<sup>116</sup>

Creativity was required to find what became of those who were not ordained. Individuals' early and later lives outwith the Mission could frequently be mapped, including families and occupation. The decennial census records from 1841 and the records of Catholic births and baptisms and marriages has furnished additional information to an individual profile based on the individual's date of birth, the names of their parents, and their place of birth. The census records also provide an opportunity to better place individuals in terms of their socio-economic status based on their father's (or widow mother's) profession. Although individuals with common names, such as 'Alexander MacDonald', are difficult to identify correctly, for at least half of the sample it has been possible to locate a matching entry in the census enumerators' books. This was enabled by their parents' names (including mother's maiden name) recorded in the junior seminary registers. Variant spellings have also been taken into account. In a few cases, when sources conflict, special care has been taken to identify the correct information, using supportive evidence such as dates and place of birth and details of parents. The birth year of the individual was also recorded when available for cross-referencing information. The data from census records was mainly accessed through Scotland's People Centre, Edinburgh, but the genealogy website Ancestry.co.uk has also been helpful.

In addition to the essential data relating to the population, this study also relies heavily on qualitative source material. The obituaries of the *Directory* often describe

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<sup>114</sup> Christine Johnson, *Scottish Catholic Secular Clergy 1879-1989* (Edinburgh, 1991).

<sup>115</sup> Bernard J. Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests in Scotland 1829-1979* (Inverness, 1979).

<sup>116</sup> James Darragh, *The Catholic Hierarchy of Scotland: A Biographical List, 1653-1985* (Glasgow, 1986).

the character or talents of the individual in question, simultaneously revealing contemporary values. The main archival repository this study is based on is the Scottish Catholic Archives.<sup>117</sup> Although other supplementary material has been used, the correspondence amongst the members of the Scottish Catholic hierarchy has been instructive. Because the cataloguing of this material is limited, the archival collections have been approached by prioritising the investigation of material relating to France or the education of priests. As the material is catalogued (with a short phrase referring to the contents of a letter, for example) but not, for the most part, digitally searchable, the approach to the available material had to be creative. In order to gain a better understanding of the issues the hierarchy had to deal with across the decades, the first part of the collection called ‘Oban Letters’ has been fully investigated from late eighteenth century until about 1850. While this collection is biased towards Highland District and later the Western District affairs, it also helps us understand the Scottish Mission as an entity and by no means ignores the other Districts.

Although letters to and from the seminarians themselves as well as any biographies they might have produced would have been helpful, these are scarce. The former are limited; the latter non-existent. This study therefore relies heavily on the bishops and their correspondence further up on the hierarchical ladder, discussing the seminarians rather than originating from them. While this is not ideal, the source material is comparatively rich. While the sources themselves mainly address the seminarians from above, they are certainly better than nothing. Additionally, the material produced by and about Scottish seminarians can helpfully be supplemented by the memoirs and correspondence of the French philosopher, Ernest Renan (1823-1892), at least as far as they refer to his experiences at Parisian seminaries. These same institutions were attended by some Scots seminarians during the period of Renan’s studies before he realised he had no vocation. While this material should be used with care, Renan’s early experiences of the Parisian seminaries of St Nicolas and St Sulpice also reflect the general student experience in these institutions.

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<sup>117</sup> Most of the material relevant to this study is currently kept at the University of Aberdeen Special Collections, but some material remains at Columba House in Edinburgh.

## Terminology and Chapter Overview

In this work the students for priesthood are referred to as ‘seminarians’, ‘students’, ‘pupils’ and ‘priests-to-be’ interchangeably. The France-trained individuals, part of the sample, will explicitly be stated to be so, and all statistical work is based on them. All 225 of them are listed in the appendices.<sup>118</sup> The title ‘Father’ is used when referring to priests, and title ‘Bishop’ when referring to vicars apostolic who, before assuming their posts, were consecrated as bishops. The capitalisation indicates title whereas the lack thereof indicates role or title acquired through consecration. Although it was not common to address a priest ‘Father’ before the second half of the nineteenth century (rather ‘Master’ or ‘Maighstir’ before that),<sup>119</sup> for the sake of clarity the title ‘F[athe]r’ is used throughout.

Throughout this thesis, the word ‘seminary’ is used to refer to educational establishments that were either exclusively or partly dedicated for the education of Roman Catholic Priests. ‘College’, ‘school’ or ‘institution’ are also used to refer to the establishments in question; whether they were called a *collège*, *petit-séminaire*, *grand-séminaire* or *institution*, they are all referred to as ‘seminaries’ due to their special focus on catering to clerical students’ needs. Generally, these seminaries can be divided into two groups based on the content of their studies and the usual age of their pupils. Junior seminaries or ‘minor seminaries’ (*petit-séminaires*) usually catered for early (secondary) studies, whereas higher ecclesiastical studies (theology) were completed at ‘*grand-séminaires*’, also known as ‘major seminaries’ (e.g. St Sulpice in Paris). The distinction between these two kinds of establishments was not always clear-cut: for example, the traditional-style Scots Colleges effectively aspired to offer an amalgamation of the two. When differentiation between these two kinds of seminaries is necessary, this thesis uses the term ‘junior seminary’ to describe establishments such as Aquhorties or Blairs in Scotland, although technically most of the institutions in discussed in this work were offering a pre-theological curriculum not exclusive to seminarians.

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<sup>118</sup> See Appendix 4.

<sup>119</sup> Private email correspondence with Alasdair Roberts, 21 Aug 2014. I would like to thank Mr Roberts for his comments with regard to my early work.

Another clarification needs to be made. The priests for the Scottish Catholic Mission (which was reinstated as the Scottish Catholic Church in 1878) are referred to as ‘missionaries’ and ‘missionary priests’. Although these terms traditionally evoke the idea of foreign missionaries, this thesis discusses seminarians and priests trained for Scotland, destined to work in Scotland. The distinction between ‘regulars’ and ‘seculars’ is equally important. ‘Regular priests’ refers to men of God who were part of a religious Order, such as Franciscans, Benedictines or Jesuits. ‘Secular priests’, unlike monastics, directly serve Catholic congregations, administering sacraments and tending to the spiritual needs of the faithful. They are secular only in the sense that they labour ‘in the world’. All of the seminarians discussed in this thesis were destined to become secular missionary priests for Scotland. A glossary of terms is provided in the Appendices (Appendix 1).

The structure of this thesis is largely thematic. The first two chapters will discuss the context of priestly education in France and the following four will focus on the seminarian identities in terms of gender, class, ‘race’ and nation.

Chapter I, ‘Becoming a Priest (in France)’ sets the context of this study by highlighting the investment the Mission made in the individuals they sponsored, and the associated pressure on the boys from the outset. It provides an overview of French seminary education in terms of the relevant institutions as well as the specific seminary culture (or method of training) reigning in them. Chapter II, ‘The Trouble with France’ considers the peculiarities of training in nineteenth-century France in terms of interruptions to studies and the contraction and importation of unwanted ideas to Scotland. It asks whether there was such a thing as ‘the French disease’ from the Scottish Mission’s perspective, and whether rebellion against authority or levelling, republican ideas might take hold in some individuals more easily than other based on their training in France.

Chapter III discusses the gendered aspects of seminary experience in the broadest sense of the term. This includes growing up into an adult and a man in this peculiar environment, discussing the nature of the seminary establishment, the developing (and suppressed) sexuality of the adolescents, the relationship with the feminine, ideas about fatherhood and concepts of clerical manliness. The concept of class and professional identities are covered in Chapter IV. Additionally, it addresses the socio-economic

background of seminarians and the socio-economic status and power of Scottish seminary priests, as well as discussing the extent of social mobility achievable through attending a French seminary, even if the stay in the establishment abroad was brief.

Chapters V and VI consider contemporary ideas surrounding the complicated concepts of ‘race’ and nation. These two were ‘blatantly linked in the nineteenth century’.<sup>120</sup> In the interest of managing the incredibly rich material, the two categories have been examined in two separate but complementary chapters. Chapter V concentrates on and reviews the significance of ‘race’ in the nineteenth century as well as examining the background of the seminarians in terms of parentage and birth country. All of the seminarians were training to become priests for the Scottish Mission, but many of them were not straightforwardly or exclusively ‘Scottish’ in origin. This chapter discusses the Irish and Irishness, in particular, with focus on their perceived Otherness within the Scottish Mission. It also addresses the enduring Highlander-Lowlander divide within the Scottish Mission, frequently framed in terms of ‘race’. The focus is on perceived differences between Teutons and Celts. Chapter VI will concentrate on Scottishness and Britishness *vis-à-vis* Frenchness as well as the international aspects of the experience. The remarkable geographical mobility of the seminarians is addressed, as well as the significance of their adopted and native languages during and after their studies. It also discusses the tendency of the French to generalise when it came to the English-speaking Britons they termed *Anglais*, failing to differentiate effectively between the Irish, the English and the Scots. These aspects of the experience were part of the complex collective story of Scots seminary education in France between 1818 and 1878.

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<sup>120</sup> Mary J. Hickman, ‘Incorporating and Denationalizing the Irish in England: The Role of the Catholic Church’, 199, in Patrick O’Sullivan (ed.), *The Irish Worldwide: History, Heritage, Identity: Religion and Identity*, (London, 1996), 196-216.





## Chapter I: Making Priests in France

The Scottish Mission entered the nineteenth century dealing with old and new challenges. Pressures on resources grew quicker than they could be met, but the lifting of the penal laws (Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829) and the structural changes made the practice of religion more open and the management of those resources more efficient. Overall, the Catholic Mission persevered. But this perseverance was fragile, and could only be achieved with a new generation of educated clerics ready to meet the challenges of parish work. These clerics were not easily come by.

The costly training for priesthood would in most cases begin at a junior seminary in Scotland. The Scottish seminaries between 1793 and 1878 were those of Scalan (1716-1799),<sup>1</sup> Samalaman (1783-1803), Lismore (1803-1829),<sup>2</sup> Aquhorties (1799-1829), St Mary's at Blairs (1829-1986) and the first senior seminary on Scottish soil, St Peter's at Partickhill (1874-1892). If possible, the seminary space was shared with some lay boarders not destined for priesthood, benefitting the high quality of education while at the same time bringing in the much-needed funds for the training of ecclesiastics. France was one of the study destinations, usually selected for these individuals on a relatively short notice. While certain bishops might prefer their protégé followed a similar study path to theirs and might be able to unofficially reserve the next available place (and the *bourse* attached to it), the scarcity of available funding and, therefore, training spaces, necessitated an efficient use of any available vacancies. This availability would have followed a recent ordination, but also students abandoning their studies, being expelled, or leaving due to illness or death.<sup>3</sup>

This chapter offers a contextual overview of the Scottish Mission's training operations, beginning with a brief overview on the seminarians. It then addresses the

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<sup>1</sup> See John Watts, *Scalan: The Forbidden College, 1716-1799* (East Linton, 1999).

<sup>2</sup> See Alexander S. MacWilliam, 'The Highland Seminary at Lismore, 1803-1828', in *IR* 8/1 (1957), 30-38.

<sup>3</sup> Since record-keeping and communication was far from effective, mistakes were occasionally made managing the training operations and the agreed *bourses* for each District. For example, in 1878 Donald Chisholm (1860-1919) arrived at Douai before it was realised that there was no available *bourse* for him, so the bishops and the boy's uncle had been picking up the bill. SCA: CA/1/46/22, J. S. Rogerson to Rector, undated, forwarding a letter of A. M. Wilson of Douai, 19 Mar 1878.

Mission's significant investment into their seminarians before proceeding to give a short history of the impact of the Revolution on the Scots Catholic establishments in Paris and Douai. It then examines the seminary culture in France and attempts to assess the possible impact a stay in France may have had on the Scottish seminarians.

## The Seminarians

The 225 seminarians investigated in this thesis have been selected based on studies abroad in France within a timeframe of eighty years, 1818 to 1878, but their lifespans range a far longer period. They 'youngest' of the sample, William McIntosh (1794-1877), was born in the aftermath of the French Revolution and into the French Revolutionary Wars, while the 'eldest', William E. Rooney (1857-1941), saw the beginning of the Second World War before his death. These two had little in common. William McIntosh pursued priesthood after he gave up his life as a whisky smuggler at the age of 27; William E. Rooney entered the study path at age sixteen. McIntosh was a Highlander, born in Glenmuick, and had an uncle who was a priest; Rooney was born in Edinburgh but his mother was from Ireland. What these two do have in common is an experience of study in France. Although McIntosh attended the far-famed St Sulpice in Paris in the 1820s while Rooney attended the English Benedictine college of St Edmund's at Douai in the 1870s, the experience of a study in France – and, in the cases of both, a priesthood that followed – functions as a fascinating starting point for the examination of these individuals.<sup>4</sup>

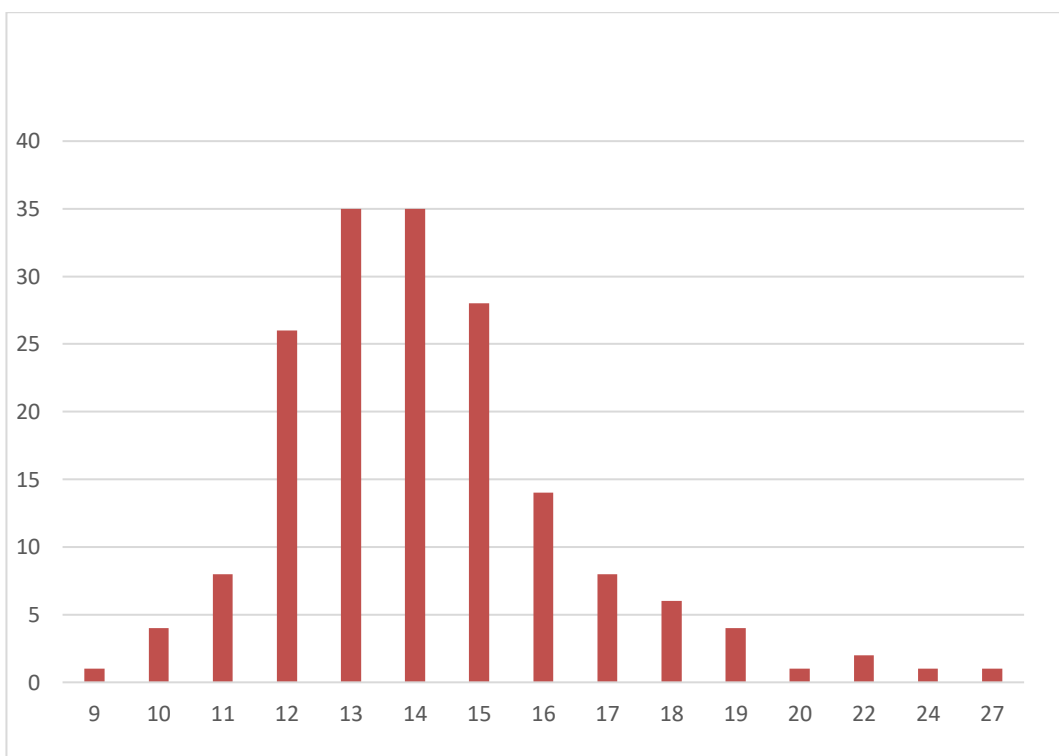
In Scotland, the average age of entry into the seminary system was fourteen, although there was significant variance (See Chart A Below). The educational background of the children varied depending on the parents' socio-economic circumstances. In addition, parents might be reluctant to send their son away at a young age, or he might only be 'discovered' by the local priest later on. Sixteen was old for entry, and anything beyond that was carefully considered. The exception was 'late vocations'. This was a term for those who entered the study path in their adulthood,

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<sup>4</sup> See Appendix 4 for more information on both MacIntosh and Rooney.

generally after they had already practiced another occupation; these individuals account for the later instances of the commencement of studies. Advanced pupils could be sent on to junior seminaries abroad from as early as age ten.<sup>5</sup> However, this was highly unusual, and would only be the case if the pupil already had a good level of education and was deemed worth the risk of sending abroad. The average age to begin one's studies abroad was seventeen (see Chart B below).

*Chart A: Approximate Age of Entry<sup>6</sup>*

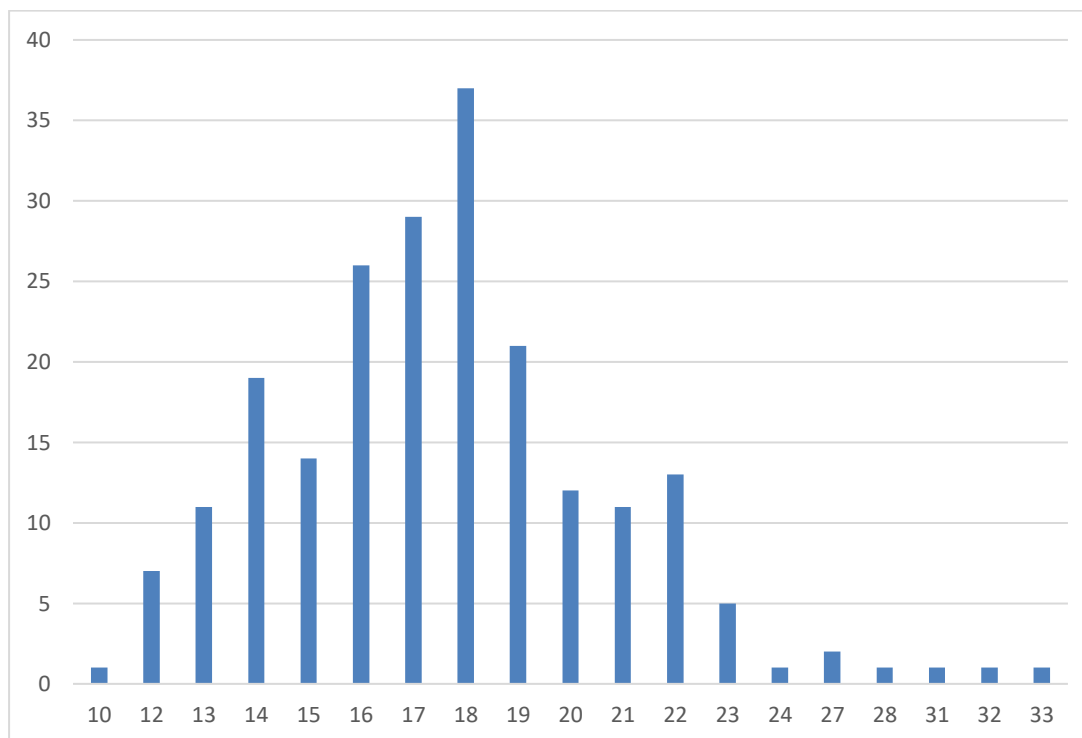


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<sup>5</sup> John MacLoy (1851-1xxx) was sent abroad at the age of ten, but this is likely to have been an anomaly as the boy was sent to Séz and then Petit Séminaire d'Ornans, neither of which were habitually used by the Scottish Mission.

<sup>6</sup> The ages have been calculated based on year of birth and year of entry alone and they are approximate. There is one instance when, it appears, a student began his studies at age the approximate age of 6 and was sent abroad a year later, would be highly unusual and is uncertain based on the evidence available. These have not been included in the charts. See Appendix 4, 'Malone, Michael (185x-1xxx)'.

**Chart B: Approximate Age Sent Abroad<sup>7</sup>**



In terms of country of birth, the overall majority of these seminarians were born in Scotland.<sup>8</sup> Those born in Scotland were drawn from all over country, but primarily from the historical strongholds of Catholicism: Banffshire (19%), Inverness-shire (14%) and Aberdeenshire (12%). However, a significant proportion of these individuals were born in Lanarkshire (16%) and Edinburgh (10%), reflecting the changing demographics of nineteenth-century Catholic Scotland, brought about by industrialisation, urbanisation and migration.<sup>9</sup>

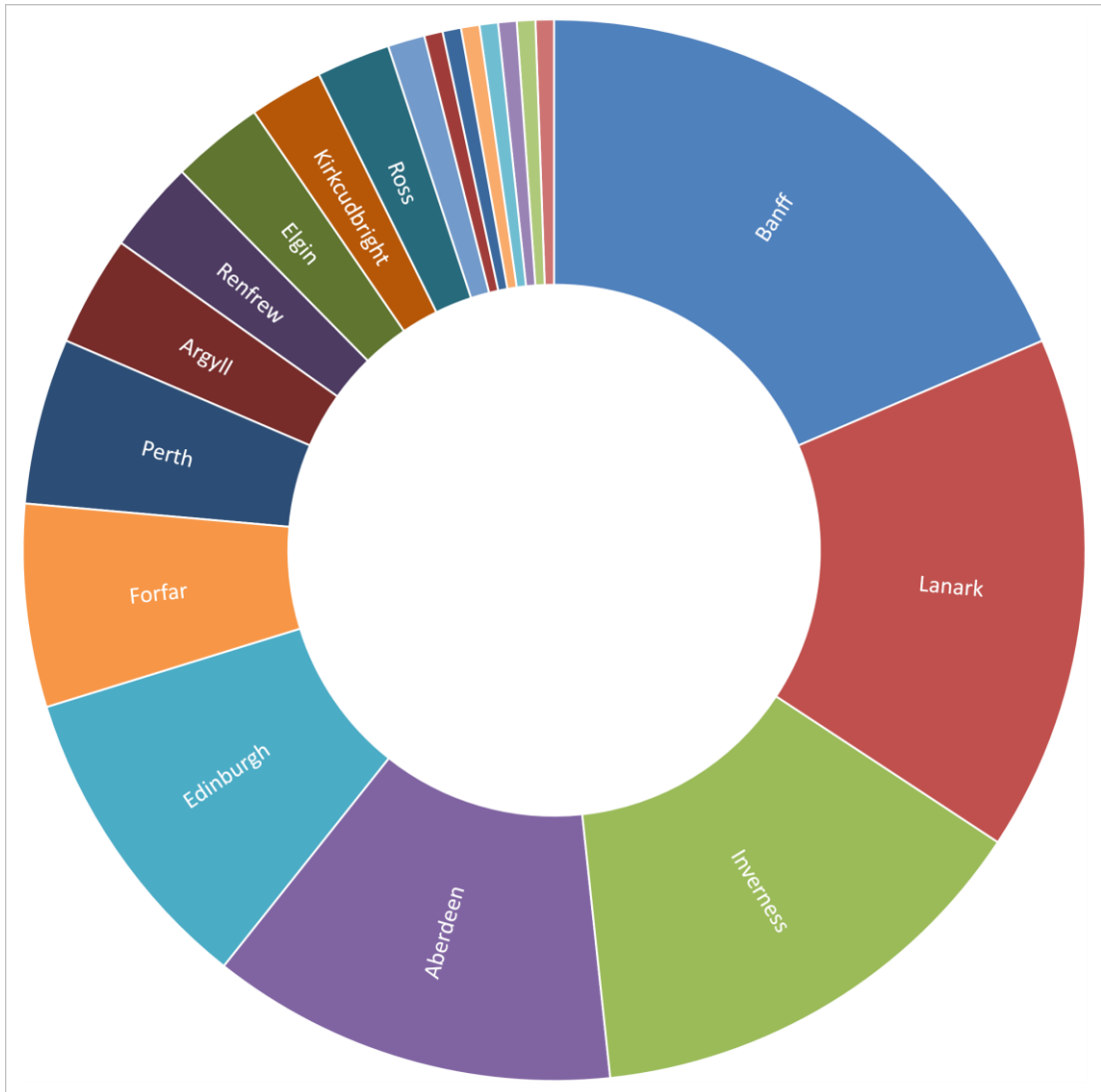
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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> See Chart F in Chapter V.

<sup>9</sup> Out of 178 seminarians whose Scottish birth shire is known, 33 were from contemporary county of Banffshire, 28 from Lanark, 25 from Inverness, 22 from Aberdeen, 17 from Edinburgh, 11 from Forfar, 9 from Perth, 6 from Argyll, 5 from Elgin, 5 from Renfrew, 4 from Ross and 4 from Kidcudbright. In addition, there were 2 from Dumbarton., and Haddington, Linlithgow, Dumfries, Ayr, Stirling, Cromarty and Sutherland each contributed one seminarian.

**Chart C: Birth Counties of Seminarians Born in Scotland**



Each of these individuals ushered to take on the study path was important to the Mission. Due to the intensifying migration, the demand for new priests could not be met quickly enough. A generation of Scottish missionaries was rapidly aging. By 1833 the Mission was ‘so scarce of hands and several old men likely to drop off the stage, before young men from the college can be got ready to supply their places’.<sup>10</sup> Even though the need was pressing, vocations were rarely certain. The pursuit of a career as a priest was considered and argued as God’s will, but it was acknowledged that there was room for misinterpretation – especially when it came to children as young as eight.

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<sup>10</sup> SCA: OL/1/8/3, [unknown] to Fr J. Chisholm, Glasgow 1 Apr 1833.

The extent to which these children really had a say is impossible to determine. Many did not continue their studies beyond their probationary year at the junior seminary. Even of those who moved on to advanced studies abroad, only approximately three out of five received the Holy Orders as planned.<sup>11</sup> Many simply left when they realised the career was not for them. The two out of five represented a significant loss of investment to the Scottish Mission, and this investment in priests will be discussed next.

## Investing in Priests

From a purely financial point of view, training future priests was a significant investment of time and money. In an uncertain world, each boy was taken on after careful consideration, and each boy took on a certain pressure; bluntly, each boy taken on as a seminarian was a necessary but risky investment that would take some considerable time to produce returns. The poverty of the Mission meant that every ‘additional pupil [was] a great gain for a Church devoid of Priests’.<sup>12</sup>

After a boy was taken on, it could take him more than a decade of study before he was ready to be employed as a missionary priest in Scotland. This could get expensive. While the Mission, in most cases, funded the study and board, they often also had to contribute to travel costs, medical fees and necessary items of clothing.<sup>13</sup> The Scottish

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<sup>11</sup> This is based on the limited sample of 225 France-trained individuals and is, therefore, very approximate; extrapolation should be done with caution. Liam Chambers’s rough estimates on the ‘success rates’ or Irish College Paris are somewhat higher: 71% of attendees were eventually ordained. Liam Chambers, ‘Creating a Clerical Elite: The Students of the Irish College, Paris, 1832-1939’, 7. An unpublished conference paper given at the Irish Elites in the Nineteenth Century’, Conference of the Society for the Study of Nineteenth Century Ireland, Institute of Irish Studies, University of Liverpool, 30 June - 1 July 2011. Accessed with the kind permission of the author.

<sup>12</sup> ‘Plus nous sommes pauvres, plus nous avons besoin d’économiser. Un seul Elève de plus est une grande acquisition pour une Eglise dénuée de Prêtres.’ SCA: ED/8/12/10, Mémoire présenté a son excellence M. De Corbière, Ministre de l’Intérieur, au nom de tous les Catholiques d’Écosse, par M-L’Évêque de Cybistra, Coadjuteur d’Édimbourg [c1823].

<sup>13</sup> Before the French Revolution of 1789, the Mission itself received funding from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome (‘Propaganda’) and revenue from its investments abroad, mainly in France. In the course of the nineteenth century, it started to count on voluntarism and Scottish investments, but from the 1840s it also relied on loans and accumulated vast amounts of debt. Darren Tierney, ‘Financing the Faith: Scottish Catholicism 1772 - c. 1890’ (2014), 5-9.

Mission also provided a small allowance for holidays in cases where the boy's parents were too impoverished to contribute. All of this amounted to a very considerable sum of money,<sup>14</sup> the returns for which could only be realised after the newly-ordained priest assumed his missionary duties. The priest would still be maintained by the Mission, but he would be earning his keep through his labour.

Ideally, each young priest would live a long, healthy and productive life in the service of the Mission, but getting there was a long and laborious process. The study path usually consisted of study in Scotland (elementary studies and humanities) and further study abroad (rhetoric, classics, philosophy and theology), followed by ordination and the more or less immediate assumption of missionary duties. While there were also individuals who trained fully in Scotland ('heather priests'), they were unusual, and were ordinarily forced to forgo study abroad due to ailing health. During their studies, the Mission did not wish to take any additional chances – not only due to the precarious nature of travel abroad, but also the cost of travel resulting from the likely interruptions of studies throughout their stay on the Continent.

All of the individuals who were allowed to embark on this journey were considered worthy of an investment. The essential criteria for an entrant was, in addition to being a Roman Catholic and having a sense of vocation, a certain 'capacity for learning', an ability to keep up with his studies. This would be tested regularly as the bishops did not expect to see all of a protégé's potential at an early age. Bishop Paterson, writing to Bishop Cameron about the now sixteen-year-old William Stuart (1808-1845), contemplated his initial recommendation eight years earlier:

I recommended him, at a time he was only seven or eight years of age, when he was not capable to judge for himself, nor could we judge of his capacity for learning, as it had not been tried.<sup>15</sup>

Even those whose capacity for learning had been tried did not necessarily remain star pupils into and beyond their teenage years.

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<sup>14</sup> For example, in 1831 the cost of attending St Edmund's at Douai was £30 per student per year. SCA: OL/2/6/1, Fr Collier to Bp Scott, English College Douai 28 May 1831.

<sup>15</sup> SCA: BL/5/156/9, Paterson to Cameron, Paris 20 Oct 1824.



The ability for the parents to pay their son's first year's board at the junior seminary was not essential, although it was generally expected. This probationary period would allow the Mission to take on and assess individuals (as well as the individuals to trial the seminary) before either made a firmer investment. The parish priest was often instrumental in the initial choice of the new entrant, presenting the promising boy to his Bishop. Parents, too, could express a wish for their son to become a priest. For example, the parents of Joseph Holder (1845-1917) reportedly offered their son to priesthood as 'a thank-offering'.<sup>16</sup> However, it was essential for the boy to develop a sense of vocation or at least consider the life of a priest a real option before being allowed to enter a seminary.

As well as studiousness and vocation, the individual's general state of health could be a liability in terms of the investment. Only those who were considered sound enough would be allowed to proceed, as ill health would not only incur in further costs, but potentially result in the individual's early death. As the funds only allowed a certain number of students to attend at any given time, a new entrant was sent to take his place as soon as possible after a seminarian gave up his studies or was ordained. Although the boys were selected to enter a seminary, they did not necessarily remain under the care of their local district's bishop: the boys were occasionally selected and divided between the districts regardless of their origin in order to make the most of scant resources in terms of candidates as well as money.<sup>17</sup>

There were some alternatives to the long route of turning children into priests. 'Late vocations' – individuals who were adults and often had an occupation before pursuing priesthood – were a minority, but not unusual. Of those who were sent to study in France in their later years, there were a few late vocations. William McIntosh (1794-1877), for example, gave up his life as a whisky smuggler in order to pursue a newly-discovered vocation to priesthood.<sup>18</sup> He spent five years in Lismore and four in Paris before his ordination at around thirty-seven years of age. William Allan (1825-1853), on the other hand, worked as an Episcopalian minister, before converting, spending a

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<sup>16</sup> *SCD* 1902, 285-287.

<sup>17</sup> *SCA*: BL/5/232/19, Bp Scott to J. Sharp, Glasgow 26 Dec 1828.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Alasdair Roberts, 'William McIntosh in the West Highlands: Changing the Practice of Religion', in *IR* 54/2 (2003), 111-141.

few of years in St Sulpice and ordained as a Roman Catholic priest – at the not-too-advanced age of twenty-six.<sup>19</sup> The Scottish Mission also occasionally took on men trained outwith their usual training domain: Ireland remained a reluctantly accepted source for standby priests throughout the century.<sup>20</sup> Self-sufficiency would have been ideal.

The Missionary Oath was an extra layer of protection for the Mission, taken usually before the entrant began pursuing theological studies. In it, the seminarian swore to serve the Scottish Mission following his ordination, rather than any of the alternatives, including other Roman Catholic Missions and Churches abroad, but also the Jesuits or one of the many orders of Regulars. The oath protected the funding body by encouraging the students to recognise the ongoing support and investment of the Scottish Mission and to promise to bow to the authority of the Scottish vicars apostolic rather than any other Roman Catholic body. Although this was by no means a guarantee, it was considered fairly reliable; this way the funded students, at least unofficially, ‘owed’ to the mission financially, whereas those who were able to pay for their own education did not.<sup>21</sup>

While there might be return on this investment, there were many variables in the process of priest-making. Studies could be interrupted by political and military unrest, illness (or death), family circumstances, funding issues – but these interruptions would often be temporary, and the Mission would facilitate the continuation of studies as quickly as it was possible again. Giving one’s studies up permanently could be due to the ever-important lack of vocation, but also lack of ability, a religious crisis, alternative career plans within or outwith the Church as well as expulsion due to misbehaviour. The aim of the seminary education was to create priests, so much so that occasionally those doubting their vocation could be being pushed towards commitment: they were, as a rule, encouraged ‘not to dwell upon them’.<sup>22</sup> They could instead be, like Ernest Renan explained, rushed towards ordination,

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<sup>19</sup> See for example *SCD* 1854, 113-114.

<sup>20</sup> For a more detailed discussion, see Chapter V below.

<sup>21</sup> ‘[T]he clergyman who pays for his own education is not bound to take the Mission oath, unless he voluntarily chooses to do so.’ SCA: DD/1/5/13, Bp Scott to Gillis, Glasgow 11 Jun 1832.

<sup>22</sup> Ernest Renan, *Recollections of My Youth* [1875–], transl. by C. B. Pitman, with intr. by G. G. Coulton (London, 1929), 266.

thinking that the difficulties will disappear when it is too late to give practical effect to them, and that the cares of an active clerical career will ultimately dispel these speculative doubts.<sup>23</sup>

Giving up the intended career path was a highly significant step, not the least because of the investment of the Mission into that individual and his budding skills. Students were encouraged to think things through carefully before giving up their studies completely, and there was a lot of pressure on these young men. For example, in 1836 Charles McKenzie wrote that one student's 'mind' was 'quite unsettled', and that he would not be returning to Blairs:<sup>24</sup>

I begged of him to take no hasty step, but to go to his duties and ask the grace of God to direct him. He wrote me the other day, stating that he had done every thing I recommended, that he has searched every corner of his mind, and that he finds he must relinquish his design.<sup>25</sup>

McKenzie added that he did not expect this as 'he is a very good and seemingly a very sensible boy'.<sup>26</sup> This implies that this decision was not considered proof of a misinterpreted vocation from God, but, rather, an impractical – perhaps even false – decision.

A change of heart could happen at any stage of studies. While this could only be grudgingly accepted, each seminarian who changed his mind was a bitter loss to the cause – especially if it was very late in the course of an individual's costly studies. Bishop Andrew Scott of the Western District quoted reports from Abbé MacPherson at Scots College Rome in 1839, complaining of a student, 'a poor silly creature', who after seven years at the college and three years after taking the Mission oath abruptly discovered he had 'no vocation to the Ecclesiastical state'.<sup>27</sup> MacPherson expressed that he hoped that the student's parents might 'repay' him.<sup>28</sup> A student who gave up

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<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> SCA: OL/1/13/2, Charles McKenzie to Bp Scott (on Donald Cameron), Fort William 13 Jan 1836.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> SCA: DD/1/9/9, Bp Scott to Carruthers, Greenock 12 Jun 1839.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

his studies would reflect badly on the one who had invested in him. Scott affirmed the unpleasantness of the situation in his reply:

It is certainly very vexatious when young men continue till the last hour on the funds of the college, and then only discover their want of an Ecclesiastical vocation when they are on the very eve of being ordained.<sup>29</sup>

The financial burden was a significant one, and the Abbé's hope that the parents of the student in question would repay him confirms that there was an assumed investment, the value of which was lost when an individual did not complete his studies and embark on a (preferably long and productive) career as a missionary priest. A reference to repayment was also made in a letter to Andrew Scott in 1836, regarding the newly-ordained John Kerr who spent his final study years in France and who 'had got so very soon into the blue Devils: he will scarcely pay his passage to France at this rate'.<sup>30</sup>

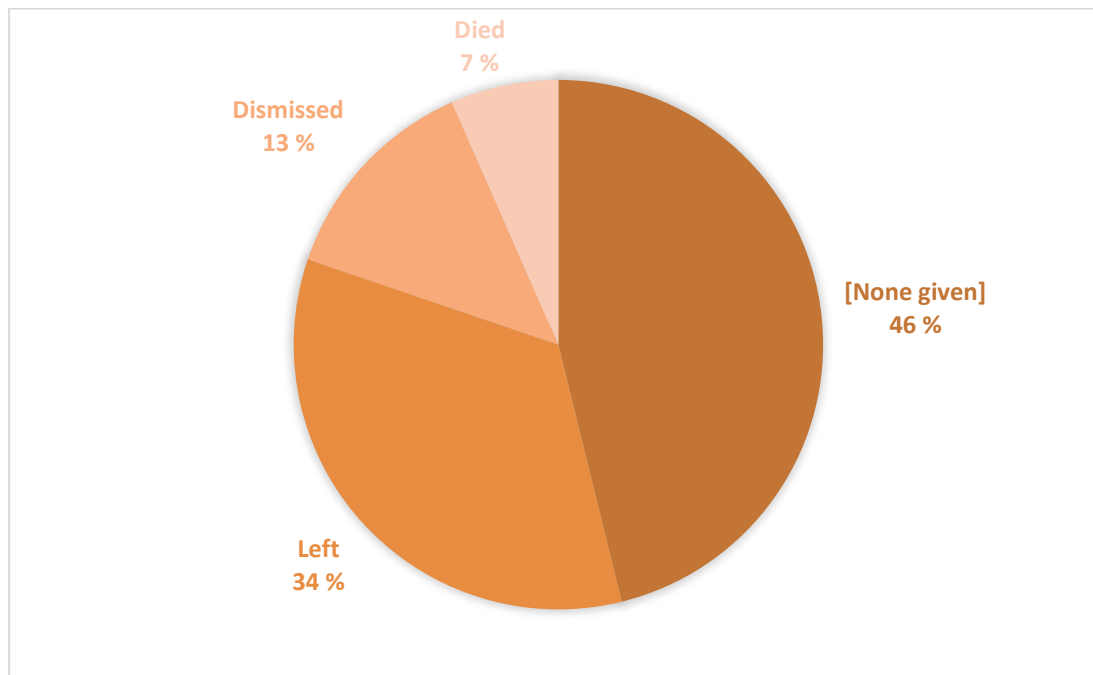
While in many cases it is known that an individual 'left' or 'gave up studies', it is not always possible to discover exactly what happened: sometimes individuals simply disappear from lists and other records. Many 'left' of their own volition (34%), usually to pursue a secular career. This does not mean the initiative came from the seminarian, though, and it is hard to establish the exact reason behind abandoning one's studies. Students were also noted to have been expelled on occasion (13%), but this could be due to poor learning or a vaguely-defined 'lack of aptitude' as well as outright misbehaviour. A proportion also, tragically, died or had to give up studies due to ill health (7%). In most cases, the reasons for leaving are simply not specified (46%). Some also changed their mind and returned, or were accepted back some time after their expulsion. The returnees who were eventually ordained have not been included in the chart below.

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> SCA: OL/1/13/2, Charles McKenzie to Bp Scott, Fort William 13 Jan 1836. The 'blue Devils' here signified melancholy.

**Chart D: Reasons for Leaving (Permanently)<sup>31</sup>**



In one particularly unsavoury case a student, Alexander MacSwein (1803-1870), was expelled from St Nicolas after he was discovered to have stolen 195 francs from his fellow students by using false keys.<sup>32</sup> He named Charles Green (1806-1845) as his accomplice, but later retracted his accusation. However, the Superior ‘thought proper to send both home to their parents’.<sup>33</sup> His bitter words accompanied the former students to Scotland in the form of a letter. He was

convinced that for the good of the Religion, it is necessary to take this opportunity to exclude the two young individuals from the ecclesiastical state as they have not, at length, shown the piety, talents, aptitude or skills necessary to convince [me] that they would, in my day, serve the Religion in line with the sacrifices made for them [...].<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> This visualisation is based on the 92 individuals who never reached ordination. This does not include those who had to leave temporarily but were later ordained.

<sup>32</sup> SCA: BL/5/175/5, Paterson to Cameron, London 22 Jun 1825.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> ‘[Il est] persuade que c’est rendre service a la Religion, que de saisir cette occasion d’éloigner de l’état Ecclesiastique deux jeunes gens, qui ne montrent, depuis si longtemps, ni pieté, ni talens, ni aptitude, ni moyens suffisants pour faire croire qu’ils pourraient ma jour rendre des services proportionnés aux sacrifice, qu’on fait pour eux’. SCA: BL/5/175/5, Paterson to Cameron, London 22 Jun 1825.

While this case was unusual, it shows that not all students adapted to their environment. The sacrifices made for them include the financial as well as the genuine efforts to make these individuals into men of God.<sup>35</sup>

Regardless of the Mission Oath and the support the seminarians were given throughout their studies, the unavoidable investment in an individual was a risky one. This was not significantly different from the earlier centuries, even though the training of priests was no longer required to be a covert operation. Retaining the studies abroad as part of the education was a conscious decision by the vicars apostolic of Scotland, partly due to their previous investments in Continental Europe that they could not afford to write off, but mostly due to the benefits of an education in a predominantly Catholic country. The Scots Colleges retained their importance to the Mission, and this is why it was doubly unfortunate that the French Revolution resulted in the permanent closure of the Scots Colleges in Paris and Douai. But did this not mean the end to the Scottish Mission's training operations in France.

## The French Scots Colleges

The history of Scots College Paris, the oldest British establishment in the French capital, has been completed by Brian M. Halloran. His study concludes in year 1792.<sup>36</sup> This is when the college was closed following a decree by the National Assembly ordering the appropriation of property owned by foreign communities on French soil.<sup>37</sup> The attempts by the representatives of the Scottish Mission to manage the situation have been examined by Violette M. Montagu, Christine Johnson and Brian M. Halloran, as well as most recently by M. G. Rapport.<sup>38</sup> Regardless of the Mission's

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<sup>35</sup> Interestingly, both Green and MacSwein were readmitted and later ordained: MacSwein completed his studies in Scotland, Green at Valladolid.

<sup>36</sup> Brian M. Halloran, *The Scots College Paris, 1603-1792* (Edinburgh, 1997).

<sup>37</sup> Violette M. Montagu, 'The Scottish College in Paris', 409, in *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 4 (Glasgow, 1907), 399-418.

<sup>38</sup> See Montagu, 'The Scottish College in Paris'; Christine Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, 1789-1829* (Edinburgh 1983), 91-100; Halloran, *Scots College Paris*,

creative approach – using whatever aspect of the College’s status at any given time to offer the best protection – the efforts ultimately failed. Scots College Douai was closed the following year, with the last Scottish seminarians fleeing France to complete their studies elsewhere.<sup>39</sup> But although the history of the Scots Colleges in France came to an end, Scottish seminary education in France did not.

The legal wrangling over the Scottish Mission’s funds in France was examined with great attention to detail by Montagu more than a century ago.<sup>40</sup> She described a long succession of decrees, laws and orders by whoever was in charge at any given time. A ‘Scotch Student’ described the frustrating – and ever-changing – situation in a flippant essay wherein a Frenchman was represented by a harlequin, and the Scots College Paris was described as a horse:

The horse was yours but stolen out of my stable, and from under my protection. Therefore I argue that you are bound to put back the horse again into the very same stable to be under the same protection. No, I am wrong [...]. The horse is still in my stable, and is under my protection. But the horse has changed masters. He now belongs to a Frenchman.<sup>41</sup>

The debate was never about just the horse’s ownership, but also ‘the stable’ (France and its protection) and the horse’s ‘master’ (the administrator, different from the owner). The final segment is presented as an apology from the part of the French without an indication that anything could or would be done about the result:

But I must excuse my Brother. The wheel of fortune turned round with such rapidity that all our heads got quite dizzy. We were, as blind or drunk men, or rather, in a dark night [...]; my honest Brother missed his way, and mistaking one stable for another, he carried off your bridle and, indeed, your horse also.<sup>42</sup>

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171-174 and 186-188; M. G. Rapport, ‘A Community Apart? The Closure of the Scots College in Paris during the French Revolution, 1789-1794’, in *IR* 53/1 (2002), 79-107.

<sup>39</sup> See names in Julian Russell, ‘The Last Students at the Scots College, Douai’, 223, in *IR* 58/2 (2007), 222-225.

<sup>40</sup> See Montagu, ‘The Scottish College in Paris’.

<sup>41</sup> SCA: CA/2/9/5, ‘Objections answered by a Scotch Student Or Reputation of the Arguments of Frenchmen claiming Indemnities for the Property of British Subjects, Lands, Houses &c Now in the Hands of French Subjects in Consequence of the Decree 10th Oct: 1793’ [1794].

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

Some considerable bitterness was felt in how the French dealt with the matter; what the new nation-builders thought a trifling matter was a significant financial blow to the impoverished Scottish Mission.<sup>43</sup> its French investments amounted to around £5,000 and resulted in a loss of annual income of some £120.<sup>44</sup>

While the College was, in theory, reinstated by the order of the Paris Commune in the mid-1790s, in 1797 it was united with all its counterparts in France, and finally had its funds officially amalgamated with those of the college Prytanée. Although nominally places were reserved for some ‘Scottish students’, these were taken to include Frenchmen with Scottish heritage.<sup>45</sup> Of those admitted as Scots, all were secular students.<sup>46</sup> The funds were managed by a French administrative body. It was not until 1818 when, to take advantage of funds that were made available for the Mission, five students (John Dawson (1802-1827), James Gillis (1802-1864), John Mazzoni (1797-18xx), John MacPherson (1801-1871) and John Wilson (1800-18xx)) were sent to Paris to pursue their studies. Instead of a Scots College dedicated for the training of Scottish priests, the students entered the French seminary of St Nicolas. The journey to Paris took almost two weeks.<sup>47</sup> The four Johns were on the ‘United College’ funds, a scant remnant of the income the Scottish Mission was due from its property in France with a shared administration with the English and the Irish funds; James Gillis was self-funded.<sup>48</sup>

The situation was by no means ideal, but it appears that sending students to France was considered better than just waiting for the matter to be fully resolved. The Scottish Mission finally got the administration and nomination rights back in 1824, albeit

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<sup>43</sup> For a brief overview of the significance of these funds, see Johnson, *Developments*, 119-123.

<sup>44</sup> The majority of this money was invested in Hôtel de Ville, Paris. Tierney, ‘Financing the Faith’ (2014), 30-31, 38 and 53.

<sup>45</sup> AN: F/17/2703, ‘Fondations Anglais Ecossais et Irlandais’: ‘Notes historiques sur les Etablissements Britanniques en France: 1ère Epoque – avant la restauration en 1814’, written 4 Apr 1820 by Le Conseiller d’Etat [Rend] du Bureau Gratuit.

<sup>46</sup> AN: F/17/2703, ‘Fondations Anglais Ecossais et Irlandais’: ‘Administration Du Séminaire-Colège des Irlandais, Anglais et Ecossais réunis: Budget: Des Dépenses qu’exigera l’Etablissement pour le service de l’année 1813’ by Parker, Administrateur Provisoire, 28 Nov 1812.

<sup>47</sup> ‘Mr Gillis and four companions set out, on the 3d December 1818, from Aquhorties on their journey. Having sailed from Aberdeen to London on the 8th, they arrived in Paris on the 15th, and on the following day entered the Seminary of St Nicolas’. SCA: B/6/1/3/1, John MacPherson to James Gillis, St Sulpice, 19 Jun 1826.

<sup>48</sup> For more on the United College, see Mary Purcell, ‘The Strange Story of Richard Ferris’, 104-105, in Liam Swords (ed.), *The Irish-French Connection, 1578-1978* (Paris, 1978), 97-107.



conditional on the approval of the French Secretary of State. By this time, the original Scots College was to live on only as a *Fondation*: the Scottish Mission drew a small but steady income from its now-rented property, which would provide for future ecclesiastical students. Neither Scots College Paris nor Scots College Douai was re-established, regardless of a strong nostalgic desire to do so:

I perfectly agree with you in the opinion that a Scotch College should be superintended & governed by Scotchmen. But where have we them? Where have we funds to support them & to keep up our Establishment?<sup>49</sup>

Abbé Macpherson elaborated on the lamentable cost of maintaining an independent Scots College in Paris, which was considered

too large for the accommodation of the small number of students that could be maintained there for this country, and too expensive to be carried on with the requisite number of masters.<sup>50</sup>

Overall, from the impoverished Mission's perspective, it was now more beneficial to let the property and 'to place the students in French ecclesiastical establishments'.<sup>51</sup> As the Scottish Mission fared better financially with the students as bursars, the French establishments continued the legacy of the Scots College Paris into the nineteenth century. The Scottish seminarians entered France for the first time since the 1790s and experienced an altered, social, cultural and political milieu and had to share their study, recreation and living space with the French, conduct their studies in French, and answer to French Superiors.

## Seminaries in France

In nineteenth-century France the seminaries utilised by the Scottish Mission were predominantly Paris and Douai-based. Between 1818 and 1878 the Mission sent most

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<sup>49</sup> SCA: BL/5/156/8, Paterson to Cameron, 8 Rue de Monsieur 3 Oct 1824.

<sup>50</sup> SCA: B/6/1/3/1, John MacPherson to James Gillis, St Sulpice, 19 Jun 1826.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

students destined for France to the College of English Benedictines, St Edmund's, at Douai, Monsieur Poiloup's institution at Vaugirard, St Sulpice in Paris (including Issy) and St Nicolas (including Conflans).<sup>52</sup> St Edmund's had its roots in Paris;<sup>53</sup> the other three were located there centrally or on the outskirts. While these institutions were firmly affiliated with the French funds of the Scottish Mission, others were used on a more occasional basis. The less-utilised institutions attended (by more than one seminarian between 1818 and 1878) included the seminaries of Aire,<sup>54</sup> Cambrai,<sup>55</sup> Sées (Sées),<sup>56</sup> Arras,<sup>57</sup> Montreuil-sur-Mer,<sup>58</sup> Institution of Monsieur Haffreingue in Boulogne,<sup>59</sup> St Riquier in Amiens,<sup>60</sup> Irish College Paris,<sup>61</sup> Seminary of Holy Ghost in Paris,<sup>62</sup> and the Seminary of Moulins.<sup>63</sup> Of these, only Moulins, St Riquier and the

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<sup>52</sup> See Appendix 3: Table 1.

<sup>53</sup> For a History of English Benedictine College at Douai, see for example Geoffrey Scott (ed.), *The English Benedictine Community of St. Edmund, King and Martyr, Paris 1615, Douai 1818, Woolhampton, 1903-2003: A Centenary History* (Worcester, 2003), esp. ch. 3.

<sup>54</sup> Collège d'Aire in Aire-su-le-Lys had Jesuit roots before it was taken over by Doctrinaries in 1777. In the 1800s it was administered municipally. The Scottish Mission sent eight students to Aire between 1844 and 1850. See 'Le collège d'Aire fête ses 400 ans: Bref historique du collège' (2014) on the website of the Diocese of Arras, accessed 8 Mar 2015. URL: [www.arras.catholique.fr/page-35582.html](http://www.arras.catholique.fr/page-35582.html).

<sup>55</sup> The Scottish Mission sent six seminarians to the Petit Séminaire and Grand Séminaire de Cambrai between 1847 and 1856. For an institutional history, see H. Boussemart, *Histoire du Petit Séminaire de Cambrai, 1809-1900* (Cambrai, 1902).

<sup>56</sup> Confusingly, the French Diocese of Sées is based at the city of Sées. In the records both Sées and Séez are used interchangeably, and refer to the location in Normandy rather than the one of the same name (Séez) in Savoy. Petit Séminaire de Sées and Grand Séminaire de Sées were attended by five students between 1861 and 1874.

<sup>57</sup> Both Petit Séminaire and Grand Séminaire d'Arras were used; four students attended between 1848 and 1870. For institutional history, see Charles Guillemant, *Histoire du Petit Séminaire d'Arras* (Arras, 1904) and Jean Tabary, *Histoire du Grand Séminaire d'Arras* (Arras, 1904).

<sup>58</sup> Only four students studied in Montreuil-sur-Mer between 1850 and 1853. Although the exact establishment is never specified, the one in question was most likely the institution of Sainte-Austreberthe. See the history on the establishment's current website, accessed 8 Mar 2015. URL: [www.institution-sainte-austreberthe.fr/histoire-institution-sainte-austreberthe/institution-sainte-austreberthe](http://www.institution-sainte-austreberthe.fr/histoire-institution-sainte-austreberthe/institution-sainte-austreberthe).

<sup>59</sup> Only two seminarians studied there briefly, between 1849 and 1854. A short history of l'Institution Haffreingue can be found on the current website of Collège Haffreingue, accessed 8 Mar 2015. URL: [www.college-haffreingue.com/rubriques/gauche/qui-sommes-nous/notre-histoire](http://www.college-haffreingue.com/rubriques/gauche/qui-sommes-nous/notre-histoire)

<sup>60</sup> Four seminarians attended in the two years, 1876-1877. For a timeline of the history of the establishment, see the website of Sainte-Thérèse Saint-Acheul Saint-Riquier, accessed 3 Mar 2015. URL: [www.saintriquier.com/histoire.html](http://www.saintriquier.com/histoire.html).

<sup>61</sup> See, for example, Liam Swords, *Soldiers, Scholars, Priests: A Short History of the Irish College, Paris* (Paris, 1985). Three students attended this establishment between 1822 and 1852.

<sup>62</sup> The Parisian seminary of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit. Attended by three between 1869 and 1875. See the Spiritan website for a brief history of the Congregation, accessed 8 Mar 2015. URL: [www.spiritano.org/about/spiritan-history](http://www.spiritano.org/about/spiritan-history).

<sup>63</sup> Two students attended between 1866 and 1867. This is most likely the Grand Séminaire, founded in 1826. See for example Pierre Besançon, *Le grand séminaire de Moulins sous la direction des pères Maristes (1847-1903)* (Moulins, 1999).

Irish College Paris received students drawing on the Missions French funds. Those attending other institutions were funded from other sources, such as a bishop's private bourse.

The reason for such a large number of institutions attended by only two to seven individuals (compared to 137, 116, 39 and 30 at St Sulpice, Douai, Vaugirard and St Nicolas respectively), and utilised only up to ten years,<sup>64</sup> was most likely opportunism. The head of the seminary in Aire, 'a most respectable French Clergyman [...] much esteemed by the good Cardinal Bishop of that Diocese' visited Scotland in September 1844.<sup>65</sup> A month later, Bishop Scott composed a letter to James Gillis (1802-1864), explaining that he was visiting Pas-de-Calais in the North of France, where he had

found an opening for the Education of six Scotch students for the Ecclesiastical state on the condition of me keeping them in clothes and shoes during the years of their course. Bed, board, schoolbooks and education they get for nothing.<sup>66</sup>

A generous offer of six funded study places was not to be easily dismissed. The key was to inspect the establishments before sending students in order to ensure that they were apt for ecclesiastical students. He added he was prepared to consider other establishments as well: 'If my health permits I will probably go to Paris for a few days, and perhaps return through the Diocese of Bruges and look at some of the seminaries there.'<sup>67</sup> Similarly, the entry of Scottish students in the Cambrai seminaries was negotiated with the Archbishop, who agreed to have 'two or three Scottish pupils' initially.<sup>68</sup> The bishops were, for financial reasons, constantly on the lookout for affordable, high-quality opportunities for priestly training on the Continent, and especially the Pas-de-Calais area offered convenient alternatives to Paris.

A brief overview of the main four seminaries (with the most significant student numbers) between 1818 and 1878 is necessary before continuing. Each of the four main ones – St Nicolas, Vaugirard, Douai (St Edmund's) and St Sulpice – clarifies the

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<sup>64</sup> See Appendix 3: Table 1.

<sup>65</sup> SCA: DD/1/12/10, Bp Scott to Gillis, Glasgow 8 Sep 1844.

<sup>66</sup> SCA: DD/1/12/11, Bp Scott to Gillis, Greenock 2 Oct 1844.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> SCA: OL/2/72/5, Peter Forbes to Bp Scott, [Haubaudin], France, 8 Sep 1846.

whole picture of the Scottish Mission's French education, as well as having its own noteworthy characteristics.

### *Séminaire de Saint-Nicolas du Chardonnet ('St Nicolas')*

The French seminary chosen by the Mission as the first option for the education of their future priests was that of Séminaire de Saint-Nicolas du Chardonnet. St Nicolas consisted of the Paris house (for the more advanced classes) at Rue de Pontoise, as well as the castle of Conflans in Charenton-le-Pont, North-East of Paris (where younger students were taught and where all students could go for excursions in the summer). The seminary adjacent to the church was founded in 1612, but the nineteenth-century institution was re-established in new premises.<sup>69</sup> St Nicolas was used for the education of Scottish missionary priests between 1818 and 1836, with a short gap from 1831 to 1833. During this time it was under the direction of several superiors, but twelve of the eighteen years attended were overseen by Monsieur Frère, who enforced a strict 'seminarians only' policy.<sup>70</sup> As far as the seminary's core curriculum was concerned, at least (the soon-to-be vicar apostolic) Alexander Paterson praised it highly in 1824.<sup>71</sup> In 1828 the sixth- and seventh-graders (placed at Conflans) worked on Latin and Greek texts as well as religious authors (translation and analysis), combined with such subjects as geography of Africa and Asia, history of Egypt, as well as, perhaps surprisingly, a course in botany.<sup>72</sup> St Nicolas was for the classical part of the ecclesiastical studies, often followed by philosophy at Issy and theology at the Paris house of St Sulpice.

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<sup>69</sup> For histories of the seminary, see Schoenher, *Histoire du Séminaire de Saint-Nicolas du Chardonnet, 1612-1908, d'après des documents inédits*, 2 vols (Paris, 1909 & 1911); Gaston Faelens, *Histoire du Petit-Séminaire du Saint-Nicolas, 1808-1908* (St Niklaas, 1908).

<sup>70</sup> The superiors were Messieurs Thavenet [1815-1818], Frère [1819-1834], Jammes [1834-1835] and Boniver [1835-1836]. The famed Monsieur Dupanloup (1802-1878), later Bishop of Orléans, only took over as superior in 1837 when Scottish seminarians were no longer in attendance. See AN: F/19/4079 (Cultes): *Annuaire du Petit Séminaire de Paris Saint-Nicolas du Chardonnet et de l'Association Ecclésiastique des Anciens Élèves, 1891* (Paris, 1892), 1.

<sup>71</sup> SCA: BL/5/156/8, Paterson to Cameron, 8 Rue de Monsieur, Paris 3 Oct 1824.

<sup>72</sup> 'Mr Dawson est en sixième. Pour les auteurs Latins, il a traduit Cornelius Nepos et les Fables de Phèdre, pour les auteurs Grecs, il a expliqué les Fables d'Esopé. Il a aussi vu la géographie de l'Afrique et l'histoire de l'Égypte. Mr Grant et moi, nous sommes en Septième. Nous avons expliqué une partie de Sulpice Sévère, et nous expliquons actuellement Justin, et Phèdre et Esopé. Nous avons vu en abrégé la géographie de l'Asie moderne. Nous voyons en outre un cours de Botanique.' SCA: CA/1/43/4: A. Grant, E. McD. Dawson and I. Malcolm to the Bp Paterson, Conflans 28 Jun 1828.

### *Institution of Monsieur Poiloup at Vaugirard ('Vaugirard')*

The Institution of Monsieur Poiloup at Vaugirard was utilised for eighteen consecutive years, from 1834 until 1851, with thirty-nine attendees. Abbé Poiloup founded this private establishment in 1829 as an annex to his Parisian house at Rue de Regard, and in the following decades the fame grew. The house itself was not a pure seminary, but combined the education of children destined for a variety of careers. Poiloup's 'celebrated School of Vaugirard',<sup>73</sup> like St Nicolas, provided the seminarians a basic classical education in a remarkably international atmosphere.<sup>74</sup> It boasted a number of advantages to all its pupils, highlighting its tangible 'happy influence of religion and piety':<sup>75</sup>

An excellent spirit of the masters, the manner in which they conduct themselves with their pupils, the bonds and cordiality which is maintained between them give this institution a very particular physio[g]nomy.<sup>76</sup>

The seminary was used until 1851 when Abbé Poiloup sold the establishment to the Jesuits.<sup>77</sup> Thereafter the focus of the Scottish Mission's seminary training in France moved onto Douai alongside St Sulpice.

### *College of the English Benedictines, St Edmund's, at Douai ('Douai')*

The College of the English Benedictines, St Edmund's, at Douai, was used by the Scottish Mission for over thirty-three years, 1831-1835 and 1851 onwards. The number of affiliated seminarians who attended St Edmund's was 116 (up to 1878). It provided a solid classical education on the continent, but unlike the rest of the establishments it was not a French one; the language of tuition was English, although

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<sup>73</sup> Obituary of Andrew Smith, 140, in *SCD 1878*, 140-141.

<sup>74</sup> John W. Padberg, *Colleges in Controversy: The Jesuits Schools in France from Revival to Suppression, 1815-1880* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969), 109.

<sup>75</sup> 'On reconnoît là l'heureuse influence de la religion et de la piété'. *L'Ami de la Religion: Journal Ecclésiastique Politique et Littéraire* 90 (Paris, 1836), 117.

<sup>76</sup> 'L'excellent esprit des maîtres, leur manière d'être avec leurs élèves, l'union et la cordialité qui règnent entre eux donnent à cette institution une physionomie toute particulière.' *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> Abbé Poiloup sold his Vaugirard college to the Jesuits, who in 1852 opened the Collège de l'Immaculée-Conception in the premises. Padberg, *Colleges in Controversy*, 110.

both spoken and written French were taught.<sup>78</sup> St Edmund's had its roots in Paris (founded in 1615) from where the establishment was transferred to Douai in 1820.<sup>79</sup> It was precisely its new location at Douai – as well as the price of tuition which accompanied the less prominent location – that made it attractive to the Scottish Mission.<sup>80</sup> The Revolution of 1830 forced the bishops to evacuate their students from Paris, which was very much at the centre of unrest. Douai was a safer alternative.<sup>81</sup> Situated in France, but offering tuition in English, the Douai College offered a similar environment to that of the original Scots College, albeit under English rule. The location was also more easily accessible – and escapable. In his letter to Bishop Kyle, Andrew Scott pointed out that studies would be more successfully pursued 'within sixteen miles of the French borders' in 'the small quiet town of Douay, where scarcely a life was lost in the first bloody revolution'.<sup>82</sup> The superior of St Edmund's reinforced this idea of a haven of relative calm within France. To further recommend St Edmund's, the facilities were advertised to be excellent:

The college is well supplied with light and airy dormitories, well warmed classrooms, study place, and playrooms, with lavatories, baths, libraries, a well-appointed gymnasium, a large playground, and a spacious covered promenade for recreation in wet weather.<sup>83</sup>

There was also a fifty-acre farm and a country house nearby, containing 'a cricket field of 15 acres, tennis lawn, and football ground, bathing place, fish ponds, and lakes for boating and skating.'<sup>84</sup>

St Edmund's was advertised as a place for a genteel upbringing and education, with all the accompanying luxuries. It was exceptional in that it was an establishment run by the English rather than the French. St Edmund's only admitted English-speaking

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<sup>78</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/7 (1), 'College of St Edmund the King and Martyr: Douai, France' (1886).

<sup>79</sup> For a History of English Benedictine College at Douai, see for example Geoffrey Scott (ed.), *The English Benedictine Community of St. Edmund, King and Martyr, Paris 1615, Douai 1818, Woolhampton, 1903-2003: A Centenary History* (Worcester, 2003), esp. ch. 3.

<sup>80</sup> SCA: OL/2/6/7, Alexander Paterson to Bp Scott, 24 Go[?] Place 24 Jun 1831.

<sup>81</sup> SCA: BL/6/23/6, Bp Scott to Paterson, Glasgow 12 Nov 1830. The unrests Douai avoided are discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

<sup>82</sup> SCA: BL/6/23/10 (1), Bp Scott to Kyle, Glasgow 9 Dec 1830, including a Copy letter of Paterson to Bp Scott, 21 Nov 1830.

<sup>83</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/7 (1), 'College of St Edmund the King and Martyr: Douai, France' (1886).

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

subjects, and in the late 1880s stated the college's objective to be 'to educate youth, principally for priesthood, and thus to continue the work of the English, Irish and Scotch foundations established at Douai'.<sup>85</sup> It was a practical option in that the students could receive their tuition in English whilst also working to improve their French, preparing them for further study at a French establishment. It was not solely a seminary, though, and like many other similar establishments it was willing to admit students 'intending to embrace any of the professions'.<sup>86</sup> The curriculum included philosophy and theology, but these were usually pursued, by the Scottish seminarians, at Issy and St Sulpice in Paris. St Edmund's functioned as a kind of halfway house to the Scots boys, who could develop their French in a less foreign environment before entering the hustle and bustle of the French capital; unless there was some irregularity due to political unrest, health issues or giving up the studies, a period of study at Douai was always followed by study at St Sulpice in Paris.

### *Saint-Sulpice, Paris ('St Sulpice')*

The French seminary boasting the most significant contribution to the Scottish Mission in the nineteenth century was that of Saint-Sulpice, consisting of a house at 9, Place Saint-Sulpice, Paris (for theology), and a house also known as the seminary of Issy at Issy-les-Moulineaux, Hauts-de-Seine (for philosophy). It was used for over 58 years, first from 1820 to 1822, and then from 1824 onwards, beyond 1878.<sup>87</sup> The attendees until 1878 numbered 137. The Sulpician college of Paris was far-famed,<sup>88</sup> attracting students from all over France and the world.<sup>89</sup> The obituarist of Peter Forbes (1800-1872) praised St Sulpice highly in 1872 for being 'well-known over the world for the great number of learned and zealous priests educated within its hallowed precincts'.<sup>90</sup> He continued that Forbes' missionary career undoubtedly 'profited by the lessons of piety and learning he received in that celebrated house'.<sup>91</sup> Discipline was rigorous,

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> 'St Sulpice' as a seminary can refer to Issy as well, as this was part of the greater seminary including both Issy and the Paris house, also called St Sulpice. As a different house, however, Issy was also sometimes referred to separately.

<sup>88</sup> *SCD* 1883 (obituary).

<sup>89</sup> Marcel Launay, *Les Séminaires Français aux XIXe et XXe Siècles* (Paris, 2003), 46.

<sup>90</sup> *SCD* 1873 (obituary).

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

perhaps even more so than elsewhere, and the students studied uninterrupted for nine months in close confinement with only one outing per week.<sup>92</sup> Students of Issy could obtain passes to visit friends or workshops in Paris, but the St Sulpice regime at the Parisian house was less benevolent.<sup>93</sup> There, however, the students got their own ascetic rooms, each with a bed, desk and two chairs.<sup>94</sup> At Issy one was on certain occasions allowed to wear the secular dress, but at St Sulpice all students wore the ecclesiastical habit.<sup>95</sup> In the cassock the tonsured theology students stood out and constantly reminded themselves and others of their vocation.

St Sulpice was utilised by the Scottish Mission for decades for high-quality training and the study experience was frequently praised by former students. But negative opinions on St Sulpice were also voiced. Bishop Alexander Paterson, for example, was not impressed with the kinds of priests that the Sulpicians produced; he stated that he had ‘no high ideas of the studies in St Sulpice either in philosophy or Divinity’.<sup>96</sup> The returning students, he explained, had a tendency to come across as ‘abbots of pretention’ and had ‘little else to recommend them’.<sup>97</sup> This perceived ‘imported foppery’ of France was not exclusive to Scots, but it was lamented in Ireland, too.<sup>98</sup>

Paterson seemed to think St Sulpice encouraged ostentatiousness. Pretentious or not, the Sulpician education had *gravitas*. In fact, the fame of St Sulpice went so far as to embody a model seminary in the nineteenth century, both in France and further afield. The kind of seminary culture embraced at St Sulpice was also imitated at St Nicolas and Vaugirard. While St Edmund’s was, in many ways, an exception to the rule (it was a British oasis of English Benedictines in France), the establishment could not fully avoid the greater currents of French seminary culture. This current, for the

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<sup>92</sup> SCA: ED/8/20/1, Petition letter of students at Grand Séminaire de St Sulpice (John Malcolm, Donald Chisholm, Lawrence Phin, Patrick McMahon, Donald McMillar, George Mullan, William McKenzie, Angus McRae, Edmund Langley, John Meany, Michael Lavelle, Charles Mann, John Cameron) to ‘Your Lordship’, 3 May 1882.

<sup>93</sup> Austin Gough, *Paris and Rome: The Gallican Church and the Ultramontane Campaign 1848-1853* (Oxford, 1986), 20.

<sup>94</sup> SCA: ED/8/20/8, Conditions de la Pension pour les élèves du séminaire de Saint-Sulpice.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> SCA: BL/5/156/8, Bp Paterson to Cameron, 8 Rue de Monsieur, Paris 3 Oct 1824.

<sup>97</sup> ‘[C]e sont des abbés a pretensions’. Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Dr Everard, quoted in Jeremiah Newman, *Maynooth and Georgian Ireland* (Galway, 1979), 124. *The Oxford English Dictionary Online* defines foppery as ‘silly affectation of elegance; coxcombrism, dandyism’. Accessed 5 Nov 2016, URL : [www.oed.com/view/Entry/72753](http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/72753).



most of the nineteenth century, was markedly Sulpician: ‘a mix of solid spirituality and serious and balanced studies, marked by a net Gallican spirit.’<sup>99</sup>

### French Seminary Culture: The Sulpician Model

One of the main assumptions of the prosopographical approach is that many, if not most of the individuals concerned, have something in common beyond a unifying, shared aspect of their lives. In this case, the individuals examined shared an experience of study in France. This may have been for significantly different durations – from a few months to a decade – as well as in very different educational establishments. However, those establishments disseminated a clerical culture different from that of, for example, Spain, Rome or Scotland. The seminaries on French soil took pride in their particular style and pedagogical approach, and even though curriculum-wise the training differed little from the other European training colleges, a certain kind of ethos was at the heart of these institutions.

The higher education of priests overseas benefitted from what David McRoberts has called ‘a seasoning of Continental culture’.<sup>100</sup> The priest’s cosmopolitan outlook as well as an experience well beyond the means of most of his parishioners enabled certain credibility to his authority over his flock, complementing his spiritual power. Based on the consistency of sending seminarians to complete their studies in France, the risks of a France-based training did not surpass its benefits to the Scottish Mission. Bishop Paterson, in particular, was firmly of the opinion that the Scottish seminarians could ‘prosecute their studies to much more advantage in a French Seminary than at Blairs’, even when France was dealing with another revolution in 1830.<sup>101</sup> Paris, in particular, could offer ‘high standards of education and broadness of mind’.<sup>102</sup> Like the Irish Colleges, they provided a ‘cultural bridge’ to continental Europe, as well as

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<sup>99</sup> Launay, *Les Séminaires Français*, 17. My translation.

<sup>100</sup> David McRoberts, ‘The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy in 1878’, 3, in *idem* (ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878-1978* (Glasgow, 1979), 3-29.

<sup>101</sup> SCA: BL/6/23/10 (1) Copy letter of Bp Paterson to Bp Scott, 21 Nov 1830.

<sup>102</sup> Halloran, *Scots College Paris*, 195.

an ‘educated channel’ via which French influences spread.<sup>103</sup> Although these were most noticeably cultural and literary ones, they did not discriminate between creative ideas and political currents, secular or ecclesiastic. All of the Parisian colleges, in particular, were connected with academic and ecclesiastical life in the city.<sup>104</sup> Although partially enclosed, none of these establishments could – or wished to – be fully so, since this would undermine both their cosmopolitan location and their value in disseminating an informed elite education. Before they were made into clerics, the boys were made into gentlemen, and this required a certain presence of worldliness, albeit at an arm’s length. To balance this, the seminaries boasted a highly religious atmosphere, coloured with a Sulpician ethos.

The Council of Trent (1545-1563) effected significant changes to the priestly formation by establishing minimum standards of education it required from its labourers.<sup>105</sup> To address the new requirements, a seminary system slowly developed to accommodate the demand for well-educated, dedicated individuals with a sense of vocation. In the following century, the realisation of the ideal began in earnest, and by the dawn of the Revolution the model of a good seminary education, at least in theory, was firmly established on the French soil. Although different companies of priests founded their own establishments and imposed their own rules and curriculum, it was the Sulpicians who acquired the most prestige and fame in the following century.<sup>106</sup> The Society of St Sulpice was founded by the Parisian priest Jean-Jacques Olier (1608-1657) in 1642 and mainly functioned as a company of ordained educators.<sup>107</sup> The Christ-centred Order is considered to be one of the main ones of what is now called the French School of Spirituality.<sup>108</sup> Although English-led Douai was most certainly and exception, St Nicolas, Vaugirard and St Sulpice all practised and transmitted ideas idolising Sulpician spirituality.

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<sup>103</sup> Tomás Ó Fiaich, *The Irish Colleges in France* (Dublin, 1990), 28.

<sup>104</sup> James McMillan, ‘Scottish Catholics and the Jansenist Controversy: The Case Reopened’, 28, in *IR* 32/1 (1981), 22-33.

<sup>105</sup> See, for example, Kenan B. Osborne, ‘Priestly Formation’, 118-119, in Raymond F. Bulman and Frederick J. Parrella (eds), *From Trent to Vatican II: Historical and Theological Investigations* (Oxford, 2006), 117-135.

<sup>106</sup> Launay, *Les Séminaires Français*, 92.

<sup>107</sup> Michael Pasquier, *Fathers on the Frontier: French Missionaries and the Roman Catholic Priesthood in the United States, 1789-1870* (Oxford, 2009), 28.

<sup>108</sup> See for example Raymond Deville, *The French School of Spirituality: An Introduction and Reader* (Pittsburgh, 1994).

The emphasis of Sulpician spirituality was on Christ and his life, and the priest was to, as far as possible, imitate it. Mortification, isolation and obedience were heavily idealised, and these ideals manifested themselves in the Sulpician seminaries. Study was combined with ‘a regime of prayer and personal meditation’.<sup>109</sup> Marcel Launay has completed a commendable study on the French seminaries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He highlights that in these seminaries, the students ‘were taught to embrace the type of behaviour that conformed to the dignity of the ecclesiastical state, based on the three fundamental virtues: modesty, obedience and gravity’.<sup>110</sup> Nicole Lemaître has called Sulpician spirituality ‘a veritable “mental conditioning”’.<sup>111</sup> The Rules of the French seminaries were more strict than lenient, even if they did not boast to have fully achieved to imitate the Sulpician model. Discipline in all aspects of life was essential. For example, Olier’s life and teachings were imitated by Donald Carmichael (1833-1902) during his priesthood: it was reported that ‘Punctuality, after prayer, had been the keynote of his life’.<sup>112</sup> Not only was *Imitation of Christ* ‘his favourite book and daily companion’, but he was venerated for having been a ‘martyr to duty’.<sup>113</sup>

Aspirations towards martyrdom were encouraged, if priestly obituaries are to be believed. A Victorian biography often culminated in a ‘good death’,<sup>114</sup> and priestly obituaries appear, like their secular counterparts, intensely hagiographical:<sup>115</sup> imitating Christ by suffering illness and pain in silence and fulfilling one’s sacred duties for as long as possible was the ideal that was praised and remembered after a fellow priest’s

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<sup>109</sup> Launay, *Les Séminaires Français*, 18.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 17. My translation.

<sup>111</sup> Nicole Lemaître, ‘*Le bon pasteur de l’école française de spiritualité*’, in *idem* (ed.) *Histoire des curés* (Paris, 2002), 234, quoted in Michael Pasquier, *Fathers on the Frontier: French Missionaries and the Roman Catholic Priesthood in the United States, 1789-1870* (Oxford, 2009), 35. Pasquier’s translation.

<sup>112</sup> *SCD* 1903 (obituary).

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> Hermione Lee, *Biography: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2009), 63. Nigel Starck discusses obituaries as a form of ‘ancient journalism art’. Nigel Starck, *Life After Death: The Art of the Obituary* (Carlton, 2006), x.

<sup>115</sup> Lee, *Biography*, 57. Janice Hume has examined the subtle changes in the representation of individuals in American obituaries between 1818 and 1930. She has highlighted an array of themes that crop up regardless of what qualities were emphasised at any given time, and which also crop up in priestly obituaries: a commemoration of individual’s virtues, his or her engagement with historical moments, and an affirmative verdict on the exemplariness and usefulness of their lives. See Janice Hume, *Obituaries in American Culture* (Jackson, 2000).

death. Walter Lovi (18xx-1878), who spent two years at St Sulpice but also attended the Scots College in Rome, considered behaviour bordering on masochism a commendation when describing the lifestyle of saint-like ‘Mr Spencer’, ‘the most edifying apostolical man [he] ever saw in [his] life’:

He preaches eight sermons every week and travels on foot 20 miles every day of his life. [...] He lives in the lowest possible manner: he is even applying to the B[ishop] for leave to resign his house, and to sleep in the vestry on boards. He is wishing also to confine his food to bread and water.<sup>116</sup>

However ascetic Mr Spencer’s aspirations, they were applauded by the young priest, but not by Mr Spencer’s bishop – who probably preferred a strong, healthy priest to a masochistic one who, Lovi admitted, ‘would do too much and kill himself in a short time’ if he was not denied some of his wishes by his Bishop.<sup>117</sup> The purpose of this religiously-inspired joyous self-flagellation, also known as mortification of the flesh, was to sanctify the flesh through discipline and punishment. The apparently resulting air of saintliness was encouraged by the superiors of the colleges. Ecclesiastical students were trained to see themselves as ‘separate from their former selves as laymen’. The emphasis, as Historian Michael Pasquier explained further, was on ‘the significance of their decision to become priests, and particularly of “the Excellency of the Ecclesiastical State”.’<sup>118</sup> Seminarians were supposed to think of themselves as ‘spiritually distinctive from non-priests’,<sup>119</sup> and self-imposed bodily chastisement could strengthen this self-image.

St Sulpice received other negative observations as well, pertaining to the intensity of the Sulpician regime. In 1840 Stephen Keenan complained of his brother’s physical state to Bishop Scott following an interruption of year of studies at St Sulpice. He reported that Peter Keenan (1811-1843)

was almost reduced to a skeleton and that too all on a sudden, by fasting, severe mental application, want of sleep, and encouraged scrupulousness. [...] My

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<sup>116</sup> SCA: BL/6/96/3, Walter Lovi to [my dearest friend] Charles Fraser, Birmingham, 23 May 1834.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Michael Pasquier, *Fathers on the Frontier: French Missionaries and the Roman Catholic Priesthood in the United States, 1789-1870* (Oxford, 2009), 41.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

Brothers malady is more of the mind than of the body, and as the D[octo]Rs observe is more to be attributed to the sudden reduction of his body by the above causes than any thing else.<sup>120</sup>

He also spoke of his brother hinting at the death of Daniel O'Neill (1820-1839), who returned ill from Paris and soon died, reportedly due to 'scrupulousness and extra prayers'.<sup>121</sup> When Peter Keenan had recovered and been sent again to St Sulpice, he soon fell into what his brother saw as 'stupid ideas about perfection infused by the superiors of French colleges into the minds of students'.<sup>122</sup> This time, Stephen Keenan wrote to Bishop Murdoch, complaining that his brother was unwell again, and 'a stone lighter' than two months previous:

I have no doubt that scrupulousness, severe fasting, sitting up late at night and rising an hour and a half before the community in the morning, for the purpose of applying to study, were the causes of the whole [...].<sup>123</sup>

Sulpician aspirations could be to the detriment of the individual's body. It is possible that in Peter Keenan's case they hastened his succumbing to typhus fever three years later.<sup>124</sup>

While the exact impact of the Sulpician education is hard to ascertain, the Society of Saint Sulpice possessed a reputation difficult to match. James E. Handley has discussed an anecdote of future bishop James Gillis' (1802-1864) conduct after his return from Paris to Aquhorties in Scotland in 1826.<sup>125</sup> As Gillis' obituary recounted, he attempted to enforce Sulpician standards to the small Scottish seminary of Aquhorties, quite inappropriate to his status as well as the establishment:

though not yet in Holy Orders, he undertook to introduce some changes into the rules, discipline, and studies of that Institution, which he thought open to improvement, so as to assimilate it to those he had seen in France.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> SCA: OL/2/49/9, Stephen Keenan to Bp Scott, Dundee 23 Jul 1840.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> SCA: OL/2/60/14, Stephen Keenan to Bp Murdoch, Dundee 19 Jul 1841.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Bernard J. Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests in Scotland 1829-1979* (Inverness, 1979), 168.

<sup>125</sup> James E. Handley, 'French Influence on Scottish Catholic Education in the Nineteenth Century', 22, in *IR* 1/1 (1950), 22-34.

<sup>126</sup> *SCD* 1865 (obituary).

These changes are not specified, but they were soon afterwards ‘set aside as being unsuitable in the circumstances of the house and country’.<sup>127</sup> Charles Joseph Tochetti’s (1822-1903) obituary recounted that ‘His daily spiritual life was but a continuation of what he practiced there’:

His whole demeanour spoke of St. Sulpice. His spirit was that of St. Sulpice. Did you wish to cheer him in the weary hours when infirmities had broken his strength, speak to him of St. Sulpice.<sup>128</sup>

St Sulpice was reported to have left ‘a very definite mark’ also on the mind of James MacGinnes (1840-1909), who ‘ever afterwards thought and spoke highly of the Sulpician system’.<sup>129</sup>

### **Conclusion: The Impact of Study in France**

The seminary held a particular place in the heart of many of the Scottish seminarians. A study migration abroad is frequently mentioned in priests’ obituaries, not just as a biographical piece of information. The study abroad could have a strong impact on the seminarian, and several obituaries in which a particular nostalgia for, affection towards or impact of a seminary abroad is mentioned have been examined. While the exact impact depended on the individual in question as well as their study experience, the obituarist generally knew the individual in question and was accountable to others who knew the deceased. Alexander MacKintosh’s (1854-1922) obituary reported the priest’s regret regarding the shortness of his stay at St Edmund’s, Douai, but also that ‘it was long enough to inspire him with a love of all things Benedictine’.<sup>130</sup> Likewise, George McBrearty’s (1838-1918) ‘happiest memories were of the four last years which he spent at Douai’.<sup>131</sup> St Sulpice evoked similar feelings. John MacPherson

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> *SCD* 1904 (obituary).

<sup>129</sup> *SCD* 1910 (obituary).

<sup>130</sup> *SCD* 1923 (obituary).

<sup>131</sup> *SCD* 1919 (obituary).

(1801-1871), who only spent two years at St Sulpice, considered them to be ‘the happiest of his life’.<sup>132</sup> Charles Joseph Tochetti’s (1822-1903) obituary, similarly, praised the experience, stating that ‘how he loved that seminary’ was common knowledge among all who knew him.<sup>133</sup> Robert Clapperton’s (1831-1906) ten years in Paris ‘left noticeable traces on his character all his days’.<sup>134</sup> It was also stated that he ‘retained an unbounded admiration for the French ecclesiastical training’.<sup>135</sup> Joseph Holder (1845-1917) was in France for seven years, four of them in Paris at Issy and St Sulpice. He was reportedly prominently affected by the seminary faculty, ‘several of them [...] of European fame’:

he retained a life-long friendship with fellow-students and professors, among whom I might mention the Père D’Alaine, Vicaire-Général D’Orléans, and the Père Vigouroux, Professor of Sacred Scripture, the renowned Hebrew scholar of Paris and Rome.<sup>136</sup>

St Sulpice was considered to have particular appeal as a study destination. The seminarians usually had no say in their study destination as these were determined by availability of funding and space at each of them rather than demand. However, as a special favour, a bishop might be persuaded to arrange a transfer. William Robertson (1829-1857) requested to be transferred to St Sulpice before the completion of his studies. He left Valladolid for Paris where he studied theology for two years before being raised to priesthood. John MacEachron (1818-1898) completed his studies at Scots College Rome in 1848 at the age of thirty, but was nevertheless allowed to attend St Sulpice for three years before being called back to Scotland. This sort of special treatment might have been due to the fact that he began his studies as an adult and was a convert from Calvinism – not to mention he most likely agreed to fund the additional years himself. Peter Keenan (1811-1843), too, discovered his vocation late; he also attended St Sulpice post-ordination. In fact, he was so keen to stay that he wrote his bishop in 1840, requesting permission to stay for a while longer.<sup>137</sup> The request itself

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<sup>132</sup> *SCD* 1872 (obituary).

<sup>133</sup> *SCD* 1904 (obituary).

<sup>134</sup> *SCD* 1907 (obituary).

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>136</sup> *SCD* 1920 (obituary).

<sup>137</sup> *SCA*: OL/2/47/11, Peter Keenan to Bp Scott, Paris 3 May 1840.

is long-winded as he desperately petitions for one more year, half-a-year, or even a semester if at all possible:

Would it then be too much, after so many favours already granted, to request at least a part of the ensuing year [...]. Failing however in my request to remain till Easter; I should then request to till Christmas, and should neither the one nor the other meet your Lordships views, you will not deny me at least a few weeks of the vacation for what with the heat and the preparations for our public examinations.<sup>138</sup>

Unfortunately illness forced Keenan to leave Paris for Scotland in any case.<sup>139</sup> John Gordon (1817-1xxx) did not wish to return to Scotland ‘just yet’, either, and presented a similarly anxious plea to stay one more year:

I know I could possibly finish my studies elsewhere; but I doubt much if I could do it with the same leisure, with the same succours, with the same utility as here.<sup>140</sup>

He continued by pointing out that it was at St Sulpice ‘at last’ where he was ‘met with peace, happiness, and every assistance that piety could wish’.<sup>141</sup> He concluded the long letter with a desperate plea: ‘Would you, my Lord [...] remove me from this excellent seminary, the fruits of which I have scarcely begun to reap?’<sup>142</sup> The following spring, having already been granted another year, he sent another letter of the same ilk.<sup>143</sup> Surprisingly, Gordon argued his case well and got his way: he was not ordained and called back to Scotland until the following June. However, whether the carefully constructed argument to stay had to do with affection towards the seminary rather than fear of change is difficult to determine, as is his Bishop’s willingness to delay his protégé’s ordination and return to Scotland.

Although it is possible these feelings were less prominent than is being presented in the obituary, the significance of a certain location and educational establishment

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Keenan was a qualified surgeon in Glasgow before realising his vocation. He returned home and assumed duties as an assistant priest in Greenock. Unfortunately he died of typhus three years later.

<sup>140</sup> SCA: OL/2/46/12, J. Gordon to Bp Scott, St Sulpice 28 Feb 1840.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> SCA: OL/2/53/4, John Gordon to Bp Scott, St Sulpice 12 Jan 1841.



over another, let alone the country one studied in, becomes obvious. Similar sentiments were frequently expressed with regard to the Scots Colleges as well as junior seminaries. Nostalgic feelings towards one's years of study are not surprising, especially as the change from focused study to hard missionary labour would have been significant. However, what exactly is being remembered and what exactly is being missed highlights the appreciation of the style of teaching in these colleges as well as the study experience.

The process of moulding a priest began with an investment. Making a priest took time, money and effort, not to mention a personal investment in a protégé. Although the training in the nineteenth century differed from that of previous centuries, the risks involved in this investment remained. Vocations were uncertain, but studies could equally be interrupted due to ill health, misbehaviour or death. From the Scottish Mission's perspective, however, the risk was unavoidable: trained in France or elsewhere, the study path remained long, arduous and expensive.

The Scots Colleges in Paris and Douai were no more, but this did not discourage the Scottish Mission from sending seminarians to France. The reasons for this were partly financial, but the vicars apostolic also recognised the value of an authentic Sulpician training. Although its appreciation could depend on whether the bishop himself had studied in France or elsewhere, the quality of education in French establishments, especially St Sulpice, could not be belittled – even though the young priests could return 'pretentious'.

This chapter has established the significance of study abroad to an individual. Many of those who trained in France thought back to that experience with longing. The foreign aspect was part of priestly training, and this was only forgone in exceptional circumstances. A Sulpician training was not the only option for the Scottish Mission's seminarians, and this was particularly contrasted with a training in Rome. The following chapter will expand on the peculiarities of priestly training in France – this time with a focus on political ideas and the potential transmission of the 'French disease' to Scotland with the returning young priests and seminarians whose studies were abruptly interrupted.

## Chapter II: The Trouble with France

The French study experience was rarely smooth. While the educational institutions themselves were relatively closed, their walls could not successfully keep the world away. Although many seminaries certainly attempted to be isolated havens, it would be imprudent to assume that the seminarians could fully avoid entanglement in the issues of their day – especially in nineteenth-century France. A significant portion of the students had their studies interrupted more than once due to political and military unrest, sometimes followed by a hurried escape. Seminaries were not isolated havens, and the military unrests of 1830, 1848 and 1870 in particular had a direct as well as an indirect impact on the study experience. Furthermore, as the revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1848 were the results of strong ideological currents prevalent in France and beyond, it is worth asking whether radical ideas, or ideas pertaining to authority, were absorbed to a same degree as Sulpician spirituality. For the Scottish Mission, France enjoyed a paradoxical status. A French education was esteemed and sought after, but it could come with a whole host of corrupting elements, present in the same environment.

The extent to which a French seminary experience might have encouraged tendencies to rebel is difficult to determine. However, contemporary correspondence does mention a vaguely-defined ‘French disease’, highlighting the fear of dissentious ideas spreading from France. The chapter addresses these fears and considers the degree to which they could be justified. This chapter explores some of the seminarians’ escape stories, highlighting the instability of the French study experience, which in many cases resulted in a rather dramatic end to their studies accompanied by a real danger to the students’ lives. It then addresses the fears regarding by-products of training seminarians in France, and especially in Paris. These included the Sulpician ideals discussed in the previous chapter, but also radical republican notions, sometimes connected to ecclesiastic-political currents of Gallicanism and ultramontanism. A few France-trained ‘troublemakers’ and instances of misbehaviour in terms of submission to authority are then investigated. Lastly, this chapter discusses an example of power play within the Scottish Mission, trying to establish whether these had any connection to a study experience of nineteenth-century France.

## Interruptions to Studies

In France both the clergy and clerical students received more than one blow during the revolutionary decades, whether they were Frenchmen or foreigners. From the Scottish perspective, it was the interrupted training operations that caused problems. The last students of Scots College Douai had been forced to leave the seminary in 1793, and a fresh group of seminarians was only sent to France in 1818. However, those who were unfortunate enough to be in France, and especially in Paris, in 1830, 1848 and 1870, got a rather more comprehensive experience of political and military unrest than they would have liked. The tentative question is if the political notions circulating in France, combined with political and military unrest, could have, to a degree, radicalised the seminarians.

Austin Gough claimed that ‘in practice, seminarians heard nothing about politics or current affairs, and hardly ever saw a newspaper’.<sup>1</sup> Granted, the seminaries were often designed to be inward-looking – even in terms of their architecture – and *contemptus mundi*, or the ‘rejection of the world’ was an essential part of Tridentine Catholicism.<sup>2</sup> But this cannot and does not apply to the Parisian seminaries. At the model Sulpician seminary, St Sulpice, the distance to the world could make the priest feel exiled in his contemporary society.<sup>3</sup> However, this had probably more to do with the nature of elite boarding schools rather than the religious nature of the institutions. These were not convents, but places of elite education. The anticlerical idea of seminaries as institutions answerable to themselves only, isolated from the rest of the world does not bear closer scrutiny.<sup>4</sup> Even the Scots College at Douai was not left untouched in the early 1790s. Alexander Badenoch’s obituary reported his flight, following ‘the revolutionary bands of Paris, who had figured in the massacres of August and September 1792’ and who ‘had deluged the French capital with blood’, entering Douai. He was forced to evacuate due to

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<sup>1</sup> Austin Gough, *Paris and Rome: The Gallican Church and the Ultramontane Campaign 1848-1853* (Oxford, 1986), 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism, 1789-1914* (London, 1989), 90.

<sup>3</sup> Marcel Launay, *Les Séminaires Français aux XIXe et XXe Siècles* (Paris, 2003), 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

The immediate proximity of the seat of war [...] and the insecurity of life in the midst of the banditti [...] together with the certainty of approaching hostilities between Great Britain and France [...].<sup>5</sup>

The journey was reported to have been difficult with ‘no inconsiderable degree of danger’; on his way to the coast he even ‘passed through the Austrian lines; and [...] was for a short time an eye-witness of the bombardment of Lisle’.<sup>6</sup>

Although the Revolution of 1789 cannot be matched in shock-value, the latter stirrings left an equally great mark on those who experienced them. The revolution of 1830 encouraged some lamentations from Walter Lovi (18xx-1878). He had experience of peacetime Paris (he was at St Sulpice 1825-1826) but was safely in Keith in 1830, writing to Bishop Scott. He painted a bleak picture of the ‘dreadful work in France’:

If the allies wish to punish its fickle inhabitants, the hurt may well be, to leave them to the wolves. Before long they will devour each other. Trade is at an end. Confidence is gone, and the people go idle about the streets of Paris with their pockets and their bellies empty whistling for their comfort the Marseilles hymn.<sup>7</sup>

The Scottish Mission evacuated its seminarians from Paris in July 1830. It sent a new batch of students to France in October, but these were forced to proceed to the safer Douai by 1831. John Malcolm was one of those caught in the zone of unrest. He was at Conflans, auxiliary to St Nicolas but on the outskirts of Paris. His obituary described how he and his fellow students fled to England and then to Blairs in the summer of 1830.<sup>8</sup> He was one of the older students sent back to Paris with some first-timers in October of the same year, but the Superior of Issy was not pleased to see them at his door. The situation in Paris remained delicate, and since the students arrived with no money and some with no French, they would not have been able to make their escape in case things went awry:

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<sup>5</sup> *SCD 1837* (obituary). ‘Alexander Badenoch (1774-1836) was one of the students evacuated from Scots College Douai in 1793. These students were not included in the population studied.’

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> SCA: OL/2/4/18, Walter Lovi to Bp Scott, Keith 21 Dec 1830.

<sup>8</sup> *SCD 1853* (obituary).

they would be obliged to wander in the streets in danger of being assassinated. Out of pity the superiors advanced to them 200 [livres] [...] The superior told the boys that in all likelihood there would be another revolution in which case he would again be obliged to advance money to carry them away from danger.<sup>9</sup>

As the Scots seminarians found the matters ‘still in a very unsettled state’ and the Parisian seminaries ‘objects of suspicion with the mob’, they were all transferred to Douai in early 1831.<sup>10</sup>

Douai was a relatively safe refuge within France in the 1830s and the Superior of English College was happy to receive the students.<sup>11</sup> This saved the Scottish Mission the trouble and cost of getting the seminarians to Scotland until the troubles subsided. The seminary was immensely convenient, and the fact that it was English rather than Scottish College was not considered an insurmountable weakness. The superior himself boasted of their good fortune in 1831 by stating that they ‘need not be alarmed at Doway, since there was not the slightest riot or disturbance here, even when the revolution was in its highest state of effervescence’.<sup>12</sup> In fact, Bishop Andrew Scott considered placing the students at Douai permanently to avoid further troubles. He was convinced that in Douai, ‘the same difficulties would not occur’; the students

would be less exposed to the consequences of Parisian revolutions. The students in the English Benedictine College of Douay were never one single day disturbed in their studies by the late revolutions in Paris.<sup>13</sup>

Those evacuated to Douai in 1831 were able to return to Paris in the autumn of 1833.<sup>14</sup>

Bishop Andrew Scott was not keen on Paris in general. He did not think the city ‘a proper place’ for the students, ‘[e]ven in more peac[e]able times than the present’.<sup>15</sup> Scott himself was trained at Scots College Douai before its closure in 1793, so he had first-hand experience of the Revolution of 1789. The French metropolis could be a risky place for impressionable boys, definitely more so than Douai; Ernest Renan

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> SCA: OL/2/6/1, Fr Collier to Bp Scott, English College Douai 28 May 1831.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> SCA: BL/6/23/6, Bp Scott to Bp Paterson, Glasgow 12 Nov 1830.

<sup>14</sup> *SCD 1853* (obituary).

<sup>15</sup> SCA: BL/6/23/10 (1) and (2), Bp Scott to Kyle, Glasgow 9 Dec 1830, including a Copy letter of Bp Paterson to Bp Scott, 21 Nov 1830.

referred to the ‘crucible of Parisian frivolity’ which could only be combatted by a carefully developed sense of morality.<sup>16</sup> He described St Nicolas as ‘the most brilliant and worldly house in Paris’:

The atmosphere of Paris – minus, let me add, its corruptions – penetrated by door and window; Paris in its pettiness and grandeur, its revolutionary force and its lapses into flabby indifference.<sup>17</sup>

Unfortunately, Scott did not elaborate on the precise reasons he disliked Paris. His thoughts on the revolutions and the secularism they advocated are clearer. Fearing continent-wide war, Scott commented on the unrest in rather pessimistic terms in 1831:

I certainly consider it as systematic as persecuting attack, not so much on the Royal family of France, as on Religion; and I feel convinced that the French Infidels and their associates throughout Europe will never cease their diabolical exertions as long as there is a Christian Throne or a Christian altar to be overturned.<sup>18</sup>

Four months later, he felt even less optimistic, fearing the world was coming to an end and that ‘the present revolutions and wars and rumours of wars [were] the preparation for the coming of Antichrist.’<sup>19</sup> This was not an unusual view in France, either.<sup>20</sup>

Bishop Scott did not live to see the studies of the Scottish Mission’s seminarians in France come to a halt again. John Kemp (1825-1882) gave an account of the events in February 1848 in his letter to Bishop Kyle:

we were startled from sleep by the ringing of the Tocsin from the tours of St. Sulpice & by several discharges of musketry a bloody fight was going on between the municipal guards & the mob just beneath the windows of the seminary.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Ernest Renan, *Recollections of My Youth* [1875–], transl. by C. B. Pitman, with intr. by G. G. Coulton (London, 1929), 125.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 163-164.

<sup>18</sup> SCA: OL/2/4/15, Bp Scott to Abbé McPherson, Glasgow 2 Nov 1830. See also partial transcription at OL/1/5/9.

<sup>19</sup> SCA: OL/2/5/6, Bp Scott to Paul MacPherson at Rome, Glasgow 21 Mar 1831.

<sup>20</sup> Geoffrey Cubitt, ‘God, Man and Satan: Strands in Counter-Revolutionary Thought among Nineteenth-Century French Catholics’, 139, in Frank Tallett and Nicholas Atkin (eds), *Catholicism in Britain and France since 1789* (London, 1996), 135-150.

<sup>21</sup> SCA: BL/6/575/3, John Kemp to Kyle, London 28 Feb 1848.

It was dramatic enough to wake up to sounds of battle in the middle of the night, let alone to be in such close proximity to fighting. The following morning the Superior ordered all of the ecclesiastical students to ‘quit the cassock’ and to obtain secular clothes to wear so as not to stand out.<sup>22</sup> After evacuating the seminary the small group of Scottish seminarians including at least Kemp, Joseph Mantica (1823-1852), James Forbes (1822-1xxx) and Andrew Black (1826-1867),

wandered for two or three hours, meeting masters & students in the same condition as ourselves, masking this way through the barricaded streets, amidst crowds of postmen, released debt[ors] & national guards armed with guns and swords & sending forth hideous yells. We addressed ourselves to a great many hotels without success, at last we obtained for an exorbitant price permission from a Gentleman to lie in the [ante]-Room with him on a mattress stretched on the floor.<sup>23</sup>

That night they resolutely decided to leave Paris. They made their way on foot and then by vehicles from town to town as the railroads were closed by ‘rebels’; they eventually got to London.<sup>24</sup>

Kemp’s experiences were unusual and dramatic, but not unique. The French study experience was also rather more colourful than expected at the onset of Franco-Prussian War of 1870 which found Joseph Holder (1845-1917) a sub-deacon, as well as ‘a willing volunteer for ambulance work among the French wounded’.<sup>25</sup> Daniel John Donnelly’s (1849-1897) obituary recounted that once ‘when he was out walking with a fellow-student, he missed his way, and on inquiring was promptly arrested as a spy’.<sup>26</sup> James Donlevy’s (1843-1903) obituary went into more detail regarding the Scottish students’ experience in the summer of 1870, when the war against Germany arrived a bit too close to home:

nearly all the fighting strength of France was surrendered at Sedan, and the enemy under the Crown Prince of Prussia was shelling the ramparts of Paris.

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> *SCD* 1920 (obituary).

<sup>26</sup> *SCD* 1898 (obituary).

By the 19<sup>th</sup> of September the investment of the city was complete. It was the long vacation at St. Sulpice and the French students had left for their homes by the end of June. The few Scotch subdeacons who remained were smuggled out of the city a few days only before the siege began and made their way homewards.<sup>27</sup>

At least six, possibly eight,<sup>28</sup> Scottish seminarians would have also attended the memorial of the ‘young martyr’ Paul Seigneret (1845-1871) at Issy in June 1872.<sup>29</sup> Seigneret was a French fellow seminarian at the Parisian house of St Sulpice before being imprisoned by the commune. He was apprehended after having gone for a passport at the Prefecture of Police wearing his cassock, and was shot at Belleville in May 1871.<sup>30</sup> He was an unfortunate fellow student, but the same mistake could have been made by any of the seminarians with alarming results.

It would be impossible to claim that seminaries kept the wider world at bay in the nineteenth century. While relative seclusion was definitely the ideal, it could not be consistently maintained: one in seven Scottish seminarians educated in France experienced at least one interruption to studies that was due to political unrest between 1818 and 1878. Exactly what kind of impact this had on the seminarians is difficult to ascertain, but the escape stories demonstrate that the seminarians were not as secluded as their bishops and Superiors would have liked. That the vicars apostolic kept sending their students to France regardless of recurring troubles implies that both the financial and specifically French educational benefits outweighed the risks. The vicars apostolic could not know for certain that the unrests of the century would be so frequent, especially in France.

To be a Sulpician-educated individual in the nineteenth century was not devoid of ecclesiastical politics. Sulpician superiors and professors at the seminaries were generally considered to be supporting the independence of the French Church from the

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<sup>27</sup> SCD 1904 (obituary).

<sup>28</sup> Those who attended either of the St Sulpice houses in the summer of 1872 would have attended. These included Bruce Geddes (1851-1906), Alexander Joseph Gerry (1855-1936), John Bernard MacLuskey (1851-1920), Patrick Morris (1848-1929), William Murnin (1850-19xx) and John Sutherland (1848-1884). There is some lack of clarity over the exact whereabouts of Patrick Aloysius O’Shaughnessy (1856-1885) and Thomas William Rowley (1850-1928), although both of them were certainly in France at the time.

<sup>29</sup> [Anonymous ‘director of St Sulpice’], *Ange et Martyr, Paul Seigneret, séminariste de Saint-Sulpice, fusillé à Belleville le 26 mai 1871* (Lille, 1877), 259.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.



ultimate supremacy of the Holy See.<sup>31</sup> This ecclesiastic and political stance was called ‘Gallicanism’, and it was challenged by opposing ‘ultramontane’ ideas in the nineteenth century ecclesiastical circles. Particularly St Sulpice developed a reputation as ‘an intellectual bastion’ opposed to ultramontanism.<sup>32</sup> Although papal supremacy in due course prevailed (the First Vatican Council (1869-1870) officially declared its position in favour of ultramontanism), Gallicanism refused to give in, especially in its birth country.<sup>33</sup>

## Gallicanism and Ultramontanism

The transnational network of Roman Catholic Churches and Missions of different sizes was governed centrally from the Chair of Saint Peter. Gallicanism prioritised the authority of the local bishops over the Bishop of Rome; it addressed a fundamental question about the structure of the Church, as well as and the role and status of bishops within it. In the nineteenth century, the bishops could be business-like and powerful.<sup>34</sup> At the local level this meant that the bishop could be in complete control over his priests’ careers, removing and transferring them at a whim if he so wished. For the rank-and-file clergy’s perspective Gallicanism was no less authoritarian than ultramontanism, but the bishops – or in the case of the Scottish Mission before 1878, the vicars apostolic – could use it to justify operating relatively independently in their own domains.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Gallicanism retained much of its old theological, episcopal and political implications. Its roots lay in the struggles between the monarchy and the Holy See in the fourteenth century. However, it was not until the seventeenth that the stance became more clearly defined: an assembly of the clergy of France declared the Four Gallican Articles in 1682, asserting not only that the

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<sup>31</sup> Michael Pasquier, *Fathers on the Frontier: French Missionaries and the Roman Catholic Priesthood in the United States, 1789-1870* (Oxford, 2009), 28-29.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> An equivalent albeit a more radical movement, Febronianism, developed in the German-speaking lands.

<sup>34</sup> Gough, *Paris and Rome*, 12.

primacy of the Pope was limited by the secular power of the monarch, but also by the local general councils and bishops, as well as by the canons and local or national customs.<sup>35</sup> Those upholding Gallican ideas believed that for the good of religion, the Church had to cultivate its ‘deep roots in national character and local institutions’ and to operate in ‘a looser, federal, collegial structure’.<sup>36</sup> While the Gallican ideas evolved over the centuries, they retained their essential core and support in France well into the nineteenth century. The Revolution and the overhaul of the Catholic Church in France brought these ideas to the fore again.

The Sulpician Gallicanism was the traditional norm in doctrine and management in the French Church,<sup>37</sup> deeply embedded in its structures and culture. Ecclesiastical management in France had already been more unrestricted than elsewhere before the Revolution, ‘tacitly accepted and condoned by Rome’.<sup>38</sup> However, the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars put an end to this toleration, tearing into the fabric of the Gallican Church of France.<sup>39</sup> The majority of the Catholic clergy saw the French Revolution ‘as the incarnation of all that was contrary to Christianity’,<sup>40</sup> but especially the Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791 stirred sentiments on where power should lie in the matters concerning the French Catholic Church.<sup>41</sup> A hierarchical structure was not in question – priests were labourers, not entrepreneurs – but where the authority should ultimately reside was a reawakened point of contention. The evolving Gallicanism had also begun to take on nationalistic ideas.

Gallicanism had a distinct ‘anti-Romanist’ outlook.<sup>42</sup> It found its polar opposite in ‘ultramontanism’, highlighting the *ultra-montane* (‘over-the-mountains’, i.e. the Alps) papal authority in spiritual (as well as temporal) matters. It gradually gained popularity among the French clergy from the 1830s onwards as a counterweight to despotic

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<sup>35</sup> For English translation of the Gallican Articles, see for example Philip Spencer, *Politics of Belief in Nineteenth-Century France: Lardordaire, Michon, Veillot* (London, 1953), 265-266 (Appendix).

<sup>36</sup> Gough, *Paris and Rome*, vi.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Xavier du Montclos, *Histoire Religieuse de la France*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Paris, 1997), 88.

<sup>40</sup> Daire Keogh, ‘Christian Citizens: The Catholic Church and Radical Politics 1790-1800’, 9, in Liam Swords (ed.), *Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter: The Clergy and 1798* (Blackrock, 1997), 9-19.

<sup>41</sup> For an overview, see Timothy Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791* (Princeton, NJ, 1986).

<sup>42</sup> Richard J. Schiefen, “‘Anglo-Gallicanism’ in Nineteenth-Century England”, 18, in *The Catholic Historical Review* 63/1 (1977), 14-44.

bishops.<sup>43</sup> The terms were not straightforward: political Gallicanism, which opposed papal interference in political affairs, often merged with theological Gallicanism, which also took the opposition of papal infallibility to heart.<sup>44</sup> While Gallicans often saw the Church as a constitutional monarchy,<sup>45</sup> ultramontanes viewed the Church as a strictly top-down structure. Austin Gough has defined post-Revolution ultramontanism as the belief that contemporary challenges to religion could only be met ‘by a centralized church, uniform in doctrine, style, and discipline, controlled by an infallible Pope and a vigilant Roman administration’.<sup>46</sup> From the perspective of the rank-and-file clergy, the distant Pope might be a more attractive authority than the bishop who might come across as ‘a very present evil’ by comparison.<sup>47</sup>

Ultramontanism had a solid foothold in the British Isles in the nineteenth century. In 1863 the English Cardinal Henry Manning referred to the English Catholics as ‘more Roman than Rome and more ultramontane than the Pope himself’,<sup>48</sup> and the situation in Scotland was not wholly different. The growth of ultramontanism stemmed from a number of reasons. Bernard Aspinwall has argued that ethnic divisions within the Mission worked to fuel Ultramontane zeal which contributed towards Catholic revivalism,<sup>49</sup> but it was the Restoration of Hierarchy that cemented it.<sup>50</sup> Kehoe has suggested that adopting ultramontanism was a plea for order and a reaction to radicalism and tumultuous times.<sup>51</sup> In Scotland, as well as in England, certain opportunism muddied the waters. Aspinwall has pointed out that an ultramontane approach to the power of the See could work to Scottish clerical advantage; for

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<sup>43</sup> Gibson, *Social History of French Catholicism*, 60-61.

<sup>44</sup> Michael Turner, ‘The French Connection with Maynooth College, 1795-1855’, 85, in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 70/277 (1981), 77-87.

<sup>45</sup> Gough, *Paris and Rome*, vi.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Spencer, *Politics of Belief in Nineteenth-Century France*, 87.

<sup>48</sup> H. E. Manning, ‘The Work and the Wants of the Catholic Church in England’, an article in *Dublin Review* (1863), 162, reprinted in his *Miscellanies* I (London, 1877), 65-66. Quoted in J. Derek Holmes, *More Roman than Rome: English Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1978), 7.

<sup>49</sup> Aspinwall, ‘Catholic Devotion in Victorian Scotland’, 31, in Martin J. Mitchell (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Irish in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2008), 31-43; Bernard Aspinwall, ‘Children of the Dead End: The Formation of the Modern Archdiocese of Glasgow, 1815-1914’, 123, in *The Innes Review* 43/2 (1992), 119-144.

<sup>50</sup> Bernard Aspinwall, ‘A Long Journey: The Irish in Scotland’, 164, in Patrick O’Sullivan (ed.), *The Irish Worldwide: History, Heritage, Identity: Religion and Identity*, (London, 1996), 146-182.

<sup>51</sup> S. Karly Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church: Catholicism, Gender and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* (Manchester, 2010), 4.

example, it effectively reduced the potentially disruptive Irish newcomers (with nationalistic tendencies) to obedience under legitimate clerical direction.<sup>52</sup> He has also pointed out that while Gallicanism might have worked to the benefit of the Scottish vicars apostolic, their real concerns lay in the practical matters: ‘expenditure, future debt and potential Protestant backlash’.<sup>53</sup> He has argued that

Dreamy notions of Ultramontanism, like notions of Irish, or [...] Scottish nationalism, or social concern were useful within certain bounds. If they kept faithful loyal and supportive, well and good; if they became dangerously revolutionary or divisive they were challenged.<sup>54</sup>

Unsurprisingly, while it is possible to recognise currents of ideology, the adoption of Gallican or ultramontane ideas was not straightforward.

Gallicanism was by no means unopposed in France, even though it was traditionally the order of the day. Ultramontanes wished to unify practices that had previously varied regionally and wished to forcefully reassert the authority of the Holy See. Although traditionally Gallican for generations, the second half of the nineteenth century saw the rise of a new, distinctly ultramontane clerical culture in France, especially among the younger clergy.<sup>55</sup> This was affirmed by Ernest Renan, who identified a change in the 1840s, when the pre-Revolution clerical generation of more overtly Gallican priests died out and gave way to the new clerical generation, generally more inclined to embrace ultramontane ideas.<sup>56</sup> Although initially only moderately successful, ultramontanism gradually gained a firmer footing.<sup>57</sup> Michael Pasquier has argued that this new respect for papal primacy, also gaining significant foothold elsewhere in Europe, could even have resulted in a Catholic identity that was distinctively Rome-centred.<sup>58</sup> But while, overall, Gallicanism began to be discredited

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<sup>52</sup> Bernard Aspinwall, ‘The Formation of a British Identity within Scottish Catholicism, 1830-1914’, 272, in Robert Pope (ed.), *Religion and National Identity: Wales and Scotland c. 1700-2000* (Cardiff, 2001), 268-306. The relevance of Irish nationalism to the clergy of Scotland is discussed in chapter V.

<sup>53</sup> Aspinwall, ‘Catholic Devotion in Victorian Scotland’, 40.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>55</sup> Philippe Boutry, *Prêtres et Paroisses au Pays du Curé d’Ars* (Paris, 1986), 209. Caroline Ford would trace this change to as early as the Restoration period (from 1814 onwards): Caroline Ford, *Divided Houses: Religion and Gender in Modern France* (Ithaca, 2005), 102.

<sup>56</sup> Renan, *Recollections of My Youth*, 189-190.

<sup>57</sup> Pasquier, *Fathers on the Frontier*, 34.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

after the Revolution,<sup>59</sup> the principles of national identity and episcopal authority proved to be strongly embedded into a great portion of the French clergy. Although the papacy claimed to have dealt Gallicanism ‘a mortal blow’ with astonishing regularity throughout the century that followed, Austin Gough has found the ideology was still persistent in the French Church in the 1860s.<sup>60</sup> Ernest Renan made an interesting remark about his studies at Issy in the 1840s. He recalled, in his habitually ironic tone, that

amid the religious difficulties of the time, the priests of St. Sulpice preserved an equally neutral and sagacious attitude, the only occasions upon which they betrayed anything like warmth of feeling being when the episcopal authority was threatened.<sup>61</sup>

Although the exact timing of the turning point is debatable, it is clear that the triumph of ultramontanism over Gallicanism in the second half of the nineteenth century was far from absolute. A significant reason for this was that the Sulpicians as well as the Lazarists (Congregation of the Mission) embraced Gallican ideas in their seminaries,<sup>62</sup> slowing the gradual change in France but also continuing to spread Gallican ideas abroad through their remarkably international student body.

In the decades following the Revolution the Sulpician moral rigor, devotional piety and austere disciplinary measures were aimed at raising the future leaders of a Church that had for a long time been markedly Gallican.<sup>63</sup> The widespread rejection of the ecclesiastical oath of 1791 by those affiliated with the Sulpician Order and the Church’s new status two decades later encouraged emphasis on the relative autonomy from Rome.<sup>64</sup> Pasquier argued that ‘Sulpicians trained a generation of future bishops that remained Gallican despite the political and religious upheavals that lasted through

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<sup>59</sup> J. Derek Holmes, *More Roman than Rome: English Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1978), 14.

<sup>60</sup> Gough, *Paris and Rome*, v.

<sup>61</sup> Renan, *Recollections of My Youth, 189-190*, quoted in Michael Pasquier, *Fathers on the Frontier: French Missionaries and the Roman Catholic Priesthood in the United States, 1789-1870* (Oxford, 2009), 32.

<sup>62</sup> Pasquier, *Fathers on the Frontier*, 29.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 28-29.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

the first half of the nineteenth century'.<sup>65</sup> What constituted a good priest for Olier's French school of spirituality in the seventeenth century was carried on to the eighteenth and nineteenth by the Sulpician superior-general Jacques-André Émery (1732-1811), who re-established the Parisian seminary after the Revolution.<sup>66</sup> Even though French Gallicanism suffered a blow during the revolutionary years, St Sulpice held onto the Gallican spirit.<sup>67</sup> This gradually turned into what Pierre Pierrard has called 'ambient ultramontanism' in accordance to greater trends sweeping rest of Europe;<sup>68</sup> Gough has reminded us that a Sulpician training alone was not sufficient 'to preserve students from the temptation of ultramontane ideas'.<sup>69</sup> Yet the institution's – and therefore the Sulpician model's – reputation for Gallicanism did not fade quickly.<sup>70</sup> Equally, the Scottish Mission did not see a degree of Sulpician Gallicanism acquired during education abroad as an impediment to being a good priest. But whether it could also be considered a perk of French ecclesiastical training is less clear.

### Spirit of Discontent

The seminaries in Europe were affected by the political and social changes around them, but it is difficult to ascertain to what extent revolutionary ideas penetrated these institutions from the outside. However, it is likely these ideas were discussed or at least considered among the staff and student body. The seminarians were highly intelligent individuals, trained in dogma, but also well-rehearsed at debating and refuting ideas. Liam Swords' research on the Irish College in Paris found the students 'street-wise' and 'becoming increasingly politicised', even before 1789; they mixed with students from other colleges and were certainly '*au courant* with all the exciting ideas then

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 34-35.

<sup>67</sup> Launay, *Les Séminaires Français*, 95.

<sup>68</sup> Pierre Pierrard, *La Vie Quotidienne du Prêtre Français au XIXe Siècle 1801-1905* (Paris, 1986), 103.

<sup>69</sup> Gough, *Paris and Rome*, 42.

<sup>70</sup> Christian Dumoulin, *Un Séminaire Français au 19e Siècle : Le Recrutement, la Formation, la Vie des Clercs à Bourges* (Paris, 1977), 371.

sweeping through these institutions'.<sup>71</sup> While this conclusion cannot be directly extended to their Scots counterparts studying in the same city, it would be foolish to assume that the Scottish seminarians were kept at arm's length from their immediate surroundings. Especially in the nineteenth century, when the Scottish seminarians were sent to French educational establishments, they were sure to assess and acquire different political ideas as well as cultural capital. When justifying the founding of the controversial Maynooth College in Ireland, the Irish argument included that the priests

brought back with them the unconstitutional principles of absolute monarchy and arbitrary government: the latter dread has been that they would return to their native land infected with the licentious poison of modern democracy, and hostility to all establishments.<sup>72</sup>

France had a particular 'gift of impudence' and when the French *émigré* priests arrived from the continent, not everybody received them with open arms.<sup>73</sup> For similar reasons, the Scottish superiors were aware that on the continent, the students' minds might be contaminated with unorthodox ideas, both theological and political. Revolutions and military conflict brought these ideas vehemently to the fore. To the vicars apostolic of Scotland, the French Revolution and Jacobinism were repugnant.<sup>74</sup> In April 1793 Bishop Hay wrote of these 'contagious and diabolical doctrines' in strong words, declaring the war against Revolutionary France as not only 'just and necessary', but also a duty to his Country as well as 'to mankind in general':

To stop the progress of a set of furies, open and professed Enemies to God and man and to prevent the spreading of their contagious and diabolical doctrines, which carry devastation and misery wherever they go, is surely a common clause of humanity [...].<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Liam Swords, 'Irish Priests and Students in Revolutionary France', 23, in *idem* (ed.), *Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter: The Clergy and 1798* (Blackrock, 1997), 20-44.

<sup>72</sup> 'Plowden', quoted in Jeremiah Newman, *Maynooth and Georgian Ireland* (Galway, 1979), 10. See also Darren Tierney, 'Financing the Faith: Scottish Catholicism 1772 - c. 1890' (2014), 53.

<sup>73</sup> Cox to Earl of Fingal, Maynooth Jan 1810, quoted in Newman, *Maynooth and Georgian Ireland*, 121.

<sup>74</sup> Christine Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland 1789-1829* (Edinburgh, 1983), 89.

<sup>75</sup> SCA: BL, Bp Hay to George Mathison, 4 Apr 1793, quoted in *ibid.*, 90.

Christine Johnson has pointed out that, on the whole, the Scottish Mission could simply not ‘afford to have revolutionary leanings’ due to their dependence of the French funds.<sup>76</sup>

The fear of ‘contagious and diabolical doctrines’ spreading from France to Britain was not new. Well before the French Revolution France held a reputation of exposing Scottish seminarians to unwanted ideas: the spread of Jansenist ideas to Scotland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was largely attributed to the influence of Scots College Paris.<sup>77</sup> What that ‘Jansenism’ actually referred to varied enormously.<sup>78</sup> The term originally referred to a purely theological movement offering views of free will and divine grace that, in the eyes of the papacy, amounted to heresy – Jansenist ideas were resolutely condemned in the bull *Unigenitus* in 1713, but for decades before (and after) the ideas gained currency among some clergymen.<sup>79</sup> That the insult ‘Jansenist’ was thrown around indiscriminately at one’s adversaries did not clarify the picture.<sup>80</sup> Although James McMillan has concluded that the permeation of the heresy into the Scottish Mission has been greatly exaggerated,<sup>81</sup> the connections to Scots College Paris and the role of the Paris-educated priests importing these ideas to Scotland cannot be denied.<sup>82</sup> While Jansenism was not a political issue *per se*, as when the institution acted as a hotbed for Jacobitism,<sup>83</sup> it did contain an element of revolt – especially when it gained foothold among the lower clergy. The rebellion may not have been against the king, but it did challenge papal and episcopal authority by not conforming to dogma. Combined with Richerism, which demanded democratic

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<sup>76</sup> Johnson, *Developments*, 88. She does, however, point out that there was a single priest, Alexander Geddes (1737-1802), who was openly sympathetic to the aims of the Revolution.

<sup>77</sup> See ch. 7 in Brian M. Halloran, *The Scots College Paris, 1603-1792* (Edinburgh, 1997), 102-148, as well as several articles on Jansenism in *The Innes Review* by James F. McMillan, e.g. James F. McMillan, ‘Jansenism and the Scots College Books in Paris’, in *IR* 44/1 (1993), 73-75.

<sup>78</sup> The confusion is expanded on by James McMillan in his ‘Scottish Catholics and the Jansenist Controversy: The Case Reopened’, 27, in *IR* 32/1 (1981), 22-33.

<sup>79</sup> McMillan, ‘Scottish Catholics and the Jansenist Controversy’, 27.

<sup>80</sup> Eamon O’Flaherty, ‘Clerical Indiscipline and Ecclesiastical Authority in Ireland, 1690-1750’, 29, in *Studia Hibernica* 26 (1992), 7-29; Halloran, *Scots College Paris*, 105.

<sup>81</sup> O’Flaherty, ‘Clerical Indiscipline and Ecclesiastical Authority in Ireland’, 23.

<sup>82</sup> Halloran, *Scots College Paris*, 105; James F. McMillan, ‘Jansenists and Anti-Jansenists in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: The *Unigenitus* Quarrells and the Scottish Catholic Mission 1732-1746’, 13, in *IR* 39/1 (1988), 12-45.

<sup>83</sup> ‘*Alumni* of the Scots College Paris were involved in all the attempts to regain the throne for the Stuarts.’ *Ibid.*, 80.



powers for the lower clergy, it could become downright revolutionary, leaning to the state rather than the episcopacy or the Holy See.

With a history riddled with issues, it is no surprise there was concern over importing dangerous ideas from Paris – the Scots Colleges at Rome and Valladolid were above suspicion, whereas those educated at Scots College Paris were automatically suspected of ‘being tainted with Jansenism’.<sup>84</sup> The Jansenist controversy showed, in particular, that heretical ideas could gain prominence through the new generation of clergy.

Ultramontanism and Gallicanism could both be tinged with a hint of rebellion. The rapid spread of ultramontane spirituality in the nineteenth century was not confined to France.<sup>85</sup> In Canada, the Church was purged of extreme (Gallican) nationalism, with an aim of creating a post-French-Revolution branch of the Roman Catholic Church, loyal to ‘the spiritual and political leadership of the Holy See’.<sup>86</sup> In his noteworthy prosopographical study of the clergy of nineteenth-century Baden, Irmtraud Götz von Olenhusen has discussed the gradual ‘ultramontanisation’ of German Catholicism between 1840 and 1880.<sup>87</sup> Rather than part of a generational change and the enthusiastic Romanism of the young clergy, she claimed, the process of change was consciously created by the conservative and ultramontane hierarchy, eager to suppress the more liberal elements within their domain.<sup>88</sup> This general trend included Britain.<sup>89</sup>

The situation in the United Kingdom is challenging to assess as few studies use the terms ‘Gallican’ and ‘ultramontane’. A further complication arises with the meaning of the word. Richard J. Schiefen has warned us that ‘English “Gallicans” could only be compared to their French counterparts in some analogous manner, differences being far more notable than similarities.’<sup>90</sup> Dáire Keogh has affirmed that the tag was ‘used

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<sup>84</sup> Peter F. Anson, *The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland 1560-1937* (London, 1937), 82.

<sup>85</sup> Terence J. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics: Gallicanism, Romanism and Canadianism* (Montreal, 2002), 65.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>87</sup> Irmtraud Götz von Olenhusen, *Klerus und abweichendes Verhalten: Zur Sozialgeschichte katholischer Priester im 19. Jahrhundert: Die Erzdiözese Freiburg* (Göttingen, 1994), 11. See also a review article in English of the same by Raymond C. Sun in *The Catholic Historical Review* 82/2 (1996), 261-263.

<sup>88</sup> von Olenhusen, *Klerus und abweichendes Verhalten*, 393.

<sup>89</sup> Bernard Aspinwall highlights the importance of ultramontanism as a peculiarly British phenomenon: ‘Ultramontanism and Britishness went hand in providential hand.’ Aspinwall, ‘The Formation of a British Identity’, 269.

<sup>90</sup> Richard J. Schiefen, ‘“Anglo-Gallicanism” in Nineteenth-Century England’, 14, in *The Catholic Historical Review* 63/1 (1977), 14-44.

loosely in Ireland, bearing little resemblance to the rampant variety in France'. Most recently, S. Karly Kehoe has provided an overview of the controversy in Scotland.<sup>91</sup> Perception did not necessarily converge with reality, and one should be sceptical with the assumption that the imported Franco-Scottish Gallicanism was the real cause of any troubles within the Mission. Gallicanism, however, could end up being blamed for things that actually stemmed either from the new ideological atmosphere in continental Europe or a vague fear thereof.

The Scottish Mission was considered clannish, distinct and detached,<sup>92</sup> irrespective of its international links. Despite working for a shared cause, the vicars apostolic were in the habit of prioritising their own districts.<sup>93</sup> However, Scotland's geographical location did not protect the Mission from the political winds and tides from the Continent. The seminary student migration was one of the channels that enabled the transmission of ideas. Due to the proximity of the Holy See, the Rome-trained were more directly exposed to ultramontane ideas than their France-trained brethren, who studied in a stubbornly Gallican atmosphere. These ideas did not necessarily take hold; yet there existed a certain divide between those educated in Rome and those educated in Paris. Brian M. Halloran has briefly touched upon this competitive divide while discussing the Jansenist controversy.<sup>94</sup> He also referred to an old rule of the Roman Colleges (Scots College Rome and the College of Propaganda Fide),<sup>95</sup> still in place a century later when Abbé MacPherson commented on it in his letter to Bishop Scott in 1839. It referred to 'an established rule, in all the Colleges in Rome, not to receive any one that has been before in a College on the continent, & especially from Paris'.<sup>96</sup> At the heart of the problem was discipline which was at that time, reportedly, 'not very exact' in Paris.<sup>97</sup> In 1835, Abbé Macpherson mused on his preference of younger seminarians over old at Scots College Rome, pointing out that entrants 'far advanced

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<sup>91</sup> Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*, 2-6.

<sup>92</sup> S. Karly Kehoe, 'Irish Migrants and the Recruitment of Catholic Sisters in Glasgow, 1847-1878', 42, in Frank Ferguson and James McConnel (eds), *Ireland and Scotland in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, 2009), 35-47.

<sup>93</sup> Tierney, 'Financing the Faith' (2014), 92.

<sup>94</sup> Halloran, *Scots College Paris*, 142.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 161.

<sup>96</sup> SCA: OL/2/42/15, Abbé MacPherson to Bp Scott, Rome 21 Aug 1839.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

in years' did not 'readily submit to the rules of the College'.<sup>98</sup> He pointed out that the usual practice of initial studies in Scotland was not only desirable, but should be considered essential before admission to either of the Roman Colleges.<sup>99</sup> At Blairs, he explained, the Rules were strict enough, similar to those at the College of Propaganda at Rome or, indeed, 'any other College'.<sup>100</sup>

The antipathy towards the damaging nature of a stay on the Continent can also be seen in a letter of the superior of the English College at Douai in 1833. He was happy to receive Scottish seminarians to his establishment, 'provided such always be selected as have not had their minds poisoned, by any intercourse with those, who have already been on the Continent'.<sup>101</sup> The Superior highlighted the preference for uncorrupted *tabulae rasae*, directly from Scotland. The Scots seminarians who were evacuated to Douai from Paris in 1831 had caused troubles for the full two years of their stay at St Edmund's. In November 1832, Andrew Scott reported the complaints of the English College superior to his fellow vicar apostolic, referring to 'a predetermination to be displeased':

Of the topics of complaint some did not deserve notice & others were evidently the exaggeration of peevish & discontented spirits about matters the most that could be said about which was that they differed something from what they had been accustomed to at Paris. I like not at all the spirit of pride & selfsufficiency that led them to criticize their present superiors.<sup>102</sup>

Scott blamed this spirit on bitterness: 'the vexation they feel at not being sent to St Sulpice or at any rate at leaving Paris'.<sup>103</sup> The students had 'taken a fancy' to Paris and St Sulpice, and presumably forgotten that they had no say in the matter. Although the Superior of St Edmund's 'succeeded in rooting out entirely that Spirit of discontent from amongst [his] students' and had 'the most perfect good order and subordination' restored, he was adamant in stating that he did not wish for another similar

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<sup>98</sup> SCA: OL/2/15/9, MacPherson to Bp Scott, Rome 20 Jun 1835.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> SCA: OL/2/10/16, J. F. Appleton to Bp Scott, St Edmund's College Douai 15 Dec 1833.

<sup>102</sup> SCA: OL/2/9/8, Kyle to Bp Scott, Preshome 3 Nov 1832.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

challenge.<sup>104</sup> What exactly was thought to be corrupting the students in Paris or at St Sulpice is kept remarkably vague.

It would be wrong to assume that students rebelling against the rule of the seminary was a consequence of being surrounded by revolutionary principles. The students who, one way or another, rebelled against established authority at the seminary, were not automatically ideologically contaminated. Their misbehaviour could draw from their age and personality as well as ideas absorbed from their environment. However, certain instances of misbehaviour might suggest a clearer connection. Two of the students who were forced to leave Paris for Douai in 1831 were so ‘discontented’ they decided to take a drastic course of action:

Dawson & Grant who expressed to Mr Collier their wish of leaving Douay have executed this wish & are now in London. [...] I considered the step they had taken as an indication that they had become tired of their vocation [...].<sup>105</sup>

The former fellow student of Grant’s further reported that even in Paris he did not ‘shew much of the ecclesiastical spirit nor give great satisfaction to his superiors’.<sup>106</sup> Whatever the cause of this behaviour, there was no going back. Scott made it clear that should they ever ‘apply for readmission, I do think that good example & the future peace of seminaires [sic] are great objection in this way’.<sup>107</sup> In this case, abandoning studies was not discussed with the superiors, but the boys merely left on their own accord. William Gordon (1823-1895?), who was ‘dismissed with a very bad character’ failed to behave himself and left in a similar fashion:

Gordon presented himself here wishing to be admitted to Blairs, & without mentioning that he had been dismissed, gave some frivolous reason or other for leaving Paris. I [...] declined receiving him into Blairs, & advised him to look for some way of making his bread in the world.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> SCA: OL/2/34/13, James Kyle to Bp Scott, Preshome 25 Jun 1838.

The Mission took a bleak view on those who attempted to take advantage of the education without a degree of enduring dedication.

Although individual students might become troublesome on their own accord, a badly managed seminary might receive some of the blame. Regardless of the excellent reputation of the institution, the Vaugirard superiors' ability to effectively maintain discipline was questioned in 1836 after some unspecified 'disorders that the greater part of the students fall into both during the vacations, and when they have finished their studies'.<sup>109</sup> One of the professors even stated 'that he doubted if it would long be a proper place for boys intended for the Church'.<sup>110</sup> The change of atmosphere at Vaugirard had been gradual, but the indiscriminate mixing of ecclesiastical and secular students was partly to blame: 'these other boys [...] I am told think far more of dress &c &c than their studies and other duties'.<sup>111</sup> The frivolousness of those destined for secular careers was considered bad influence. Two years later, the situation had not improved. In 1838 the seminarian Daniel O'Neill (1820-1839) at Vaugirard had to reassure his bishop that neither he nor his fellow Scottish seminarians had encountered or interacted with these 'bad companions':

All of us [...] are virtuous. [...] Besides the only companions that we (for the Scotch mission) have had till now are ourselves. We are proud of the vocation to which we are called; we animate each other with the best sentiments; we increase in fervour as we approach The Goal.<sup>112</sup>

Before it transpired that the situation was not as bad as was dreaded, Bishop Scott feared that the Scots seminarians 'were already corrupted and in a manner lost to the Mission'.<sup>113</sup> This corruption was not ideological, however, but secular. The suitability of the establishment in the eyes of the Mission suffered significantly from indiscriminate mixing of their seminarians and other young people, men and women, especially 'the fact of Ladies and Gentlemen being almost constantly in the play

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<sup>109</sup> SCA: OL/2/19/12 (2), Extract from a letter from Robert Smith of St Sulpice Paris dated 10 May 1836 [This copy was forwarded to Bp Scott by Briggs].

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> SCA: OL/2/35/5, Daniel O'Neill to Bp Scott, Vaugirard 12 Jul 1838.

<sup>113</sup> SCA: DD/1/8/11, Bp Scott to Gillis, Greenock 15 Nov 1838.

grounds in good weather'.<sup>114</sup> In any case no radical action was taken, even though the ongoing concerns persisted; it was concluded that rather than in the institution and its superiors, the problem seems to have been with the student body. Concerns over Vaugirard lasted long enough that pulling the Scottish students from this college was still a serious option late in 1838,<sup>115</sup> and Peter Keenan reported on the developing situation at Vaugirard in his letter from Paris in 1840. The problem in the case of Vaugirard seems to have been a contagious lack of respect for authority and outright insolence, combined with pastimes natural for young students, but not suitable for those destined for priesthood. The English students, rather than the French, get the blame in this case.<sup>116</sup> Students were not pulled from Vaugirard as the reports were found to be exaggerated. However, the bishops kept an eye on the situation that could escalate and have longstanding consequences to their future body of priests.

When elaborating on the troubles at Vaugirard, Keenan referred to the Scottish (and English) seminarians' 'discontent'; this had arisen following 'a rupture with some of their Professors, whom they accuse of ignorance, inexperience and above all of prejudice'.<sup>117</sup> The discontented students, 'instead of laying their prejudices before their superior', problematically 'enter into cabals which it seems are not less violent in their way than those of the French Republicans'.<sup>118</sup> The comparison of the rowdy students with 'French Republicans' may be just a comparison appropriate to times, or it may hint at an enduring fear of where the corrupting elements might be coming from. Based on the evidence above, however, it is impossible to say. More obvious is the recurring theme of the 'spirit of discontent'. The Scottish seminarians at Vaugirard, although 'most pious and excellent students', were 'extremely irritable and difficult to please'; the students' conversation had an unfortunate predisposition to turn to 'grievances whether apparent or real'.<sup>119</sup> It was not martyr-like – and therefore not priestly – to grumble. When the students began to think of themselves as too entitled to their position at foreign elite-level institutions rather than benefitting from their bishop's

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> SCA: OL/2/47/19, Peter Keenan to Bp Scott, Paris 27 May 1840 [letter torn in the corner].

<sup>117</sup> SCA: OL/2/47/11, Peter Keenan to Bp Scott, Paris 3 May 1840.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

goodwill as well as their purse, problems could arise. Subordination and submission were what the bishops were after; but neither the seminarians nor the clergy always complied.

## Clerical Family Troubles

As well as misbehaving or ‘discontented’ seminarians, those who ended up as priests included individuals who had difficulty submitting to the immediate authority of their bishops. As with the students, the exact reasons behind misconduct are difficult to ascertain. However, there is some evidence to indicate that it was believed a study experience in France might have had a detrimental impact. For example, the early pursuits of Father Alexander Gordon (1806-1887) were discussed in detail in the bishops’ correspondence. He studied at Aquhorties from 1819 until 1822, whence he was sent to Rome at the age of sixteen, but was soon sent away with an implication of some sort of misconduct.<sup>120</sup> He spent the last five years of his studies at St Sulpice, and was ordained in 1830 at the minimum age of twenty-four. Since his independent return from St Sulpice and ordination at Blairs in 1830, it transpired that he was far from a reliable labourer.<sup>121</sup> He failed to submit to the authority of his bishop and was found to be ‘troublesome’ and ‘unmanageable’ in parish work,<sup>122</sup> so he was appointed as a professor at Blairs instead.<sup>123</sup> This was not considered the best place for the man by most of the vicars apostolic and their coadjutors, and Andrew Scott, in particular, felt uneasy about the stationing. In addition to Father Gordon’s shortcomings as a clerical subject – or perhaps as an explanation to them – Scott complained that the

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<sup>120</sup> SCA: OL/2/5/6, Bp Scott to Paul MacPherson at Rome, Glasgow 4 Feb 1831.

<sup>121</sup> SCA: OL/2/4/15, Bp Scott to Abbé McPherson, Glasgow 2 Nov 1830. See also partial transcription at OL/1/5/9.

<sup>122</sup> SCA: OL/1/6/2, Bp Scott to Abbe MacPherson, 4 Feb 1831 [this is a partial transcription and description of the contents of OL/2/5/6]; SCA: OL/2/5/6, Bp Scott to Paul MacPherson at Rome, Glasgow 4 Feb 1831.

<sup>123</sup> Alexander Gordon died as a priest, but he does not gain a lengthy obituary with a biography and praise of his character and accomplishments of his life in the *Scottish Catholic Directory* like most of his colleagues, but simply a mention of his death two years later: ‘Of your charity, pray for the repose of the soul of the Rev. Alexander Gordon, born at Inchnacape, Glenlivat, who died in Edinburgh on the 7<sup>th</sup> November, 1887, in the 82<sup>nd</sup> year of his age and the 58<sup>th</sup> of his priesthood, fortified by the Rites of Holy Church.’ *SCD 1889* (note of death).

young priest was ‘said to be strongly tinged with French revolutionary principles’.<sup>124</sup> Although there is no clear causal link, Scott seemed to believe some of the issues with Father Gordon had to do with his unorthodox political beliefs, stemming from France.

Bishop Scott’s statement linking at least some aspects of misbehaviour and revolutionary radicalism is regrettably unusual. However, certain instances of misbehaviour, relatively well documented in correspondence, can provide us with case studies to examine further the link between the two. By misbehaviour is here defined as behaviour that was going against the norms and rules set by the Church and its superiors, be it local, diocesan, national or transnational. While heated arguments, drunkenness and sexual misconduct factor in the correspondence, behaviour that cannot be explained as an illness or an act of passion seems more relevant to our discussion of revolutionary principles or ‘the French disease’. This more or less calculated behaviour that was deemed unacceptable in the hierarchical clerical structure of the Roman Catholic Church could include insolence, disobedience and rebellion, albeit in the form of petitions and non-compliance instead of violence.

Unwillingness to accept the prescribed authority might imply that the individual priests believed that they had – or at least should have – a say in matters of the Mission. This attitude predated the French Revolution: in the eighteenth century the Rome-trained Colin Campbell went so far as to claim from pulpit that the missionaries’ should have the right to choose their own mission station over the authority of the supposedly heretical (Jansenist) vicars apostolic of Scotland,<sup>125</sup> and Alexander Macdonell – later a bishop – was described as a ‘problem priest’ for his individualistic attitude and initiative.<sup>126</sup> Priests were supposed to be obedient sons to their ecclesiastical superiors, not a self-regulating body of clerical professionals.

Those who challenged their bishops’ ruling were considered to be troublemakers. The fiery-tempered Peter Keenan (1811-1843) caused trouble in 1839 when he ‘flatly refused to leave the Eastern District’, regardless of being ordered to do so. Instead, he

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<sup>124</sup> SCA: OL/2/5/6, Bp Scott to Paul MacPherson at Rome, Glasgow 4 Feb 1831. Alexander Gordon continued to cause problems during his career; see also SCA: DD/1/9/2, Bp Scott to Gillis (to Paris), Greenock 15 Jan 1839.

<sup>125</sup> McMillan, ‘Jansenists and Anti-Jansenists in Eighteenth-Century Scotland’, 14. Almost all of the priests in Colin Campbell’s faction had been educated at the Scots College Rome, see *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>126</sup> Teresa Gourlay, ‘Subject to Authority: Bishop Alexander Macdonell and his Scottish Religious Superiors, 1788-1804’, 163, in *IR* 61/2 (2010), 150-168.



stated that he had ‘privately written to McPherson in Dundee to take him as his coadjutor’.<sup>127</sup> Keenan was also dangerous in that he could persuade other priests ‘to be obstinate like himself’.<sup>128</sup> Another example of a trade unionist attitude can also be seen in a circular from 1858. It appears priests were ‘leaving their missions to go on annual vacations’ without authorisation from their superiors.<sup>129</sup> The bishop promptly clarified:

no Clergyman is permitted to leave his mission, so as to be absent from it on a Sunday or Holiday, without a previous intimation given to the Bishop, and leaving his address, so that the Bishop may be able to communicate with him during his absence, should necessity require him to do so. An erroneous impression seems to exist among many of the clergy, that every priest is *entitled* to an annual vacation of three weeks [...].<sup>130</sup>

Spontaneity and independent-mindedness could be seen as a threat to authority,<sup>131</sup> episcopal in this case. A bishop also needed to be able to contact his priests at all times. Although the circular continues to explain that those clergymen who require vacation for health reasons will certainly be granted one: but a sense of entitlement was wholly out of order. When, as occasionally happened, a troublemaker was joined by his fellow priests, family conflict could quickly get out of hand.

Within the Scottish Mission, factionalism seems to have been the rule rather than the exception. In addition to personality clashes, the divisions between the Irish and the Scottish as well as the Lowlanders and the Highlanders,<sup>132</sup> the clergy were in the habit of becoming divided according to the views of a bishop, who might vehemently oppose one another or behave as if he was the sole bearer of that designation in Scotland. The promotion prospects within the Mission were very limited and the context remarkably cliquy. Squabbling among equals was common enough, but in the late 1820s problems arose between bishops and young priests. Plans were made to

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<sup>127</sup> SCA: DD/1/9/2, Bp Scott to Gillis (to Paris), Greenock 15 Jan 1839.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> SCA: OL/1/46/1, Circular on priests’ vacations by Alexander Smith, Glasgow 7 Jun 1858.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>131</sup> David Petrie, ‘Apartheid in Scotland: Irish Immigrants, their Priests and their Politics’, 131, in Horst W. Drescher and Pierre Morère (eds), *Scottish Studies, Études Écossaises: Proceedings of the Scottish Workshop of the E. S. S. E. Conference at Bordeaux, 1993* (Gemersheim, 1994), 125-135.

<sup>132</sup> See Chapter V for further discussion.

divide the Scottish Mission anew, this time into three vicariates (the Northern, the Eastern and the Western) instead of keeping the two former districts, the Lowland and the Highland ones. This controversial move reflected the changing demographics of Roman Catholics in Scotland but also added another vicar apostolic to the spiritual and practical management of the Mission. The factionalism that ensued from the plans serves as an example of attitudes towards episcopal authority, which were far from clear-cut. The ‘Heads’ versus ‘Tails’ conflict is not solely about rebellion and competition for promotion, but it also shows the interplay of Gallican and ultramontane ideas and the prioritisation of one or the other depending on the situation. Bishop Ranald MacDonald called the conflict ‘Opposition making’ by individuals ‘whose thro disappointed ambition seeing others preferred to the mitres which they aimed at & thought themselves the only worthy of’.<sup>133</sup>

The ‘Tails’ included William Reid, John Gordon of Greenock, Andrew Carruthers, James Carruthers, William Wallace, William Thomson, Richard Sinnott, John Bremner, Constantine Lee and Robert Stewart.<sup>134</sup> The controversy over the repartition of the Districts of the Scottish Mission would have added a third vicar apostolic to the Scottish Mission. The new appointments were to be those of Andrew Scott (as the coadjutor to Bishop Ranald MacDonald of the new Western District) and James Kyle (as the Bishop of the new Northern District). Alexander Paterson was to remain as the vicar apostolic of the Eastern District. The Tails, essentially, opposed ‘the transfer of this West coast to Bishop McDonald’ and proceeded to independently approach the Holy See.<sup>135</sup> They represented to Rome ‘that his entering upon the possession of this part of the District and filling it with Highlanders would ruin the Mission’.<sup>136</sup> Their concerns were not, according to Andrew Scott, fully unfounded: ‘If [Bishop McDonald] interferes much in the beginning or sends ignorant Highlanders here, it will confirm the Tails in their assertions’.<sup>137</sup>

The problem arose with the tradition of lobbying in Rome. Letters were sent by both parties, presenting their case in the most favourable light. Promotions, too, were

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<sup>133</sup> SCA: OL/1/4/2, Ranald MacDonald to John Chisholm, Lismore 27 Aug 1827.

<sup>134</sup> SCA: BL/5/214/4, Fr Scott to Kyle, Glasgow 11 Apr 1827.

<sup>135</sup> SCA: BL/5/232/10, Fr Scott to Bp Paterson, Glasgow 27 Jun 1828.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> SCA: BL/5/232/10, Fr Scott to Bp Paterson, Glasgow 27 Jun 1828.

applied for through letters of recommendations and postulations, and how (and how quickly) one presented a convincing case could sway the distant Holy See. Andrew Scott explained that the Tails were ‘anxious to excuse themselves to Rome for the nature of their opposition’ and ready to

greedily seize upon every thing that can militate in their favour to send to Rome, in order to convince propaganda that they were right in their opposition, and that the mischiefs which they declared the measures would produce had actually taken place.<sup>138</sup>

It is not difficult to imagine the confusion at Propaganda Fide, trying to ascertain the real nature of the situation in the remote Scottish Mission. A letter (quoted by Ranald MacDonald in a letter to John Chisholm) presented the case of the opposing Heads to the Holy See as follows:

We the subscribers do highly approve of the division of Districts [...]. We consider it as a measure Calculated for Consolidating & amalgamating the Missions of Scotland & for reviving the spirit of union & concord which formerly subsisted & ought always to subsist among Labourers in the same Vineyard, But which has unfortunately degenerated for some years back into shameful feuds & dissensions, to the great Scandal & injury of Religion.<sup>139</sup>

The Heads also felt the need to assert their loyalty and respect towards the Pope as well as their own superiors:

We profess unlimited obedience & submission to the Holy See & to those prelates whom the Holy See has put over us, for our guidance. We confide in their wisdom & zeal in the Choice they have made of third Vicar Apostolic & Coadjutor for the Western District & we reprobate in the most unqualified manner the Conduct of those enemies of peace & subordination, who endeavour [...] to prejudice the see of Rome against the laudable measures of theirs & our lawful superiors.<sup>140</sup>

Ranald MacDonald had the letter circulated and signed, in order ‘to show the Court of Rome how small the number of the dissidents is Compared with those who concur in

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> SCA: OL/1/4/2, Ranald MacDonald to John Chisholm, Lismore 27 Aug 1827.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

the measures'.<sup>141</sup> Calling their opponents 'dissidents' and 'enemies of peace & subordination' and contrasting this with their own 'obedience & submission' was certainly designed to press the right buttons in the Eternal City. Meanwhile, the Tails were doing the exact same thing. They had also managed to plead their case to their brethren rather successfully. Scott lamented to Kyle that Andrew Carruthers had managed to make an impression with 'an eloquent speech full of good sense and moderation', having recently become 'more violent than even Mr Gordon against the measure, and [...] most busy in trying to make converts to their opinions'.<sup>142</sup>

What the Tails could have accomplished was not only the reversal of the division, but also 'unBishoping' both Scott and Kyle.<sup>143</sup> Scott saw this as a case of creating 'division and ill blood' which the Tails were 'striving to produce in the body'.<sup>144</sup> As 'the Heads' had more authority behind them, their views seem to have had a greater impact. They accused the Tails of misrepresentation, and John Gordon, especially, for his 'restless efforts to do mischief'.<sup>145</sup> The Tails, apparently, still boasted of 'having come paddy over' Bishop Paterson,<sup>146</sup> presumably referring to their affront to his episcopal authority and his work towards the redivision of the Mission districts. There is also evidence of a sense of petty revenge in the aftermath of the conflict, particularly with regard to Bremner and Lee, as encouraged by Andrew Scott:

Mr Bremner never would have answered in Paisley, and when he is removed from Edin[bu]r[gh], [...] I think you should send him to Dundee and place Mr Lee in a station more befitting his merits and his conduct towards you.<sup>147</sup>

In addition to putting the delinquents in their place by effectively demoting them to less attractive Mission stations, Andrew Scott advised Bishop Paterson that the 'junta of the heads of the Tails' could and should not be trusted,

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> SCA: BL/5/214/3, Fr Scott to James Kyle, Glasgow 9 Aug 1827.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> SCA: BL/5/214/1, Fr Scott to James Kyle, Glasgow 1 Aug 1827.

<sup>145</sup> SCA: BL/5/232/9, Fr Scott to Bp Paterson, Glasgow, 9 Jun 1828; BL/5/232/5, Fr Scott to Bp Paterson, Glasgow 7 May 1828.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

whatever flattering language they may use towards you, you will never reconcile them, and if you ever put any trust or confidence in them, you will have reason to repent it.<sup>148</sup>

The Heads and Tails factions serve as an example of what was considered acceptable within the Mission, and how divided the Roman Catholic Church was in Scotland. However, the controversy raises more questions than answers. The Tails were not solely trained in France, and included some very problematic, strong-willed individuals. As improbable as a causal link for being educated in France and being a troublemaker was in the first place, in the case of Heads and Tails it simply does not exist. But it might still be fair to say that direct exposure to things being done differently (elsewhere) might have given these individuals ideas that were theologically unsound.

### Conclusion: The 'French Disease'?

Although in 1979 historian David McRoberts claimed that 'Scottish Catholicism generally managed to contain its differences within the family circle and settle them without involving the outside world',<sup>149</sup> there is evidence of squabbles reaching Rome. Where the local priests and bishops put their trust first and foremost could be telling; whether the Pope would be firmly above their bishops (ultramontanism) or vice versa (Gallicanism), or whether they thought rank and file priests should have a say in the matters concerning the Mission. The third view was by far the most radical, and unacceptable from a theological point of view, and it was by no means absent. Yet even the two former options were not straightforward.

While there may have been a growing sense of corporate identity among the British local hierarchies when the nineteenth century progressed, to speak of unity would be a misrepresentation.<sup>150</sup> It is difficult to not see the parallels between the Scottish and

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> David McRoberts, 'The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy in 1878', 8, in *idem* (ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878-1978* (Glasgow, 1979), 3-29.

<sup>150</sup> Keogh, *The French Disease*, 15.

the English Mission, when Joan Connell concluded that, in the early nineteenth century, the English vicars apostolic ‘were stubborn, jealous of their authority, anxious on the prerogatives of their office, determined to let nothing interfere with their episcopal jurisdiction’.<sup>151</sup> To combat this, the British ultramontanism could at times be used as a kind of ‘trade unionism of priests’ against their bishops.<sup>152</sup> It convinced many of the priests that as practised, concordatory Gallicanism was effectively ‘a system under which they were bullied by their superiors’.<sup>153</sup> If the lower clergy ‘could not go over the heads of their bishops and get satisfaction from the state’ they could always appeal to Rome.<sup>154</sup> This is what happened with the Heads and the Tails in the 1820s. Ernest Renan described the ways in which ultramontanism was used as a convenient method to overrule episcopal authority:

Ultramontanism they at first looked upon as merely a convenient method of appealing to a distant and often ill-informed authority from one nearer at hand, and less easy to inveigle.<sup>155</sup>

This seems to have been what the Tails were doing, at least from the Heads’ perspective. Ultramontanism did not preclude disobedience; nor did Gallicanism encourage republican ideas among priests. Both ideas were relatively fluid and could be harnessed. Bishops could equally appeal to Rome when it suited them, to acquire support against unruly subjects or even their fellow bishops.<sup>156</sup> Such political manoeuvring could be risky, but potentially advantageous.

The ultramontane stance could be more radical than a Gallican one, as that was the one that brought their near-universal diocesan authority in question. It could also be simple opportunism from the part of the priests, not quite Gallican or ultramontane. In 1827 Andrew Scott lamented the situation that had arisen within the Scottish clergy

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<sup>151</sup> Joan Connell, *The Roman Catholic Church in England 1780-1850: A Study in Internal Politics* (Philadelphia, 1984), 76.

<sup>152</sup> Sheridan Gilley, ‘The Papacy’, 13, in Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (eds), *The Cambridge History of Christianity: World Christianities c.1815-c.1914*, vol. 8 (Cambridge, 2006), 13-29.

<sup>153</sup> Gough, *Paris and Rome*, 16.

<sup>154</sup> Joseph F. Byrnes, Review of *Les Prêtres, les Fidèles et l’État: Le Ménage à Trois du XIXe Siècle* (Paris, 1987), 554, by Jaques Lafon, in *Church History* 57/4 (1988), 553-555.

<sup>155</sup> Ernest Renan, *Recollections of My Youth [1875-]*, transl. by C. B. Pitman, with intr. by G. G. Coulton (London, 1929), 189-190.

<sup>156</sup> Keogh, *The French Disease*, 13.

over the planned change in the number of Districts within the Scottish Mission. In a letter to James Kyle he used language that is particularly telling of the significance of the power struggles within the Mission:

I have not forgotten my Theology, it is surely totally incompetent for a body of priests to sit in judgement, and to decide, upon matters solely regarding the Division or arrangement of Dioceses or Vicariats. All Theologians agree that Ecclesiastical Discipline, and especially in such important matters as that, is to be decided solely the Pope and the Bishops, and that no priest has a vote in the matter.<sup>157</sup>

What comes across is an absolute, clear refutation that any sort of democratic process might be on the cards. Based on this, if there was a ‘French disease’, it was not Gallicanism, but more akin to French republicanism. Ralph Gibson has referred to this as ‘religious republicanism’.<sup>158</sup> Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century a certain ‘revolutionary air’ might have infiltrated many colleges in France,<sup>159</sup> but it would be impossible to assess its impact on the young minds. Egalitarianism or democratic process was not part of priesthood, and neither most Scottish priests nor bishops were fond of it.<sup>160</sup> Where these ideas were raised, they were swiftly crushed.

Paris seems to have held a special place in the hearts and minds of the clergy. Even if the greater part of France-trained individuals did not behave in a rebellious manner before or during their careers, they could certainly attract suspicion (or confirm them) owing to their former study experience. The level of politicisation of the study experience is also equally difficult to establish. After the French Revolution, the Irish Maynooth College faced charges of Jansenism and Gallicanism, if not directly revolutionary thought.<sup>161</sup> Michael Turner has studied the French influence on the college, namely in the form of French professorial staff and the contents of the

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<sup>157</sup> SCA: BL/5/214/1, Fr Scott to James Kyle, Glasgow 1 Aug 1827.

<sup>158</sup> Gibson, *Social History of French Catholicism*, 57.

<sup>159</sup> Cormac Stephen Begadon, ‘Belief and Devotion in a Nineteenth-Century Irish Seminary: The Evidence from the Irish College Paris Collections’, 5. An unpublished research report (summer, 2010).

<sup>160</sup> Martin J. Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797-1848: Trade Unions, Strikes and Political Movements* (Edinburgh, 1998), 116.

<sup>161</sup> Interestingly, the very rationale of the government in funding the Irish seminary was to avoid exposure to Revolutionary ideas. Tierney, ‘Financing the Faith’, 57.

library.<sup>162</sup> However, a similar study of the seminarians ranging across colleges would be impossible, nor would it be conclusive due to the unstable meaning of the terms in question. It would perhaps be possible to ascertain what kind of clerical culture prevailed in each of the institutions on French soil at any particular time – but even then, age, background and personality could have a far greater impact on the ‘outcome’ priest. Gough highlighted additional factors that are difficult to take into account, but that can be decisive over any prevailing culture:

The factors which made one man a Gallican and another an ultramontane often turn out to have less to do with class or educational background than with the personal relations between an uncle and a nephew, or between two different student rivals in the graduating class of a seminary [...].<sup>163</sup>

There were too many variables, as there are today, to ascertain where certain traits and attitudes stemmed from. Gallican, ultramontane, or even republican, these priests and priests-to-be were individuals. Admittedly, there were hints that certain stances were more prominent in Paris than in Rome, and in Paris rather than Douai. Halloran has stated that the problem with Jansenism at the Scots College Paris in the eighteenth century was the staff’s ‘failure to instil sound doctrine into their students’,<sup>164</sup> rather than to attempt to stay closed to ideas from the outside. Those who were troublesome from the point of view of the Scots vicars apostolic were so due to a complicated web of factors impossible to separate from the personality of the individual. However, it was clear that those who were troublesome had not fully absorbed the taught ideas regarding authority taught at the seminaries in Scotland and on the Continent. Submission to the Rules and the authority of the Superior and one’s Bishop was essential in the route to priesthood, and if the ‘spirit of pride & selfsufficiency ‘did not abate with time & better reflection’, the seminarians would not make good priests.<sup>165</sup> Priests were moulded to be ‘pious, grave, and docile’.<sup>166</sup> For a newly-ordained priest, the expected route – and the one with no prospects of advancement – was to work hard

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<sup>162</sup> See Michael Turner, ‘The French Connection with Maynooth College, 1795-1855’, in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 70/277 (1981), 77-87.

<sup>163</sup> Gough, *Paris and Rome*, viii-ix.

<sup>164</sup> Halloran, *Scots College Paris*, 144.

<sup>165</sup> SCA: OL/2/9/8, Kyle to Bp Scott, Preshome 3 Nov 1832.

<sup>166</sup> Gibson, *Social History of French Catholicism*, 87.



as rank and file priests and to quietly submit to the authority of their bishops, as martyr-like as possible. For those more ambitious, connections were essential.

While a stay in continental Europe could make a student difficult to manage, there is no clear evidence to show that this had to do with Sulpician training, Gallicanism or French society. The fears of college Superiors, senior clerics and vicars apostolic are too imprecise to pin down, and cannot be considered reliable evidence of any real radicalism or dissent among the seminarians who had had a recent experience of Paris, in particular.

## Chapter III: Gender at the Seminary and Beyond<sup>1</sup>

[At Issy] everything was permeated with a perfume of fervent piety and brotherly love, which from the first enticed hearts to God. Many previous generations of holy priests had grown up there, in the silence, the peace and the happiness, at the bosom of the venerable sanctuary of Notre-Dame de Lorette.<sup>2</sup>

The world of the seminary was designed to be immersive; Issy in the nineteenth century (part of the seminary of St Sulpice) was particularly so. Although designed for pre-tonsured students, it acted as a necessary stepping stone for studies of theology at the Parisian house which, if possible, was even more thoroughly permeated by the ‘perfume of piety’. In the Blairs junior seminary in Aberdeenshire, religion was, similarly, ‘in the air that the students breathed’.<sup>3</sup> For those entering the path to priesthood early in their lives, it was believed that this sort of ‘sacerdotal childhood’ was an essential part of reaching sacerdotal adulthood.<sup>4</sup> This childhood was shared with other seminarians, all boys, being brought up as men of God. It is not coincidental that the extract above speaks of ‘growing up’ at the seminary.

Few would argue that ‘gender’ is not a useful category of analysis.<sup>5</sup> The classification of a new-born as ‘male’ or ‘female’ begins a perpetual process of gender identity imposition. Scholars tend to agree that gender is socially agreed upon and performed; it is never fully possessed but continuously asserted, achieved and

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<sup>1</sup> An early version of this chapter was used as basis for a published journal article: Iida Saarinen, ‘Boys to Manly Men of God: Scottish Seminarian Manliness in the Nineteenth Century’, in *IR* 65/2 (2014), 113-127. I would like to thank the Paisley Diocese seminarian Matthew Carlin for offering his thoughts on an early draft.

<sup>2</sup> [Describing Issy]: ‘Tout y était imprégné d’un parfum de piété fervente et de charité fraternelle, qui attirait[,] du premier coup[,] les coeurs à Dieu. De nombreuses générations de saints prêtres y avaient grandi dans le silence, la paix et le bonheur, à l’ombre du vénéré sanctuaire de Notre-Dame de Lorette.’ [Anonymous ‘director of St Sulpice’], *Ange et Martyr, Paul Seigneret, séminariste de Saint-Sulpice, fusillé à Belleville le 26 mai 1871* (Lille, 1877), 139.

<sup>3</sup> [Anonymous], *Blairs College: St. Mary’s College, Blairs, Aberdeen*, 9. No publication information on the booklet; the National Library of Scotland gives the publication year as 2008. Shelfmark: PB5.208.992/12.

<sup>4</sup> The term ‘l’enfance sacerdotale’ was used in a tract from the 1870s. [Anonymous ‘director of St Sulpice’], *Ange et Martyr*, 139.

<sup>5</sup> Joan Wallach Scott’s renowned article from the 1980s still resonates. See Joan Wallach Scott, ‘Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?’, in *The American Historical Review* 91/5 (1986), 1053-1075.

renegotiated.<sup>6</sup> Regardless of this fluidity, much still relies upon the influence of one's environment and the kind of normative frameworks this imposes. In the Roman Catholic Church, gender still functions as a key determinant of social positioning.<sup>7</sup> Catholic seminaries were institutions in which this aspect of the individual became an essential marker of the priest-to-be. In order to become a Roman Catholic priest, the candidate's sex, their *maleness*, was non-negotiable; their gender, or how this maleness was expressed and highlighted socially (their *masculinity* or *manliness*) was only slightly more flexible.

The main focus of this chapter is the seminarian rather than the priest. It principally examines what it meant to be and to become a man of God in the nineteenth century, when religiosity itself was considered more feminine than masculine. The chapter concentrates on the gendered aspects of aspirational and achieved priesthood, developed and enforced in the seminaries employed by the Scottish Mission to mould its future labourers. It elaborates upon the peculiarities of growing up in the seminary, and assuming a Roman Catholic (celibate) priesthood as a special kind of adulthood. The gender-related themes of the seminarians' experience include the highly significant process of achieving mature manhood from boyhood in an essentially single-sex educational environment, the masculine traits considered compatible with Christianity in the nineteenth century, clerical manliness and (clerical) fatherhood, and, finally, the perceived effeminacy of the Catholic priest and Roman Catholicism.

The conclusions of this chapter rely heavily on correspondence from the Scottish Catholic Archives, obituary evidence from the *Scottish Catholic Directory*, as well as on the memoirs and correspondence of the French philosopher, Ernest Renan (1823-1892), whose early experiences of the Parisian seminaries of St Nicolas and St Sulpice also shed light on the Scottish experience in these institutions.<sup>8</sup> While their individual experience in the seminaries differed, they did share the experience of growing up within the same seminary system.

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<sup>6</sup> Michael Roper and John Tosh, 'Introduction: Historians and the Politics of Masculinity', 18, in *idem* (eds), *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London, 1991), 1-24.

<sup>7</sup> Carmen M. Mangion, *Contested Identities: Catholic Women Religious in Nineteenth-Century England and Wales* (Manchester, 2008), 2.

<sup>8</sup> Renan abandoned the career before he was ordained. For a recent biography of the famous philosopher, see Jean-Pierre van Deth, *Ernest Renan* (Paris, 2012).

## From Boy to Man in a Seminary

Seminaries, at every level, were male-only institutions.<sup>9</sup> The students were preparing for a profession that was only open to male candidates; they were reaching their adulthood – and therefore their maturity and manhood – in an immersive educational environment taught by males and surrounded by male peers. This was not that different from a regular boarding school. In the nineteenth-century, it was usual among the upper middle class to believe ‘that boys should be sent away from home to be raised as men’.<sup>10</sup> The children were expected to spend ‘most of their formative adolescent years’ in an environment very different from a family home.<sup>11</sup> Thus at St Nicolas, where all pupils were in their mid-teens, the ‘main object was to make their pupils into honourable men’.<sup>12</sup>

In his 1995 book *Married to the Church*, Raymond Hedin has reflected on growing up in the seminary:

We were expected to enter the seminary as boys and to come out twelve years later as priests; no one thought much about the need to become men along the way.<sup>13</sup>

Manhood, according to Hedin’s own experience in a Milwaukee seminary in the 1950s and the 60s, was simply a by-product of priesthood. Although Hedin’s experience seems to bear little resemblance to nineteenth-century priest-making, his story highlights the enormity of the experience. Hedin’s words also highlight an interesting problem regarding the nature of the seminary, whether in the 1820s or the 1960s: seminaries actively made priests, but did they also make men?

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<sup>9</sup> The students and the teaching staff were all male. The institutions, however, could employ female domestic servants or receive domestic input from female religious.

<sup>10</sup> Christopher Oldstone-Moore, ‘The Beard Movement in Victorian Britain’, 27, in *Victorian Studies* 48 (2005), 7-34.

<sup>11</sup> Ciaran O’Neill, *Catholics of Consequence: Transnational Education, Social Mobility, and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900* (Oxford, 2014), 2.

<sup>12</sup> Ernest Renan, *Recollections of My Youth* [1875–], transl. by C. B. Pitman, with intr. by G. G. Coulton (London, 1929), 122.

<sup>13</sup> Raymond Hedin, *Married to the Church* (Bloomington, 1995), 15.

In Scotland, the average age of entry into junior seminary (such as Aquhorties or Blairs) was fourteen.<sup>14</sup> However, the age of entry could vary enormously depending on the boy's location, and financial and family situation. For example, John Paterson (1810-1834) from Enzie in Banffshire entered Aquhorties at the early age of nine and was sent abroad four years later. He was, however, a relative of Bishop Paterson's and was therefore likely pushed to consider priesthood as a career early in his life.<sup>15</sup> Early admission might also indicate that the parents were able and willing to pay for their son's education.

Advanced pupils were sent on to seminaries abroad from age ten.<sup>16</sup> However, this was highly unusual, and would only be the case if the pupil already had a good level of education and was deemed worth the risk of sending abroad. John MacLoy (1851-1xxx) was sent abroad at the age of ten, but this is likely to have been an anomaly as the boy was sent to Séez and then Petit Séminaire d'Ornans, neither of which were habitually used by the Scottish Mission. The average age to begin one's studies abroad was seventeen.<sup>17</sup>

It was recognised that the pace of learning required might be different for pupils of different ages. The Blairs seminary Rules stated that the age of admission to Blairs was to be strictly between the ages of eleven and sixteen, unless the individual under consideration was proficient in Latin.<sup>18</sup> Even those at the upper end of the scale were carefully considered, like the 'young man' who began his studies at Blairs in 1841:

He is old to be sure to begin his studies, but I trust he will make up for it by morosed application during the course of them, and by his zeal and piety when he enters upon his Missionary duties.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> See Chart A: Approximate Age of Entry. The ages have been calculated based on year of birth and year of entry alone and they are approximate. There is one instance when, it appears, a student began his studies at age the approximate age of 6 and was sent abroad a year later, would be highly unusual and is uncertain based on the evidence available. These have not been included in the charts. See Appendix 4, 'Malone, Michael (185x-1xxx)'.

<sup>15</sup> SCD 1835 (obituary).

<sup>16</sup> See Chart B: Approximate Age Sent Abroad. The ages have been calculated based on year of birth and year of entry alone and they are approximate.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> SCA: OL/1/11/1, Bp Scott to J. Chisholm, Greenock 27 Apr 1835.

<sup>19</sup> SCA: BL/6/330/5, Bp Scott to C. Gordon, Greenock 31 Jul 1841. The 'young man' he refers to is never named, but it is possible he is referring to John Carolan (1825-185x), who was sixteen years old at the time of entry.

‘Late vocations’ were those who requested the opportunity to become priests in their adulthood. William Allan (1825-1853), for example, had a career as an Episcopalian minister before his conversion in 1848 at the age of twenty-three. He was quick to train as, with his educational background, three years of theology at St Sulpice sufficed. Late vocations were in many ways a safer bet for the Mission, as the vicars apostolic could be more certain of the durable nature of the entrant’s conviction; yet they were still generally less preferential to individuals trained from early years on, as priesthood would have to be built on already established foundations. With young entrants, the Mission could supervise the construction of the foundations themselves, moulding the individuals as they matured. St Edmund’s at Douai advertised in 1886 that

The Fathers endeavour to foster a family spirit, and discipline is maintained chiefly by kindly advice and guidance. A friendly intercourse of the Religious with the students [...] forms and influences the character of the boys, while it makes the College a happy home.<sup>20</sup>

Whether the reality corresponded with the ideal is difficult to ascertain. At least Jesuit schools in nineteenth-century France were habitually based on a ‘family model’,<sup>21</sup> but this sort of *in loco parentis* familiarity with the students could be a characteristic of an English boarding school, regardless of St Edmund’s geographical location.<sup>22</sup>

Whether the school did attempt to foster a family spirit or not, the culture shock of being removed from one environment and transplanted into another was significant. The move was drastic, for example, for a boy from a small village of the Outer Hebrides to the hustle and bustle of Paris, even if a stay at a Scottish junior seminary would have eased the transition.

The vicars apostolic of Scotland duly acknowledged the possible issues surrounding sending the boys, especially young boys, abroad to acquire cultural capital

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<sup>20</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/7 (1), College of St Edmund the King and Martyr: Douai, France (1886).

<sup>21</sup> John W. Padberg, *Colleges in Controversy: The Jesuits Schools in France from Revival to Suppression, 1815-1880* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969), 205.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, Christina de Bellaigue, ‘Behind the School Walls: The School Community in French and English Boarding Schools for Girls, 1810–1867’, 107, in *Paedagogica Historica* 40 (2004), 107-121.

as well as instruction, and this is one of the reasons why the boys were initially expected to attend a junior seminary in Scotland. Even if a student was advanced enough in their studies to move on there was often concern that

The children, forced too often to leave their native country at an age when their temperament has not yet developed, and therefore find themselves more exposed [...] to the injurious foreign climates [...].<sup>23</sup>

‘Foreign climates’, meaning new customs, culture, language and habits, might have a detrimental impact if a boy was exposed to them too early. The development of the child’s ‘temperament’ suggests that it was not possible to discern the child’s character at an early age.

The seminary education was carefully balanced to achieve the building of the perfect priest, but this balance was precarious. The Mission was fully aware that teenage years, inevitably ahead for child entrants, were trying for the students. The seminarians were known to be ‘exposed to a very dangerous trial of their vocation from the alteration which happens in their constitution between 12 & 20’.<sup>24</sup> In fact, if ‘not managed with the greatest prudence [...] it is ten to one if they be able to stand it’.<sup>25</sup> The time spent at the seminary was delicate in terms of development, but it was also essential to the formation of new labourers for the Scottish Mission. The seminarians’ new, clerical family, was to offer them the support they needed.

## Clerical Family in a Total Seminary

Even though the individuals embarking on a certain kind of career path were considered ‘boys’ and can be assumed to have identified as such, on entry into a

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<sup>23</sup> ‘Les enfants, forcés le plus souvent de quitter leur pays natal à un âge ou leur temperament n’est pas encore développé, le trouvent en conséquence beaucoup plus exposés, [...] aux influences injurieuses de climats étrangers [...]. SCA: B/6/2/3/1, ‘Supplique à la Majesté l’Empereur Napoléon III, au nom des Evêques Catholiques de l’Ecosse, par l’Evêque vicair Apostolique d’Edimbourg, administrateur des Fondations Ecclésiastiques Ecossais en France’ [1811-1832].

<sup>24</sup> SCA: CS/1/1/11 (1) and (2), Hay to Geddes, 9 Mar 1787.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

seminary they were admitted to a gendered world differing significantly from their home surroundings. Seminary education could last a decade and the minimum age for ordination was twenty-four. The majority of those successful in their studies would have spent most of their teens and their early twenties in an all-male environment. On entry into the seminary system, family, as they had known it, was set aside. The Catholic historian Christine Johnson has confirmed that regardless of background, a seminarian's 'formative years were spent among men of letters [...]. By the time he grew to manhood his childhood background would have been overlaid by an academic training'.<sup>26</sup> The resulting alienation from the seminarian's biological family was accompanied by the acquisition of a new family. In 1838, directly after his entry to the seminary of St Nicolas in Paris, Renan explained in a letter to his mother that the hard world of the college was balanced by the 'paternal way' in which the students were treated.<sup>27</sup> Undeniably, there were a large number of paternal figures available at the seminary. Indeed, Austin Gough has suggested that some of the strong bonds within the Scottish Mission were due to

the need of middle-aged celibate clerics for sons, and the need of young priests to find fathers and mentors to replace the real parents they had hardly seen since entering the *petit-séminaire*.<sup>28</sup>

But whether the abundance of clerical male role models was sufficient to direct these boys in their aspirations to manhood as well as priesthood is a more difficult question to answer.

As well as removal from home, entry into a seminary involved a gradual withdrawal from connections with home. The reading of personal letters of the younger seminarians highlighted the lack of privacy that was going to be the norm.<sup>29</sup> The closest adult confidant present was now a priest rather than the seminarian's mother or

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<sup>26</sup> Christine Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland 1789-1829* (Edinburgh, 1983), 207.

<sup>27</sup> 'Le collège est extrêmement fort, et si quelque chose sur la terre pouvait me consoler d'être séparé de vous, ce serait la manière paternelle dont on est traité ici.' Ernest Renan, 'Lettre III' (Paris, le 13 septembre 1838), 11-12, in his *Lettres du Séminaire, 1838-1846*, ed. Noëmi Renan (Paris, 1902).

<sup>28</sup> Austin Gough, *Paris and Rome: The Gallican Church and the Ultramontane Campaign 1848-1853* (Oxford, 1986), viii-ix.

<sup>29</sup> At St Nicolas, 'Our letters, as is the usage in religious establishments, were read by one of the masters.' See Renan, *Recollections of My Youth*, 157.



father. Even if the boys had the experience of a junior seminary under their belts, every new institution would be a slightly new experience. Young Renan remembered his first weeks at St Nicolas seminary, away from his familiar Brittany, as a complete change in his ‘habits and mode of life [which] brought on a very severe attack of homesickness’.<sup>30</sup> A parallel sentiment was expressed by young Daniel O’Neil (1820-1839) in a letter to his Bishop from France, in his case from Monsieur Poiloup’s Institution at Vaugirard. He explained that the previous year he ‘had felt a desire to go and see’ his parents:

after six years absence from home, such a desire is not perhaps surprising; but I am ready to sacrifice a present satisfaction for a future one, since it might be an obstacle to my advancement in knowledge and in virtue.<sup>31</sup>

At the time of writing of the above letter, in 1838, O’Neil was seventeen years old.<sup>32</sup> The seminarians were encouraged to prioritise their assumed vocation over their families, and long-term knowledge and virtue over temporary satisfactions. They were understood to be following a path set to them by God, and sacrifices were part of the journey. This was likely not the most comforting thought to a child, but it is doubtful how far the destined priest could make their own decisions.

A boy in seminary would have to get used to the routine of the institution, which included a very tightly-packed, pre-planned daily rhythm. Although, as mentioned before, the routines were practiced at the junior seminaries in Scotland, it was the foreign ones that could boast of a fully immersive seminary experience. At St Nicolas in the late 1830s a ‘regular day’ ran as follows:

5.10am – getting up  
5.30am – prayer and meditation  
6.00am – Holy Mass  
6.30am – study

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>31</sup> SCA: OL/2/35/5, Daniel O’Neill to Bp Scott, Vaugirard 12 Jul 1838.

<sup>32</sup> After some time at Issy, which he entered the following autumn, O’Neil interrupted his studies for an unknown reason and returned to Scotland. Shortly after his return he died an unspecified illness, at the age of eighteen: ‘[P]oor O’Neil who came home and died last year’. SCA: DD/1/10/17, Bp Scott to [unknown], Greenock 23 Jul 1840. See also SCA: OL/2/42/4, Bp Kyle to Bp Scott, Preshome 5 Aug 1839.

7.30am – breakfast and recreation  
8.00am – classes  
10.00am – recreation  
10.15am – study  
11.56am – examination of conscience ('examen particulier de la matinée')  
12.00pm – lunch and recreation  
1.30pm – study  
3.00pm – classes  
4.30pm – snack and recreation  
5.00pm – study  
7.00pm – spiritual reading  
7.30pm – dinner  
8.00pm – recreation  
8.30pm – evening prayers  
8.45pm – bed<sup>33</sup>

According to this schedule, the adolescents were allowed no more than eight-and-a-half hours of sleep every night, and were expected to study or attend classes for nearly ten hours per day. Religious activities punctuated the day. This was one of the strategies by which, as Marieke Smulders has put it, 'pious and not-so-pious boys were turned into men of God'.<sup>34</sup> Structure and discipline were essential in maintaining an orderly institution, and very little leeway was given for individuals to develop in their own way and at their own pace.

The medievalist Ruth Mazo Karras has stressed the importance of the study environment, rather than solely the content of the studies, in the process of growing up.<sup>35</sup> Medieval universities are not seamlessly comparable to nineteenth-century male boarding schools or seminaries. However, seminaries and boarding schools both defined themselves through their all-male staff and student body, purposefully distancing their culture from the feminine. This allowed them to boast a certain kind budding elite masculinity that was built in the structures of the homosocial institutions.

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<sup>33</sup> Renan, 'Lettre VII' (Paris, 3 Feb 1839), 34-35, in his *Lettres du Séminaire*.

<sup>34</sup> Marieke Smulders, 'The Boys of Saint Dominic's: Catholic Boys' Culture at Minor Seminary in Interwar Holland', 158, in Patrick Pasture, Jan Art and Thomas Buerman (eds), *Beyond the Feminization Thesis: Gender and Christianity in Modern Europe* (Leuven, 2012), 157-171.

<sup>35</sup> 'It was perhaps the informal education in appropriate masculine and civilized behavior, given in an all-male environment, rather than the content of the curriculum, that would have most shaped his behavior.' Ruth Mazo Karras, 'Separating the Men from the Goats: Masculinity, Civilization and Identity Formation in the Medieval University', 206, in Jacqueline Murray (ed.), *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West* (New York, 1999), 189-213.

Although the gendered identity construction in relatively enclosed single-sex institutions has been examined in both sociology and history, seminarians have received comparatively little attention. The medievalist P. H. Cullum, among others working on clerical manliness, has admitted that the ‘social separation and distinct pattern of living [...] could have inculcated a particular gender identity’.<sup>36</sup> In her sociological inquiry into child sexual abuse, Marie Keenan has tentatively applied Erving Goffman’s idea of a ‘total society’, developed to investigate and explain the structure of asylums and prisons, to seminaries.<sup>37</sup> The differences between these are surprisingly negligible. Some students petitioning to go to spend their vacations in Paris before entering the Sulpician seminary at Issy in 1873 were not granted their wish, because the superior ‘had learnt by experience that the ‘regime’ of vacations at Issy was productive of no moral good to the new students’.<sup>38</sup> He argued that that study in a less regulated environment could give the seminarians ‘habits of liberty which rendered subjection to rule more difficult’ because

a) there is no surveillance, b) they get up in the morning when they like, c) they come in contact with people of the world, d) may be exposed to great temptations & e) have no discipline whatsoever.<sup>39</sup>

Surveillance, structure, controlled environment, limited contacts, shelter and discipline were all considered indispensable in the new regime of religious upbringing. They were also indicators of the ‘totality’ of the environment in the Goffmanian sense. The seminary added a generous dose of religion to the standard mix.

Conversely, for the older, tonsured students the temptations of the world could be considered necessary trials. At least the superiors of St Sulpice, where most of these students completed the final stretch of their studies, seemed to think that the trial of the ‘vacation in the world’ was ‘absolutely essential’ to test the strength of their

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<sup>36</sup> P. H. Cullum, ‘Clergy, Masculinity and Transgression in Late medieval England’, 181, in D. M. Handley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London, 1999), 178-196.

<sup>37</sup> See Marie Keenan, *Child Sexual Abuse & the Catholic Church: Gender, Power, and Organizational Culture* (Oxford, 2012); Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (New York, 1961). The idea has also been convincingly applied to boarding schools, for example by Esbjörn Larsson, *Från Adlig Uppfostran till Borgerlig Utbildning: Kungl. Krigsakademien mellan Åren 1792 och 1866* (Uppsala, 2005).

<sup>38</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/5, O’Gorman to [unknown], Douai 1 Sep 1873.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

vocations.<sup>40</sup> If the seminarian could not hold to the way of life his future status required, problems might arise later in his career.

Close confinement was also specifically mentioned as one of the characteristics of St Nicolas.<sup>41</sup> The religion and piety was combined with Charles Joseph Tochetti's (1822-1903) obituary described the influence 'the strict discipline and the hard *régime*' at Vaugirard had on the young priest-to-be as 'somewhat severe', referring to 'the tender years of the pupil far removed from home and parental love'.<sup>42</sup> Vaugirard's study culture was also known to encourage self-discipline. Father Tochetti's obituary continued describing his 'great love for self-sacrifice and mortification', acquired at Vaugirard, and 'even to the end, until put under obedience, he would not be persuaded to mitigate in any way the fasts prescribed by the church'.<sup>43</sup> It is also telling that the Rules made a reference to the challenges the seminarians might face from without, and how they should respond to negative attention; even embrace it as martyrs.<sup>44</sup>

The pupils will take care to keep an austere silence and maintain a modest demeanour when they are exposed to insults, slights, or [...] indecent reflections that the people might throw at them [...].<sup>45</sup>

They were expected to remind themselves that they were special and to imitate 'the Apostles who were happy to be judged noble enough to suffer affronts in the name of Jesus Christ'.<sup>46</sup>

It was the intensity of everyday study that stood out to the seminarians. John Shaw (1820-1885), himself at Issy at the time, reported in 1842 that especially Donald

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<sup>40</sup> SCA: ED/8/20/1, Malcolm, Chisholm, Phin, McMahan, McMillar, Mullan, McKenzie, McRae, Langley, Meany, Lavelle, Mann, and Cameron to 'Your Lordship', 3 May 1882.

<sup>41</sup> SCA: BL/6/96/14, William McIntosh to Charles Gordon, St Sulpice 6 Oct 1834.

<sup>42</sup> *SCD 1904*, (obituary).

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> This is also discussed in Chapter I.

<sup>45</sup> 'Les élèves auront soin de garder le silence le plus rigoureux et le maintien le plus modeste, lorsqu'il leur arrivera d'être en butte aux insultes, aux avanies, aux réflexions déplacées ou indécentes que les gens du peuple pourront se permettre, lors de leur passage.' SCA: CS/6/1/1, 'Règlement du Séminaire de Saint Nicolas' (1822).

<sup>46</sup> 'Ils offriront à Dieu cette légère mortification, et se rappellent qu'ils se destinent à l'auguste ministère exercé par les Apôtres qui étaient joyeux d'avoir été jugés dignes de souffrir des affronts pour le nom de Jesus Christ.' *Ibid.*

McMaster was struggling with the change of atmosphere from Scotland to ‘a French house of education’:

the confinement [...] does not agree with him very well, it I really astonishing how the others stand out so well, for they have a great deal of study and very little recreation [...].<sup>47</sup>

The worries on the pressures on McMaster were not unfounded: he died at Vaugirard two years later. His fellow students fared better, but had a great deal of adjustment to do. The Rules of the seminary from 1822 are coloured with intense Sulpician religious devotion that does not deviate from the totality of the establishments. For example, the students are ‘recommended to offer their first thoughts to God and make the sign of the cross’ before getting out of bed in the morning.<sup>48</sup> More generally,

Piety should be the basis of all education, and above all Ecclesiastical education, the pupils are to solicitously take every opportunity to rouse themselves, and to rouse their classmates, to piety [...] thanking the divine grace for being able to find themselves in a place consecrated to the sacred exercises of Religion, and seeking every occasion to deserve this benevolence through their fervour and zeal.<sup>49</sup>

The students were to ‘conserve amongst themselves the spirit of charity that befits the true Christians destined to the sublime functions of holy priesthood.’<sup>50</sup>

Like any educational institutions at this time, seminaries were geared towards moulding individuals into something quite specific, tolerating only some inevitable variance in results. This type of immersive education was considered normal, desirable, and preparatory for a respectable life. Especially in a small country like Scotland with a mythology of ‘democratic’ education, the boarding school also

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<sup>47</sup> SCA: OL/2/64/1, John Shaw to Bp Scott, Séminaire d’Issy 4 Apr 1842.

<sup>48</sup> ‘Il est recommandé aux élèves d’offrir à Dieu leurs premières pensées, de faire le signe de la croix’. SCA: CS/6/1/1, ‘Règlement du Séminaire de Saint Nicolas’ (1822).

<sup>49</sup> ‘La piété devant être la base de toute éducation, et surtout de toute éducation Ecclésiastique, les élèves auront soin de ne négliger aucune occasion de s’exciter eux-mêmes, et d’exciter leurs condisciples à la piété [...] remerciant la bonté divine de ce qu’ils se trouvent dans une maison consacrée pour les saints exercices de la Religion, et cherchant en toute rencontre à mériter ce bienfait par leur ferveur et par leur zèle.’ SCA: CS/6/1/1, ‘Règlement du Séminaire de Saint Nicolas’ (1822).

<sup>50</sup> ‘Les élèves conserveront toujours les uns à l’égard des autres cet esprit de charité qui convient à de véritables Chrétiens qui se destinent aux sublimes fonctions du sacerdoce.’ Ibid.

allowed the removal of talented individuals, ideally irrespective of social background, to an enclosed environment where those talents could be nourished so that the individual could later be considered for social promotion.<sup>51</sup>

The idea that ‘male institutions like boarding schools [...] construct a system in which masculinity is defined by absence of the feminine’ would no longer stand in the mainstream of masculinity studies.<sup>52</sup> The feminine was not fully absent, even though the femininities present at the seminary were far less numerous than in the world. Boarding schools, like seminaries, constructed a peculiar system in which masculinity was asserted in particular ways. But unlike in most all-male boarding schools inhabited by teenagers, at the seminary sexual prowess was not one of them.

### Sexuality and Relationship to the Feminine

Marieke Smulders is one of the few historians who have investigated seminary culture in any detail. In her investigation of the seminary student magazine in the twentieth century, Smulders concluded that the students held ‘a self-proclaimed idealism’ in which ‘religious masculinity and youthful energy were united’.<sup>53</sup> They formed ‘their own boys’ culture, in which their religious vocation merged smoothly with an energetic and virile spirit of boyishness’.<sup>54</sup> Although seminaries were creating ‘a template for clerical culture, clerical masculinity and clerical living’,<sup>55</sup> the seminarians were still very much ‘boys’. They had not yet committed to the clerical ideal in vows, but constantly received it as it was ‘taught’ at seminaries, internalising the celibate priesthood, and preparing to practise it.<sup>56</sup> Nothing was to change in this regard when they went through puberty.

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<sup>51</sup> R. D. Anderson, *Education & Opportunity in Victorian Scotland: Schools & Universities* (Edinburgh, 1983), 344.

<sup>52</sup> Peter M. Lewis, ‘Mummy, Matron and the Maids: Feminine Presence and Absence in Male Institutions, 1934-63’, 168, in Roper and Tosh (eds), *Manful Assertions*, 168-189.

<sup>53</sup> Smulders, ‘The Boys of Saint Dominic’s’, 170.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>55</sup> Keenan, *Child Sexual Abuse & the Catholic Church*, 51.

<sup>56</sup> Paul Stanosz, *The Struggle for Celibacy: The Culture of Catholic Seminary Life* (2006), 2.

The seminaries, both in Scotland and in France, were social spaces, even if solitude was encouraged in spiritual exercises and the hierarchy was sensitive to the fact that close contact between pre-pubescent and pubescent boys might result in talk and relationships deemed ‘undesirable’ and even dangerous by the Church.<sup>57</sup> An intimate relationship could develop a sexual aspect, but it could also be harmful to community spirit. ‘One of the injunctions most impressed upon us at the seminary’, explained Ernest Renan in his memoirs, ‘was to avoid “special friendships.” Friendships of this kind were described as being a fraud upon the rest of the community.’<sup>58</sup> The threshold between community bonding and ‘special friendships’ was not always clear. At St Nicolas, the Rules, governing the religious life of the community, took precautions by expressly forbidding the students from entering one another’s rooms ‘for whatever reason’, and a student found in a room with others with the door closed faced expulsion.<sup>59</sup> Peter M. Lewis has argued that at least in twentieth-century male institutions ‘the system worked to undermine friendships rather than encourage them’.<sup>60</sup> With regard to the French seminaries in the nineteenth century, Ralph Gibson has referred to the ‘rigorous training in sexual repression’.<sup>61</sup> Somewhat conversely, then, these institutions were also keen to promote ‘a sense of community or bonding among their members that gave them a collective social identity’.<sup>62</sup> Comradeship and brotherhood, boys’ culture or ‘seminary culture’ was encouraged, intimate one-to-one friendships not.<sup>63</sup>

While evidence addressing improper relations at seminaries is rare, there are records implying that questionable events did take place in this environment. For example, in 1838 at Blairs seminary, one of the professors, Father Morgan, was found to be getting inappropriately close with his pupils: he took ‘in the little Boys to amuse

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<sup>57</sup> Ralph Gibson has discussed these *amities particulières* in his *A Social History of French Catholicism, 1789-1914* (London, 1989), 88.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 319.

<sup>59</sup> ‘Il est expressément défendu à qui que ce soit de mettre le pied dans la chambre d’un autre sous quelque motif que ce puisse être. Se trouver plusieurs ensemble, la porte fermée, dans une chambre, entraîne la peine d’exclusion.’ SCA: CS/6/1/1, ‘Règlement du Séminaire de Saint Nicolas’ (1822).

<sup>60</sup> Lewis, ‘Mummy, Matron and the Maids’, 181.

<sup>61</sup> Gibson, *Social History of French Catholicism*, 75.

<sup>62</sup> Ruth Mazo Karras, ‘Sharing Wine, Women, and Song: Masculine Identity Formation in the Medieval European Universities’, 191, in Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Ronnie Wheeler (eds), *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2000), 187-202.

<sup>63</sup> For Catholic seminary culture, see Stanosz, *The Struggle for Celibacy*.

themselves with him in his private room contrary to the Rules of the House' and joined 'in their sports and Plays'.<sup>64</sup> What exactly happened between Mr Morgan and his pupils is unclear, but it is insinuated that the circumstances in themselves were inappropriate.

It is not surprising that 'seminaries encourage students to make celibacy a central aspect of their priestly identities' as they were socialised to see themselves as set apart.<sup>65</sup> While celibacy shut the priest out of the 'normal' life course including marriage and children, it also set him apart and above his parishioners. Cullum has speculated that at this point of the young man's life, 'their gender identity must have been largely formed before they accepted or rejected these aspects of their role'.<sup>66</sup> The boys' educational environment enabled the continuing internalisation of the ideal of a celibate priesthood. The practice of it later on in their lives could, of course, be another matter. While a certain degree of misbehaviour, which often included drinking and promiscuity, was anticipated (if not permitted) among the older students of standard boarding schools, these activities were unacceptable at a seminary preparing boys to become priests. As well as problematic intimacy between boys, relationships to women were carefully addressed. While relationships between peers were carefully monitored and managed, relationships to females – and the feminine – would have developed with no close contact with individuals of the opposite sex. Although Roper and Tosh claimed in 1991 that 'masculinity has always been defined in relation to "the other"',<sup>67</sup> this seems to produce a rather narrow image of the range of masculinities available. More recently the consensus seems to be that masculinities cannot be defined against a single Other (the female and the feminine) alone. Jacqueline Murray has highlighted the significance of male homosociability, albeit in a medieval setting, as an example, stating that 'However tense [medieval] men's relationships with women might have been, it was male/male relationships that figured most prominently in a man's life'.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> SCA: OL/2/33/4, John Cowie to Bp Scott, Blairs 15 May 1838.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>66</sup> Cullum, 'Clergy, Masculinity and Transgression in Late Medieval England', 179.

<sup>67</sup> Roper and Tosh, 'Introduction: Historians and the Politics of Masculinity', 1.

<sup>68</sup> Jacqueline Murray, 'Introduction', xii, in *idem* (ed.), *Conflicted Identities*, ix-xx.



The only physical female presence in the seminary environment was that of the domestic servant, an essential part of the housekeeping regime of any institution (including the Scottish parish priest's household). Yet they were to be kept at distance. The St Nicolas Rules included the following carefully worded clause: 'It is forbidden to speak to the domestic servants with familiarity or condescension. All associations and particular relationships with the servants are prohibited.'<sup>69</sup> The danger was twofold. Firstly, indecent relationships could develop. Andrew Scott, later vicar apostolic of the Western District, described such a relationship in a letter in 1828:

One of the students is a great favourite of Miss's and he is frequently admitted to a share. He has little or no appetite at the time of meals with the rest of the boys, but he generally acquires a better appetite in Miss's room when he gets some tea and some mutton.<sup>70</sup>

A small group of female servants and students habitually assembled for a private dinner. They had 'a *gaudeamus* of toddy and every good thing from 11 o'clock at night till 3 next morning';<sup>71</sup> that they were heard by both the staff and the other boys made the matter even weightier.<sup>72</sup> With their misbehaviour, the older students set a bad example and allowed the growing boys to entertain false parameters for what was acceptable. In the same letter, it was alluded that one of these 'favourites of the misses', Mr Alexander, had a reputation with the ladies that had previously escalated into a scandal. It was noted that he,

before his ordination not only sat up a great part of many nights carousing with the late favourite Housekeeper, now M. de Repas, but actually slept in the same bed with her.<sup>73</sup>

Secondly, at the seminary the future priest was to develop a certain sense of rank and polite superiority with regard to non-ecclesiastics, especially those of the lower

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<sup>69</sup> 'Il est défendu de parler aux domestiques avec familiarité ou hauteur. Toute liaison, tout entretien particulier avec les Domestiques sont prohibés.' SCA: CS/6/1/1, 'Règlement du Séminaire de Saint Nicolas' (1822).

<sup>70</sup> SCA: BL/5/232/17, Bp Scott to Paterson, Glasgow 17 Dec 1828.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. *Gaudeamus*, the Latin expression for 'let us rejoice', usually refers to the academic commercium song *De Brevitate Vitae*. It appears it is here used as a generous measure.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

orders, to maintain the dignity of his post. After entry to the seminary, there was little opportunity to interact with women as social equals;<sup>74</sup> women could therefore be seen as the ‘social “Other”’ and creatures who a ‘man might consort with [...] but they could not be his peers’.<sup>75</sup> For example, of Father Donald MacDonald, it was complained that he had a habit of making himself ‘too much the companion of the servants in the Kitchen’.<sup>76</sup> This was considered inappropriate behaviour unbecoming of his status.

The attitude towards women perceived as socially inferior was starkly contrasted with the other feminine presence at the seminary. In the course of their studies, the seminarians would come to develop a close relationship with the Holy Virgin as well as other female Saints. In his ‘psycho-historical hypothesis’, the Dutch historian Jan Art has suggested that the Holy Mother functioned as a surrogate mother for the adolescent seminarians.<sup>77</sup> Whether this was the case or not, the ever-present Virgin contributed to shaping the boys’ ideas of ideal femininity. These ideas would be tested in parish work as well as in terms of working alongside the female religious.

### Clerical Fatherhood in a Feminised (and Feminine) Church

The Roman Catholic priest has been addressed as ‘Father’ long enough to make this title the norm.<sup>78</sup> Parishioners could be considered like (adult) children to the spiritual father, the priest, and ‘spiritual paternity’ was very much contained in the vocation’.<sup>79</sup> It was reasoned that men without wives and biological offspring could give themselves

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<sup>74</sup> Mazo Karras, ‘Separating the Men from the Goats’, 205.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 206.

<sup>76</sup> SCA: OL/1/40/13, Bp Scott to Rev John Chisholm, Greenock 21 Nov 1844.

<sup>77</sup> Jan Art, ‘The Cult of the Virgin Mary, or the Feminization of the Male Element of the Roman Catholic Church? A Psycho-Historical hypothesis’, 83, in Pasture, Art and Buerman (eds), *Beyond the Feminization Thesis*, 73-83.

<sup>78</sup> The title ‘Father’ was not commonly used before the second half of the nineteenth century (the Scottish priests were ‘Master’ or ‘Maighstir’ before that). Private email correspondence with Alasdair Roberts, 21 Aug 2014.

<sup>79</sup> Daniel Scheidt, ‘The Seminarian: Father-to-Be’, an article in *Godspy*, an online Catholic magazine (26 Sep 2005).

more fully to the Church.<sup>80</sup> However, this did not prevent the priest from obtaining spiritual fatherhood. The medievalist Megan McLaughlin has explained the priests' status 'as men who begot and raised "children of the faith"'.<sup>81</sup> These men were generating children through celebration of sacraments, imposing discipline, and expressing, in McLaughlin's terms, 'appropriately limited affection'.<sup>82</sup>

The spiritual fatherhood of the priest was accompanied by a peculiar spousal relationship. Theological and sociological studies support that the priest was at least metaphorically 'married to the Church', like Raymond Hedin has suggested.<sup>83</sup> The Church could be considered as the priest's bride.<sup>84</sup> The approximate age the seminarians were reaching end of their studies and ordination, their lay contemporaries were getting married.<sup>85</sup> In her study of Dutch Dominicans, Marit Monteiro has also found that the priests (who were regulars but worked also in parishes) could consider the Church, metaphorically, as their bride. With the acquisition of the bride, 'whom they could make bear fruit by preaching, administering the Sacraments, and tending to the pastoral needs of the faithful', came familial responsibilities, mirroring the hegemonic masculinity of men as husbands and 'good fathers to the offspring of the Church'.<sup>86</sup> Along this line of thinking, the seminarian was a 'father to be' with a possible identity crisis at the threshold of this fatherhood (as well as manhood), the ordination.<sup>87</sup> While in medieval life cycle male adulthood was reached with the acquisition of household and wife, priestly adulthood was achieved through Holy Orders.<sup>88</sup> However, it appears this was not a fully straightforward transition. An 1855 obituary of Father Bernard Black (1830-1854), who died three months after his

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<sup>80</sup> Lewis A. Coser, 'The Political Functions of Eunuchism', 881, in *American Sociological Review* 29/6 (1964), 880-885.

<sup>81</sup> Megan McLaughlin, 'Secular and Spiritual Fatherhood in the Eleventh Century', 27, in Murray (ed.), *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities*, 25-43.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>83</sup> See Hedin, *Married to the Church*.

<sup>84</sup> Scheidt, 'The Seminarian: Father-to-Be'.

<sup>85</sup> Cullum, 'Clergy, Masculinity and Transgression in Late medieval England', 179.

<sup>86</sup> Marit Monteiro, 'Repertoires of Catholic Manliness in the Netherlands (1850-1940): A Case Study of the Dutch Dominicans', 138-139, 146, in Pasture, Art and Buerman (eds), *Beyond the Feminization Thesis*, 137-155.

<sup>87</sup> Scheidt, 'The Seminarian: Father-to-Be'.

<sup>88</sup> Jennifer D. Thibodeaux, 'From Boys to Priests: Adolescence, Masculinity and the Parish Clergy in Medieval Normandy', 138, in *idem* (ed.), *Negotiating Clerical Identities: Priests, Monks and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 2010), 136-158.

ordination, stated that he had been ‘still, as it were, on the threshold of manhood’.<sup>89</sup> Junior priests still had some labouring to do before they could be seen as grown men by their fellow clergymen. However, to their parishioners, they were already respected ‘Fathers’, and their adulthood was achieved simultaneously through a metaphorical marriage to the Church and the consequent acquisition of spiritual offspring.

According to the power assigned to the father based on the patriarchal model of the family, the fatherhood of the priest was considered as natural as the fatherhood of God or the fatherhood of the king. Ernest Renan, mentioned above, spoke of priesthood as fatherhood: ‘I should have been as a priest what I am as a father, very much loved by my flock, and as easy-going as possible in the exercise of my authority.’<sup>90</sup> These roles were not restricted to men in the service of the Church. Women religious would similarly see their role in the world as spiritual mothers as well as sisters, caring and nurturing as well as instructing. The paternity the seminarians were aspiring towards was also confirmed by, for example, in two priests’ obituaries in *The Scottish Catholic Directory* of 1838:

Several Congregations have shared in the labours of his ministry: They uniformly repaid him with the love which they would have shown to a parent. [...] The tears rolled down every cheek, and simultaneously a deep and hollow sigh was heaved from every breast, as if for the last farewell to a parent, a brother, a dear and affectionate friend.<sup>91</sup>

Spiritual fatherhood was a large part of priesthood. It buttressed the idea of a manly priest, but in addition to celibacy, there were other problems in asserting seminarian and priestly manliness in a religious atmosphere that was considered increasingly feminine.

Religion in the nineteenth century in the Christian world has received plenty of analytical attention. Initially, the century has been looked at in terms of secularisation, soon to be refuted and replaced by the ‘feminisation thesis’. This was originally devised in the American Protestant context, but has also proved useful in discussing

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<sup>89</sup> *SCD* 1855, 116.

<sup>90</sup> Renan, *Recollections of My Youth*, 142.

<sup>91</sup> *SCD* 1837, 37 and 39

Catholicism.<sup>92</sup> The reduction in the numbers of Churchgoers has been reinterpreted as not a secularisation, but a change in the demographic of those attending the services, as well as the churchgoers subscribing to new forms of religiosity outside of the Established Church and, therefore, outside of the reach of same sort of numerical analysis.

There were certainly signs that women were taking on a greater religious responsibility in the form of philanthropic and devotional activities and that more men may have seen the Christian religion as too ‘namby-pamby’ (to use David Tjeder’s term),<sup>93</sup> and the modernists tended to portray Christianity as outright delusional.<sup>94</sup> Yet the ‘feminisation’ of whoever was conceived to be ‘the enemy’ was ‘a common rhetorical strategy employed to weaken the other party.’<sup>95</sup> As Angela Berlis has pointed out, this tool was used between factions of Catholics as well.<sup>96</sup> However, with conscious and unconscious input, the new feminine form of Christianity could be, in fact, interpreted as more manly than ever.

Efforts from the part of the Christian Churches to make (feminised) religion more accessible to men have been called the re-masculinisation.<sup>97</sup> For example, with the use of manly metaphors, pious values could be made more attractive ‘by painting them in manly colours’.<sup>98</sup> These manly colours would have included themes from nationalism (patriotism), imperialism (militarism, as well as obedience and sacrifice), as well as a newly-discovered set of religion-compatible themes such as sportsmanship (excluding gambling), gentler fatherhood (raising children as the head of the family, paternal attitude towards colonies), comradeship (male-only societies) and, especially, self-control (including abstinence from the abovementioned gambling, but also drinking,

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<sup>92</sup> Patrick Pasture, ‘Beyond the Feminization Thesis: Gendering the History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries’, 10, in Pasture, Art and Buerman (eds), *Beyond the Feminization Thesis*, 7-33.

<sup>93</sup> David Tjeder, ‘Crises of Faith and the Making of Christian Masculinities at the Turn of the Twentieth Century’, 144, in Yvonne Maria Werner (ed.), *Christian Masculinity: Men and Religion in Northern Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Leuven, 2011), 127-145.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Angela Berlis, ‘Celibate or Married Priest? Polemical Gender Discourse in Nineteenth-Century Catholicism’, 61, in Pasture, Art and Buerman (eds), *Beyond the Feminization Thesis*, 57-71. The same point is also made by Pasture, ‘Beyond the Feminization Thesis’, 22.

<sup>96</sup> See Berlis, ‘Celibate or Married Priest?’.

<sup>97</sup> Olaf Blaschke, ‘The Unrecognised Piety of Men: Strategies and Success of the Re-Masculinisation Campaign around 1900’, 35, in Werner (ed.), *Christian Masculinity*, 21-45.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

sexual adventures, and violence outside of the boxing ring).<sup>99</sup> Military metaphors were used, too; for example, a priest might be described as a ‘young soldier of the Cross’, combining decisively manly military prowess with religious devotion.<sup>100</sup>

In Roman Catholicism the role of certain kind of manliness was vilified since the middle of the century.<sup>101</sup> There were multiple concerns that made Catholicism in particular an easy target of fear and animosity. Popular literature painted a picture of priests as morally and sexually degenerate, easily distinguishable in their cassocks (which also made them easy prey for the caricaturists).<sup>102</sup> The priest was to behave differently from other men, too: he was not to go hunting or to frequent pubs as these activities were not considered to be dignified. However, sports and physical exercise were considered acceptable within certain parameters.

### Christian Manliness in the Nineteenth Century

The concept ‘muscular Christianity’ stems from the 1870s. It was invented by journalists to describe an ideal proliferated by writers, most notably Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes.<sup>103</sup> Although Kingsley preferred the term ‘Christian manliness’, both concepts were originally about uniting physical strength with religious conviction

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<sup>99</sup> There were denominational differences in how manliness was conceived and what the main ideals highlighted were, but a collection of relatively common and widespread ideas on Christian manliness can still be discovered. Monteiro, ‘Repertoires of Catholic Manliness’, 140.

<sup>100</sup> *SCD* 1835 (obituary of John Paterson (1810-1834)).

<sup>101</sup> Blaschke, ‘The Unrecognised Piety of Men’, 43. In the context of France, Jennifer W. Olmsted identifies a very specific ‘July monarchy masculinity’, which combined honour, militarism (bravery, self-sacrifice, embrace of duty) and fashionability. Jennifer W. Olmsted, ‘Public and Private Identities in Delacroix’s *Portrait of Charles de Mornay and Anatole Demidoff*’, 49, in Temma Balducci, Heather Belnap Jensen and Pamela J. Warner (eds), *Interior Portraiture and Masculine Identity in France, 1789-1914* (Farnham, 2011), 47-64. James Smalls has also highlighted the importance of the French Revolution with regard to masculinities: ‘the Revolution as historical and personal experience attempted to promote a distinctly male utopian space that fostered deep fraternal bonds among men that were emotional, corporeal, and libidinal’. James Smalls, ‘In Bed with Marat: (Un)Doing Masculinity’, 139, in Balducci, Belnap Jensen and Warner (eds), *Interior Portraiture and Masculine Identity in France*, 135-157. However, even though some of these new forms of masculinity undoubtedly permeated the seminary walls, the seminaries remained a world apart.

<sup>102</sup> R. N. Swanson, ‘Angels incarnate: clergy and masculinity from Gregorian reform to reformation’, 168, in Handley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, 160-77.

<sup>103</sup> Hugh McLeod, ‘The “Sportsman” and the “Muscular Christian”’: Rival Ideals in Nineteenth-Century England’, 86, in Pasture, Art and Buerman (eds), *Beyond the Feminization Thesis*, 85-105.

in order to create something firmly manly and masculine. The concept has been discussed by Hugh McLeod in great detail in his 2012 article which concentrated on the original meaning of the term, referring to ‘muscular Christians’ as those

who claimed that sport, and physical exercise more generally, were not only fun, but had moral, religious and social value, and should be actively promoted by the Church.<sup>104</sup>

The concept has been most famously discussed by Donald. E. Hall as the editor to the collection of essays titled *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*, published in 1994. In the new type of Christian manliness, which was ‘a rather unstable and elusive category’,<sup>105</sup> moral strength was paired up with physical fitness.<sup>106</sup>

Priestly obituaries occasionally make a mention of the subject’s physical appearance and abilities. Masculinity and manliness seem to come up especially in these, reinforcing the ideas on the importance of physical prowess even among priests. For example, Father Murie was commended for his ‘masculine character and athletic qualities’.<sup>107</sup> He was also known to join the ‘young men and lads [...] in their sports and amusements, and imparting to them something of his own vigorous and manly spirit’.<sup>108</sup> Peter John Weir (1831-1917)

had been in his younger days fond of athletic sports, and was a strong supporter of everything at the College that tended to produce a race of strong and healthy priests.<sup>109</sup>

John O’Neill (1859-1920) was remembered for his ‘keen spirit of sportsmanship’.<sup>110</sup> He also ‘enjoyed a reputation among his clerical brethren in Scotland for athletic accomplishments and for physical strength’.<sup>111</sup> Joseph Holder (1845-1917) was also described in terms of his athletic hobbies, which were ‘manly and health-giving’:

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Monteiro, ‘Repertoires of Catholic Manliness’, 154.

<sup>106</sup> McLeod, ‘The “Sportsman” and the “Muscular Christian”’, 96.

<sup>107</sup> *SCD* 1901 (obituary of David Murie (1864-1900)).

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> *SCD* 1901 (obituary).

<sup>110</sup> *SCD* 1921 (obituary).

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

‘Aquatic feats, graceful figures on the keen ice, or outings on loch and river brought him renewed vigour for his mission work.’<sup>112</sup>

This was not for pure admiration of the male form. Physical robustness, as well as a robustness of character, was desirable if not essential for the priest. A sickly boy did not make a very good investment when it came to his longevity and therefore the length of his career. Serving sparsely populated parishes also often necessitated extensive travel, generally on foot but also by sea. William McIntosh (1794-1877) managed the arduous and vast Mission of Barra partially due to ‘his powerful physique, and the manly exercises to which he had been inured in his youth’.<sup>113</sup> Robust health was not an absolute requirement for a priest-to-be, but it was the safer bet. It could also add to the seminarian’s ‘manliness’.

While it is unclear how vigorously the superiors and the professors at the seminaries took part in sporting activities, the boys were certainly allowed some opportunities to exercise. The weekly stroll in the countryside was compulsory to all students at St Nicolas.<sup>114</sup> This was presumably for health reasons, as the Rules of this institution also state that ‘physical recreational games are preferred to sedentary ones’.<sup>115</sup> The new religious sports clubs and boys’ organisations, including Baden-Powell’s Boy Scouts, encouraged physical fitness and did not steer away from competition – provided the play was fair. The health benefits of physical exercise were recognised in the seminaries as well as in other boarding schools. Sport, within certain parameters, was encouraged.

In the photograph below, most likely taken at the turn of the century, the students at the Scots, English and American Colleges in Rome can be seen posing with sports equipment.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> *SCD* 1920 (obituary).

<sup>113</sup> *SCD* 1878 (obituary).

<sup>114</sup> ‘La promenade est d’obligation pour tous les élèves’. *SCA*: CS/6/1/1, ‘Règlement du Séminaire de Saint Nicolas’ (1822).

<sup>115</sup> ‘On ne se permettra dans les récréations aucun jeu qui ne soit autorisé par les Supérieurs, et l’on préférera les jeux d’exercices aux jeux sédentaires.’ *SCA*: CS/6/1/1, ‘Règlement du Séminaire de Saint Nicolas’ (1822). Additionally all of the games played by the seminarians had to be first approved as appropriate by the Superiors.

<sup>116</sup> *SCA*: PG/926, Photograph of ‘Scots, Yanks and Bulls’ in Rome [c. 1900]. Reproduced with the kind permission of Scottish Catholic Archives, Columba House, Edinburgh.





The presence of rounders, cricket and baseball bats highlight the coming together of the seminarians of three nations in a foreign country and in the spirit of sport.

The appropriateness of competitiveness varied between institutions and was not limited to the realm of sport. Marieke Smulders found that Saint Dominic's organisation was heavily organised around competition inside the classrooms as well as on the playing fields.<sup>117</sup> The same applies for the most part in the case of Scots seminary education abroad. Of the Scottish bursars, John Paterson (1810-1834) was, for example, sent to Rome,

where he applied himself to the study of philosophy with so much ardour and success, that he carried several prizes every year, generally the first, in a school consisting of from a hundred and fifty to two hundred students.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Smulders, 'The Boys of Saint Dominic's', 160.

<sup>118</sup> *SCD* 1835 (obituary).

Friendly rivalry appears to have been seen as a positive thing. This is confirmed by Ernest Renan's letters to his mother from St Nicolas, in which he presented his place within the class hierarchy of marks.<sup>119</sup> There are subtle signs that this did not apply to all situations, though. The older students at St Sulpice and Issy experienced a rather different kind of study culture:

The rule of the St. Sulpice Company is to publish everything anonymously, and to write in the most unpretending and retiring style possible. They see clearly the vanity, and the drawbacks of talent, and they will have none of it.<sup>120</sup>

It seems that after the completion of their classical studies at St Nicolas, the boys in their late teens could have entered a massively different seminary environment at Issy and St Sulpice. This could be seen to highlight understanding of differing needs between those in their early teens and those in their late teens and early twenties. The incentive of competition was only practical for a time.

Regardless of the presence of the competitiveness and the new sportsman-glorifying Christianity, Anna Prestjan has reminded us that there are other ways besides muscular Christianity.<sup>121</sup> David Tjeder has agreed that muscular Christianity is 'over-studied, and its importance exaggerated' in the English-speaking world.<sup>122</sup> Another term that must be considered with regard to Christian masculinity or manliness is 'hegemonic masculinity'. The term has most famously been used by R. W. Connell in her *Gender and Power: Society, the Person, and Sexual Politics* (1987) to describe a powerful, culturally idealised manhood. This theory has since been reviewed and elaborated with the familiar conclusion that we abandon the traditional, overly simplistic feminine–masculine dichotomy when discussing gendered behaviour and belonging. Marit Monteiro has spoken of 'forms or repertoires of manliness within Catholicism' which contained three separate types of manifestations: the clerical, the

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119 '[D]ans une détestable composition en version grecque j'ai été le dixième, je me suis un peu relevé en fable française, où j'ai été septième. Tout cela ne vaut pas grand'chose, mais demain nous composons en fable latine, et je suis résolu de combattre de toutes mes forces pour me relever'. Renan, 'Lettre V' (Paris, le 16 octobre 1838), 20, in his *Lettres du Séminaire*.

<sup>120</sup> Renan, *Recollections of My Youth*, 193-194.

<sup>121</sup> Anna Prestjan, 'The Man in the Clergyman: Swedish Priest Obituaries, 1905-1937', 117, in Werner (ed.), *Christian Masculinity*, 115-126.

<sup>122</sup> Tjeder, 'Crises of Faith and the Making of Christian Masculinities', 133.

monastic and the secular.<sup>123</sup> As a religious man, a priest could have been considered as ‘the personification of a Christian man’.<sup>124</sup> Yet, at the same time, he risked appearing less manly than his flock.

## Clerical Masculinities, Celibate Manliness

The manliness of the priest is not a new topic, and it seems that as well as the regulars, the secular clergy has started to receive the attention it is due. Seminarians, however, have rarely been considered.<sup>125</sup> Most of the literature dealing with Christian clerical masculinity has so far concentrated on medieval Europe. Jo Ann McNamara has discussed a masculine identity crisis between 1050 and 1150, dubbed the *Herrenfrage*; this involved a struggle for leadership between celibate and married men.<sup>126</sup> Clerical celibacy was always the ideal, but it was only properly enforced within the Western Church from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In consequence of the enforcement of clerical celibacy, she explained, it was both the standard masculinity and femininity that were redefined. In 1999, R. N. Swanson famously suggested that clerics could have been ‘the third gender’ in medieval society, not being quite men or women in their celibate state.<sup>127</sup> This interesting proposal, however, has been widely discredited since the more widely held conviction that a third gender would not suffice because of the multitude of different expressions and representations of gendered sort, with not

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<sup>123</sup> Monteiro, ‘Repertoires of Catholic Manliness’, 138.

<sup>124</sup> Prestjan, ‘The Man in the Clergyman’, 115. It is important to note that the priest would have only embodied the religious ideal, and not the general manly ideal, like Thomas Buerman has claimed: Thomas Buerman, ‘The Catholic Priest and Hegemonic Masculinity in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century’, 35, in Izabella Agárdi, Berteké Waaldijk and Carla Salvetera (eds), *Making Sense, Crafting History: Practices of Producing Historical Meaning* (Pisa, 2010), 33-54.

<sup>125</sup> The topic has also been picked up elsewhere in Europe. See for example Paul Airiau, ‘Le prêtre Catholique: masculin, neutre, autre? Des débuts du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle au milieu du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle’, in Régis Revenin (ed.), *Hommes et Masculinités de 1789 à nos Jours: Contributions à l’Histoire du Genre et de la Sexualité en France* (Paris, 2007), 192-207; Jan Art and Thomas Buerman, ‘Anticléricalisme et genre au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: le prêtre Catholique, principal défi à l’image hégémonique de l’homme’, in *Masculinités: Série Sextant 27* (2009), 323-337; Yvonne Maria Werner, *Katolsk Manlighet: Det Antimoderna Alternativet – Katolska Missionären och Lekmän i Skandinavien* (Gothenburg, 2014).

<sup>126</sup> See Jo Ann McNamara, ‘The *Herrenfrage*: The Restructuring of the Gender System, 1050-1150’, in Clare A. Lees (ed.), *Medical Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis, 1994), 3-29.

<sup>127</sup> See Swanson, ‘Angels Incarnate’.

even such singular concept as ‘clerical masculinity’. For example, secular clerical masculinity was distinguished from that of monks (‘regulars’), because of their level of contact with the world.<sup>128</sup>

In the nineteenth century, the modernists were portraying priests as unmanly and hypocritical.<sup>129</sup> They were suspected of unpatriotic allegiances (to the Pope), of seducing the holding power over women (at the confessional) and children (at the schools), and of converting the simple with false promises. The sharpest tongues – and pens – drafted an image of the morally and sexually degenerate Catholic priest. The priests, in Scotland, Britain, France and elsewhere, were an easy target with the enclosed institutional organisation, a vast transnational network, and an air of distinctiveness, paired with a near-mystical world of saints, candles, Latin and incense. The Victorian science of physiognomy also seemed to confirm that outward beauty and fitness would imply similar inward qualities. Beards, for example, were considered a sign of primal manliness and became very fashionable in the mid-nineteenth century; however, it was considered demeaning for priests to indulge in such trends.<sup>130</sup> In his article on beards in Victorian Britain, Christopher Oldstone-Moore has explained the scarcity of beards and moustaches among clergy. Church leaders were objecting to fashions, and beards were from the 1850s onwards very trendy. The oft-quoted passage of a tract of Alexander Rowland’s, *The Human Hair, Popularly and Physiologically Considered* (1853), reiterated the point, calling ‘every man with a beard [...] a man of strongly-marked individuality — frequently genius’.<sup>131</sup> The bearded man had ‘formed his own opinions’, was ‘straightforward [...], frequently reckless’, and would ‘not fawn or cringe to any man’.<sup>132</sup> It continued:

The very fact of his wearing a beard, in the face, as it were, of society, is a proof that his heart and conscience is above the paltry aid of a daily penny shave. If men would not shave from boyhood up, they would find their beards

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<sup>128</sup> Tanya Stabler Miller, ‘Mirror of the Scholarly (Masculine) Soul: Scholastics, Beguines and Gendered Spirituality in Medieval Paris’, 241-243, in Thibodeaux (ed.), *Negotiating Clerical Identities*, 238-264. For example Dutch Dominicans, who were working in parishes, were ‘cultivating of double identity’ (clerical and religious). Monteiro, ‘Repertoires of Catholic Manliness’, 144.

<sup>129</sup> Tjeder, ‘Crises of Faith and the Making of Christian Masculinities’, 144.

<sup>130</sup> Oldstone-Moore, ‘The Beard Movement in Victorian Britain’, 9 and 27.

<sup>131</sup> Alexander Rowland, *The Human Hair, Popularly and Physiologically Considered* (London, 1853), 106.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

would be flowing, their moustaches light and airy, both adding a dignity to manhood and a venerableness to age, to which shorn humanity must be strangers.<sup>133</sup>

In the nineteenth century, Protestant clergymen were allowed to and did sport beards, whereas their Catholic counterparts were not and did not.<sup>134</sup> Although Oldstone-Moore speaks of the clergy, he does not discuss the Catholic priest, who was visibly different from his Protestant counterparts. In fact, the significance of a clean shave was highlighted by for example the militantly anti-Catholic Charles Kingsley in his novel *Westward Ho!* (1855). Kingsley's heroes and villains were calibrated on a sliding scale according to the length of their beard, with the hero sporting a full beard in contrast to the treacherous clean-shaven Jesuit.<sup>135</sup> In his *Yeast* (1848) seven years earlier, the main character delivered a passionate defence of his virtuous beard, concluding that

in proportion to a man's piety he wears less hair, from the young curate who shaves off his whiskers, to the Popish priest who shaves his crown!<sup>136</sup>

An issue of *Punch, or the London Charivari* published a satirical piece on clergymen's beards in 1864, stating that

no Popish priest in this country has entrenched upon this prerogative. The Dissenters shave in gloomy silence, leaving this noble field of ecclesiastical adornment to the Clergy of the Establishment.<sup>137</sup>

The marvellously illustrated article continued to present different styles of beards, some of which it considered assertions of 'vigorous manhood', ending the piece in mockery: 'The beard alone is wanting to restore unity and piety to the land; it is a sure

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> The instructions for acceptable appearance for Roman Catholic priests came from above. In an interesting entry of *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, we discover that through centuries the Church has certainly not been consistent with its policy on facial hair. Herbert Thurson, 'Beard', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1907). A transcription by Kevin Knight at *New Advent*.

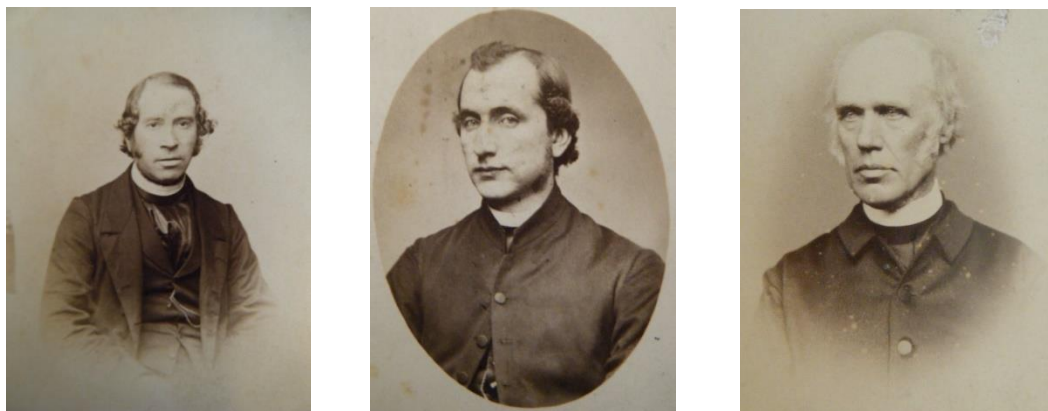
<sup>135</sup> See Oldstone-Moore, 'The Beard Movement in Victorian Britain', 15.

<sup>136</sup> Charles Kingsley, *Yeast*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Philadelphia, 1899), 52, quoted in *ibid.*, 15.

<sup>137</sup> 'Ad Clerum', in *Punch, or the London Charivari* (5 Mar 1864), 98.

intimation that the clergy are above the poor vanities of the world.’<sup>138</sup> These vanities also included the temporary prohibition of glasses, and activities considered dignity-stripping, such as cycling.<sup>139</sup>

In general, the Roman Catholic clergy shaved regularly. Yet based on a small sample of portrait photographs examined sideburns seem to have been acceptable, although clean-shave was definitely the norm among both secular and regular clergy.<sup>140</sup>



The clergy were to be exemplary and to rise above it all by forgoing ‘activities characteristic of lay masculinity, while remaining in contact with lay people’ as well as ‘to provide the laity with pastoral care while maintaining their image as moral and knowledgeable pastors’.<sup>141</sup> However, priests also

emphasized their own masculinity by pointing out the courage they displayed in following their faith and the ‘completeness’ of the Christian ideals of masculinity, and contrasted it to secular men, ‘incomplete’ and prone to debauchery, gambling and drinking.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> See Oldstone-Moore, ‘The Beard Movement in Victorian Britain’, 27.

<sup>140</sup> From left to right, the photographs are [1] SCA: MC/23/10/11: detail of *carte-de-visite* of ‘William Clapperton’ by J. Abbot, Dundee [c1850-c1890]; [2] SCA: MC/23/11/4: detail of *carte-de-visite* of ‘Rev. Edward Joseph Hannan’ by Andre Orange, Edinburgh [c1879-1891]; [3] SCA: MC/23/13/3: detail, of *carte-de-visite* of ‘John MacPherson’ by Rae, Dumfries [c1850-c1871]. Reproduced with the kind permission of Scottish Catholic Archives, Columba House, Edinburgh.

<sup>141</sup> Stabler Miller, ‘Mirror of the Scholarly (Masculine) Soul’, 239.

<sup>142</sup> Pasture, ‘Beyond the Feminization Thesis’, 22.

The manly self-control of the priest in terms of his sexuality is not so far from the manly self-control of the man with a successfully controlled drinking- or gambling problem. Similarly, priestly celibacy, rather than seen as emasculating, was seen as ‘the ultimate rule, the supreme test of self-control’,<sup>143</sup> and the ‘masculine accomplishment, a signifier of virile strength in the face of carnal weakness’.<sup>144</sup> In the nineteenth century the priests tended to emphasise the great extent of their own masculinity by highlighting the courage and ‘completeness’ they demonstrated in their highly disciplined lives.<sup>145</sup> Priests could, on account of their purity, be closer to God as virginal warriors of the Church.<sup>146</sup> This form of self-control is one of the aspects each seminarian was encouraged to practise throughout his studies; the imposed ideas of clerical manliness were gradually adapted by the students who were given few alternatives.

An interesting approach has been taken by Anna Prestjan whose study traces ‘the man in the clergyman’ in early twentieth-century obituaries.<sup>147</sup> In her analysis of 220 obituaries she has found that what she classified as ‘manly’ virtues in the eyes of the contemporaries (dutifulness, uprightness, homosociability, competency) were far more numerous than some considered more priestly or ‘Christian’ (piousness, love), which shows that it was very important to highlight the manliness, as well as the holiness, of the deceased individual.<sup>148</sup> She concluded that ‘it is clearly pointed out that the clergyman in question was really a man’, and that they were ‘not alienated from worldly realities, but were firmly anchored in the society of their time’.<sup>149</sup> Although it is difficult to disagree with the final conclusion, Prestjan’s study is impossible to repeat to a satisfactory standard.<sup>150</sup> In any case, Prestjan’s conclusions

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<sup>143</sup> Hedin, *Married to the Church*, 16.

<sup>144</sup> Jennifer D. Thibodeaux, ‘Introduction: Rethinking the Medieval Clergy and Masculinity’, 2, in *idem* (ed.), *Negotiating Clerical Identities*, 1-15.

<sup>145</sup> Pasture, ‘Beyond the Feminization Thesis’, 22.

<sup>146</sup> Thibodeaux, ‘Introduction: Rethinking the Medieval Clergy and Masculinity’, 6.

<sup>147</sup> See Prestjan, ‘The Man in the Clergyman’.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.* Prestjan’s study, however, is incredibly difficult to repeat to a satisfactory standard, as the issue of classification of adjectives (that could have meant different things at this time, and were in this case written in Swedish rather than English, into which they have been translated) is followed by counting words – not necessarily describing the person directly, but possibly his intellect or his preaching abilities – within flowery prose.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>150</sup> The very first practical and methodological issue of classification of adjectives into two groups (which were in this case originally in Swedish rather than English), is followed by the counting of

are affirmed by other scholars. Margaret Monteiro has postulated that ‘Celibate masculinity required for priests was [...] explicitly moulded according to the norms of manliness in secular society.’<sup>151</sup> The clerics were

true men, who could prove their manliness by profiling themselves as strong leaders of the Catholic community, being compassionate pastors as well as competitive priests, militant and submissive at the same time.<sup>152</sup>

Even though the gender identity of the secular cleric might have been ‘fraught with contradictions’,<sup>153</sup> secular clerical masculinity can be recognised as a variety of masculinity.<sup>154</sup> This is regardless of the fact that it is ‘an artificial construct, one created by an institution for imposition on a select group of society’.<sup>155</sup>

## Conclusion: A Special Career

Although entry to the seminary was by no means a guarantee of a career as a member of the clergy, the individual was still set apart,<sup>156</sup> ‘marked as the right kind of

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these words within flowery prose. It is uncertain whether Prestjan counted all of the words, including those not necessarily describing the person directly (e.g. but possibly his ‘masculine’ intellect or his ‘manly’ preaching abilities). The words Prestjan classified as primarily ‘manly’ are *dutiful and loyal* (strenuous, orderly, punctual, careful, zealous, diligent, untiring, serious), *down-to-earth* (natural, undisguised, popular, frank, humorous, playful), *upright and honest* (honourable, reliable, confidence-inspiring, faithful, solid), *(homo)social* (hospitable, winning, pleasant, well-liked, charming, friendly), *competent* (practical, dynamic, resourceful, enterprising, energetic), *authoritative* (practical, dynamic, resourceful, enterprising, energetic), *alert and energetic* (witty, direct, lively, cheerful), *strong* (sturdy), *strong-willed* (obstinate, goal-oriented, convinced, determined, resolute, persistent, persevering), *bold* (fearless, intrepid), and *principled and strong in character*. Her list of ‘Christian’ attributes includes *humble* (simple, modest, unaffected), *gentle* (calm, quiet, delightful, harmonious, reserved, considerate), *servicing* (helpful, unselfish, generous, accommodating, obliging), *pious* (piousness, devoutness), *trusting* (self-possessed, patient, enduring, contented, convinced, composed) and *loving* (tender, charitable, benign). Prestjan also claimed that she has ignored some adjectives which she describes as neutral, such as *happy*, *intelligent* and *noble*. The list, as the author stated herself, is somewhat arbitrary, and particularly ‘intelligent’ could be considered very masculine at this point. Ibid., 120

<sup>151</sup> Monteiro, ‘Repertoires of Catholic Manliness’, 139.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 146.

<sup>153</sup> Stabler Miller, ‘Mirror of the Scholarly (Masculine) Soul’, 239.

<sup>154</sup> Cullum, ‘Clergy, Masculinity and Transgression in Late medieval England’, 186.

<sup>155</sup> Jennifer D. Thibodeaux, ‘From Boys to Priests’, 153-154.

<sup>156</sup> Renan, ‘Lettre XXVI’ (Issy, 6 June 1843), 207, in his *Lettres du Séminaire*.



person'.<sup>157</sup> Aspirants to priesthood were special, and were encouraged to think of themselves as such. The fact that they were educated in a boarding school setting 'enabled them to use prayer, community living, and celibacy to identify with and internalize the role of priest'.<sup>158</sup> Although many of the institutions attended by the Scottish Mission's seminarians were elite schools that admitted both secular and ecclesiastic students, the fact that they qualified as seminaries indicates a level of dedication to priestly formation. The religious male-dominated environment acted as both a home and school and was aimed at dissemination certain masculine ideals from the very beginning. Like in interwar Holland, the Catholic identity of the seminary 'had profound consequences for the ideals of masculine self-image of the pupils'.<sup>159</sup>

This shared experience also gave the seminarians 'a bond with other men who had gone through the same experiences and shared more than a set of intellectual tools'.<sup>160</sup> It 'acculturated them into a world of shared experience that set them off from the uneducated perhaps even more than their actual learning'.<sup>161</sup> Ernest Renan considered the immersive seminary education so tailored that the students were rendered 'unfit for any secular work'.<sup>162</sup> He explained that expulsion was the only punishment at St Nicholas, and the students 'dreaded an announcement like a sentence of death'.<sup>163</sup> The change from the seminary to the world was incredibly drastic for Renan, who gave up the career path before ordination; he felt his own premature exit from the seminary left him 'to re-commence life from the beginning, at the age of three and twenty'.<sup>164</sup>

The role of the priest would have been familiar to a Roman Catholic individual from very early on, but it was the actual living and breathing of the role that would only come with practice. Part of this role to be assumed was to be *a man* of God. While it is important to recognise the existence and infinite interplay of ideas about masculinity, the seminary did promote a particular masculine culture that was perceived to be different from that of the secular world. Like Christianity more broadly

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<sup>157</sup> Mazo Karras, 'Separating the Men from the Goats', 206.

<sup>158</sup> Stanosz, *The Struggle for Celibacy*, 208.

<sup>159</sup> Smulders, 'The Boys of Saint Dominic's', 162.

<sup>160</sup> Mazo Karras, 'Sharing Wine, Women, and Song', 196.

<sup>161</sup> Mazo Karras, 'Separating the Men from the Goats', 193.

<sup>162</sup> Renan, *Recollections of My Youth*, 125.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 345 (Appendix: Letter to Abbé Cognat, Paris, 12 Nov 1845).

in the nineteenth century, the Roman Catholic priesthood and its pious values were made more attractive by associating them with established masculine themes. While the priest could not assume all of the aspects of the roles of a father, a son, a brother and a husband, most of the traits of these roles were well within his grasp. Being a man of God in the nineteenth century was not as conflicting as one might initially think. The kind of masculinity the seminarians were training to perform was an artificial construct. It was at once missionary, clerical, Catholic, priestly and Christian as well as drawing generously from much older non-religious traditions. Yet, on the whole, the seminarians were, as men of their time, remarkably unremarkable. The Scottish seminarians and priests of the Roman Catholic Church rationalised their position within the society using the familiar familial metaphors. The seminarians were as ‘manly’ and ‘masculine’ as anyone else in the world. Although becoming ‘a man’ in the seminary was almost a by-product to becoming ‘a priest’, this was no less significant to them as individuals. What is certain is that these young individuals, who were living with other men in a tight regime, did not consider that there was any conflict with being a manly man of God.

As well as irrefutably manly, we have established that the seminarians were taught to think of themselves as special. The following chapter will expand on this point by addressing the significance of seminary education in terms of status. Boarding schools, in particular, perpetuated social stratification,<sup>165</sup> moulding children into gentlemen as well as priests; ‘seminary indoctrination’ was, arguably, even stronger.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Abigail Gundlach Graham, ‘The Power of Boarding Schools: A Historiographical Review’, 470 and 479, in *American Educational History Journal* 39 (2012), 467-481.

<sup>166</sup> Gibson, *Social History of French Catholicism*, 73.



## Chapter IV: Class and Profession

After the French Revolution, British society continued to rely on the established model of rank, class, order, situation and degree. The monarchy, parliament, law, education, the army and the family all remained organised around ‘social principles of assumed inequality’.<sup>167</sup> The Christian Churches, too, continued to rely on their hierarchical structures, perhaps none more so than the Roman Catholic one. Even though the humble parish priest was the lowest of the large clerical hierarchy, he still ranked well above lay Catholics. As a man of God, he had spiritual power among his parishioners, as well as varying degrees of social power within and beyond the religious community he served. Much of this power was not simply acquired upon ordination; it was accumulated during an arduous period of moulding at the seminary. The moulding instilled into the seminarian an awareness of the power he was to wield and the kind of class or rank he was to belong to.

This chapter addresses the seminarians’ experience through a very broad lens of class, including rank and status in society. Class is used initially as a rough category, as a tool for objective categorisation in terms of social strata while considering the relative social mobility and future prospects of the seminarians. Although a career in the clergy was a calling and a sense of vocation should not be belittled, it is important to discuss the socio-economic background of seminarians. ‘Recruitment’ from the vicars’ apostolic theological perspective was less to do with finding willing individuals than with finding individuals who might have a vocation but had not yet realised it. The word ‘recruitment’ is not ideal, but alternatives do not convey the complications inherent in finding studious children with a sense of vocation as well as ‘respectable’ parents. A calling to priesthood might be misinterpreted by the entrant himself as well as the bishops, which is why the Scottish Mission’s recruitment patterns are here examined in a practical way, considering the active role of the bishop in the admission process in accepting only the kinds of individuals that he believed could become priests. The change in the individuals’ socio-economic status that took place due to the seminary education abroad – for both the priests and those who pursued different

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<sup>167</sup> David Cannadine, *Class in Britain* (New Haven, 1998), 104.

careers – is addressed by using limited but nevertheless helpful data on the seminarians’ parental occupations, drawn mainly from census records. The financial prospects of the priest of the Scottish Mission in the nineteenth century is also assessed, providing a telling contrast between his relative spiritual and economic power.

In the second half of the chapter, class is used as a more flexible and subjective concept, relating to identifications in terms of rank and status and the relative prestige of priesthood. As well as becoming a man of spiritual significance, the seminarian was also becoming a professional, a respectable man and a gentleman. His was a position that could only be achieved after a rigorous education and which required constant maintenance and reinforcement. The total institution of a boarding school could ‘cultivate elite status or impose assimilation’;<sup>168</sup> in the case of the seminary it did both. We consider the professional status of Roman Catholic clergymen as well as their genteelness and eliteness. How these individuals tended to represent themselves to others is examined through a collection of portrait photographs of priests. The *carte-de-visite* photographs enabled the young priests, in particular, to assert their newly-verified status and men of God as well as gentlemen.

### **Class, Respectability and Recruitment**

All men were not equal, but many had numerous things in common with other men in similar life situations. In the nineteenth century, in particular, people begun to have a growing ‘sense of inhabiting a world dominated by class cleavages’.<sup>169</sup> These cleavages were unstable, but allowed to an extent a classification to take place, and it was especially the labour movements that encouraged the working people to look to their fellow labourers for strength. Whether we can speak of a distinct ‘class identity’

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<sup>168</sup> Abigail Gundlach Graham, ‘The Power of Boarding Schools: A Historiographical Review’, 467, in *American Educational History Journal* 39 (2012), 467.

<sup>169</sup> James Thompson, ‘After the Fall: Class and Political Language in Britain, 1780-1900’, 796, in *The Historical Journal* 39/3 (1996), 785-806.

is debatable, but comparable socio-economic situation could bring people together in both literal and figurative sense.

The concept of class can be a very helpful tool for the historian but it has become somewhat burdensome since Marx's time. From 'class struggle' theorists have moved on to use the concept to differentiate not between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, but between people of a multitude of different economic statuses in society, each wielding a differing degree of power. In the mid-1910s Max Weber developed a three-tier system of stratification, incorporating status and party with economic class and thereby recognising the multidimensionality of power wielded in society.<sup>170</sup> Economic power alone did not suffice as a unit of comparison, and it was joined with other kinds of power significant in human societies: respect of others or prestige ('status' or social power) and the power to achieve despite opposition from others ('party' or political power). This intertwining of wealth and class with other kinds of power remains relevant when discussing Scottish Catholic priesthood. When it came to the background of the seminarians, it was the parents' 'respectability' rather than socio-economic status that was considered important in the nineteenth century.

The individuals who were allowed to enter the seminaries faced close scrutiny. They needed to have a keen interest in becoming a priest, inclination towards study, good character, and preferably the first year's tuition fees. In addition, the 'respectable' background of the child, a clean reputation of the individual as well as of his family, was one of the criteria:

not only the young men themselves, but also their parents must have a good moral character, and [there] must have never been any public scandal in the course of their lives.<sup>171</sup>

Respectability could be translated as 'good moral character'. This was also a common term in the nineteenth century used as 'a badge of middle-class status'.<sup>172</sup> Furthermore, a scandal-free family background was intimately connected with the priest's influence.

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<sup>170</sup> For a recent translation, see Max Weber, 'The distribution of power within the community: Classes, Stände, Parties', transl. by Dagmar Waters et al., in *Journal of Classical Sociology* 10 (2010), 153-172.

<sup>171</sup> SCA: OL/1/11/1, Bp Scott to John Chisholm, Greenock 27 Apr 1835.

<sup>172</sup> Thompson, 'After the Fall', 803.

The man of God was to rise above his parishioners, and any indication of a weakness might chip away his authority. Bishop Scott likened priesthood to marriage:

Every thing which would be said against grandfather's or great grand Fathers would be comm[uni]cated and exposed by zealous neighbours, and if any thing could be said or even surmised it would do away with the respectability and influence of that priest, in any place where such things true or false could be alledged [sic].<sup>173</sup>

Any rumours 'trumpeted forth by jealous or evil designed people' about a priest could too easily 'do away with his influence among his flock'.<sup>174</sup> This chipping away of clerical authority could not be tolerated as it would reflect badly on the Scottish Mission as well as the individual priest.

Good parents also implied 'good breeding' or good lineage. Although the significance of 'race' will be further examined in the following chapter, being related to a priest or – even better – a bishop, might make all the difference in prospects. For example in 1830 bishops Scott and Kyle opposed Bishop McDonald, who wanted to ordain one McColl, whose family were apparently 'partly mad, and who is himself almost totally destitute of common sense, and has not made, indeed cannot make, for want of judgment, and memory, almost any studies at all.'<sup>175</sup> It was not only his family that was problematic – McColl's lack of learning was also, in Scott's opinion, a serious obstacle, stating that 'as for Theology he does not know so much of it as some of our Cotton Mill girls'.<sup>176</sup> Furthermore, the troublesome McColl had also had 'some natural children', which, as Scott pointed out, would be enough to disqualify him from Presbyterian ministry.<sup>177</sup> Why McDonald was adamant in wanting to ordain him is not clear, but his fellow bishops thought that a priest such as him would have a detrimental impact on the delicate image of Roman Catholicism in Scotland, and was therefore not worth the risk. The key to a conflict-free living in a Presbyterian country was 'keeping a low profile so as not to attract attention and cause a reaction from a suspicious society

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<sup>173</sup> SCA: DD/1/6/9, Bp Scott to Carruthers, Greenock 27 May 1837.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> SCA: OL/1/5/7, A typed transcript of letter from Bp Scott to Abbé McPherson, 16 Sep 1830 (transcription of OL/2/4/13).

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

ever-ready to decry popery'.<sup>178</sup> This links to wider recruitments patterns of the Scottish Mission.

In 1731 Bishop Gordon lamented that too many seminarians were low-born and had poor parents, which 'made them despised when they returned priests'.<sup>179</sup> Based on concerns raised above about the priest's influence this was a valid concern. In a society where each individual was to know their place, those who attempted to better themselves were seen as arrogant, unwilling to accept the kind of life their fellow community members lead. Bishop Geddes was of the opinion that those born in 'low circumstances' had to overcome a plethora of additional difficulties related to the social group they stemmed from, such as 'a littleness of mind, a timidity of temper, a vulgarity of sentiment, and too often the grossness of vice'.<sup>180</sup> But regardless of the potential problems of 'low-born' entrants, the Mission required labourers, and the vicars apostolic sought promising individuals with a slightly more flexible eye than before.

The social origins of the new generation of priests in the nineteenth century were more varied than ever.<sup>181</sup> Bishop Gordon generally preferred 'children of the better sort' when it came to aspirants to priesthood.<sup>182</sup> However, already during the first half of the eighteenth century these were hard to find and keep due to competing prospects.<sup>183</sup> A career in the Scottish Catholic clergy in the following century was not a particularly attractive one, either. The nobility and the wealthy had been evading the occupation as an option for their sons for at least a century,<sup>184</sup> recognising the hard labour and the lack of affluence that faced those who followed a calling. In 1812, it

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<sup>178</sup> John F. McCaffrey, 'The Catholic Church and Scottish Politics since 1707', 22, in James Kirk (ed.), *The Scottish Churches and the Union Parliament 1707-1999* (Edinburgh, 2001), 22-47.

<sup>179</sup> SCA: John Thomson and Paul McPherson, 'A History of the Scottish Mission', vol. II, 190, quoted in Christine Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland 1789-1829* (Edinburgh, 1983), 67. Original of vol. II currently catalogued as TM/2.

<sup>180</sup> SCA: CC, *Scotichronicon*, 268, quoted in Johnson, *Developments*, 204.

<sup>181</sup> This was not exclusive to Roman Catholics within the United Kingdom, either. Robert Lee, 'Class, Industrialization and the Church of England: The Case of the Durham Diocese in the Nineteenth Century', in *Past & Present* 191 (2006), 165.

<sup>182</sup> SCA: Thomson and McPherson, 'A History of the Scottish Mission', vol. II, 190, quoted in Johnson, *Developments*, 67.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>184</sup> '[T]he Clergy and the Youths Parents are in general so poor that they can scarce furnish them with genteel Cloaths'. SCA: John Thomson, 'A History of the Scottish Mission', vol. I, 532, quoted in Johnson, *Developments*, 61. Original of vol. I currently catalogued as TM/1.



was complained that ‘parents in tolerably comfortable circumstances’ were reluctant to let their children to pursue a clerical career due to the inevitable poverty of missionary priests.<sup>185</sup>

In addition to poor economic prospects, a career in the clergy would mean a life with no natural offspring<sup>186</sup> – and one did not need to belong to the gentry to consider this an issue. For example, in 1838 William Fraser’s parents decided against sending their youngest son to Blairs regardless of him being very keen because the eldest of their two sons was ill and ‘not likely to recover’.<sup>187</sup> Unlike the clergy of the Church of England, who in the nearly two hundred years between 1660 and 1850 remained for the most part ‘the sons of clergy’,<sup>188</sup> the Roman Catholic clerics could not achieve a father-to-son occupational succession.<sup>189</sup> Connections were more likely to be ties of nominal patronage between uncles and nephews, and bishops being obliging to influential friends.<sup>190</sup>

Towards the later eighteenth century the Mission begun to court what it considered next best to the wealthy gentry, referred to by John Watts as farmers of ‘the better sort’, ‘inferior rank’, as well as ‘those who worked their own small farms, subtenants, and those who combined crofting with a trade’.<sup>191</sup> Christine Johnson has affirmed this, stating that by the 1780s most priest were the sons of ‘lowest class of farmers’.<sup>192</sup> In addition, the sons of town tradesmen and merchants, who had previously shown no interest, were also to become more conspicuous. The recruits at the government-funded Maynooth College in Ireland were also ‘generally the sons of substantial farmer, or graziers, or shopkeepers and merchants in the towns’.<sup>193</sup> This trend can be seen in continental Europe as well. An anti-Catholic tract claimed that in France, the priests were recruited ‘mostly from the inferior classes of the society’ which actually

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<sup>185</sup> SCA: BL/4/398/11 (1), Fr Scott to Cameron, Glasgow 30 Jun 1812.

<sup>186</sup> The acquisition of spiritual offspring is discussed in Chapter III.

<sup>187</sup> SCA: OL/1/25/8, Alexander McSwein to Bp Scott, Beaufort Castle 25 Jul 1838.

<sup>188</sup> Jeremy Gregory, ‘Gender and the Clerical Profession in England, 1660-1850’, 238, in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *Gender and Christian Religion* (Woodbridge, 1998), 235-271.

<sup>189</sup> See Johnson, *Developments*, 209.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>191</sup> John Watts, ‘Appendix III: A Note on the Issue of Students’ Social Backgrounds’, 253, in his *Scalan: The Forbidden College, 1716-1799* (East Linton, 1999), 252-254.

<sup>192</sup> Johnson, *Developments*, 204.

<sup>193</sup> No source indicated. Quoted by Jeremiah Newman, *Maynooth and Georgian Ireland* (Galway, 1979), 93.

was not far from the truth.<sup>194</sup> The priest remained an *être séparé*,<sup>195</sup> but as recruitment patterns shifted priestly beginnings could be far humbler than before. This had an impact on the education as well as the new generation of priests, who were moulded through elite education into elite men, regardless of this ‘eliteness’ being a “‘know it when you see it’” concept, characterized primarily by a person’s discernible social influence’.<sup>196</sup>

Our eagerness to seek order and to classify has resulted in the creation of a multitude of social classification schemes. These allow an individual to be placed in his or her place in the hierarchically-ordered world based on their sex, age, wealth, occupation and education among other things. However, as these markers multiply, the stratification gets more and more complicated. Differentiation can be made, for example, between skill type, skill level or field of work. Although this approach does not allow us to make definitive conclusions on the individuals, a large enough sample enables us to answer questions about direction and verify whether a Catholic seminary education (including a period of study in France in this case) affected the life prospects of these individuals positively or negatively.

### Socio-Economic Background of Seminarians

Parents’ occupational information is rarely included in the junior seminary registers for Aquhorties and Blairs.<sup>197</sup> These usually only list parents’ names (if they are mentioned at all), as well as whether a student became a priest or not. However, the information found in the registers has been used, as far as possible, to locate entries in the decennial Scottish Census records from 1841 onwards as well as the Catholic Parish Registers. With the occupational titles, the task of rudimentary classification and therefore comparison between individuals is made possible. In order to check the conclusions of Watts and Johnson on the relative socio-economic standing of

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<sup>194</sup> [Anonymous], *Le Prêtre Catholique en France* (Toulouse, 1864), 10. BNF 8-LD11-23.

<sup>195</sup> Nicholas Atkin and Frank Tallett, *Priests, Prelates and People: A History of European Catholicism since 1750* (London, 2003), 93.

<sup>196</sup> Graham, ‘The Power of Boarding Schools’, 469.

<sup>197</sup> SCA: CB/4/1, Blairs College Register (page numbers referring to original, photocopy consulted); CB/4/3, Register of Aquhorties and Blairs Students, 1799-1858.

seminarians' parents, a survey of occupational titles of the head of household (primarily, but not exclusively, the father) has been conducted. Out of 225 students' families, a parent's occupation for 146 individuals could be reliably determined. In order to better understand the wide variety of occupational titles, these have then been classified to enable analysis.

Van de Putte and Miles have at length discussed the problems of translating historical occupations into 'a meaningful class or social scheme'.<sup>198</sup> In his study on social mobility in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain, Andrew Miles used a scheme derived from the Registrar-General's occupational and social classification scheme for the census of 1951.<sup>199</sup> In it he devised five different classes: 'professional' ('higher middle class'), 'intermediate' ('lower middle class'), 'skilled working class', 'semi-skilled working class' and 'unskilled working class'.<sup>200</sup> As with any classifications system, it contains a plethora of problems.<sup>201</sup> Yet for our purposes, this provides a helpful general framework for translating nineteenth-century professions into a comparable socio-economic status, rank or class.

The lack of 'nobility' or landed gentry in this classification is reflective of the changes society was going through at the time. John Bossy has found that already from about 1740 the (English) clergy was 'substantially recruited from other sectors of the community',<sup>202</sup> and Ralph Gibson has found that in the nineteenth century the French Catholic clergy was recruited largely from 'poor peasantry'.<sup>203</sup> In his discussion of English seminarian social origins between 1590 and 1750, it sufficed for Bossy to have two classifications: 'sons of gentry' and 'sons of commoners'.<sup>204</sup> Although they still had gravitas, the nobility was indisputably in decline, paving the way for 'the professional' who worked for a living rather than just obtaining income from land.

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<sup>198</sup> Bart Van de Putte and Andrew Miles, 'A Social Classification Scheme for Historical Occupational Data: Partner Selection and Industrialism in Belgium and England, 1800-1918', 61, in *Historical Methods* 38/2 (2005), 61-89.

<sup>199</sup> Andrew Miles, *Social Mobility in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-century England* (Basingstoke, 1999).

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 191-192.

<sup>201</sup> For a comprehensive overview of the problems of classification particularly with regard to census occupations, see for example Matthew Woollard, 'The Classification of Occupations in the 1881 Census of England and Wales', in *History & Computing* 10 (1998), 17-36.

<sup>202</sup> John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (London, 1975), 200.

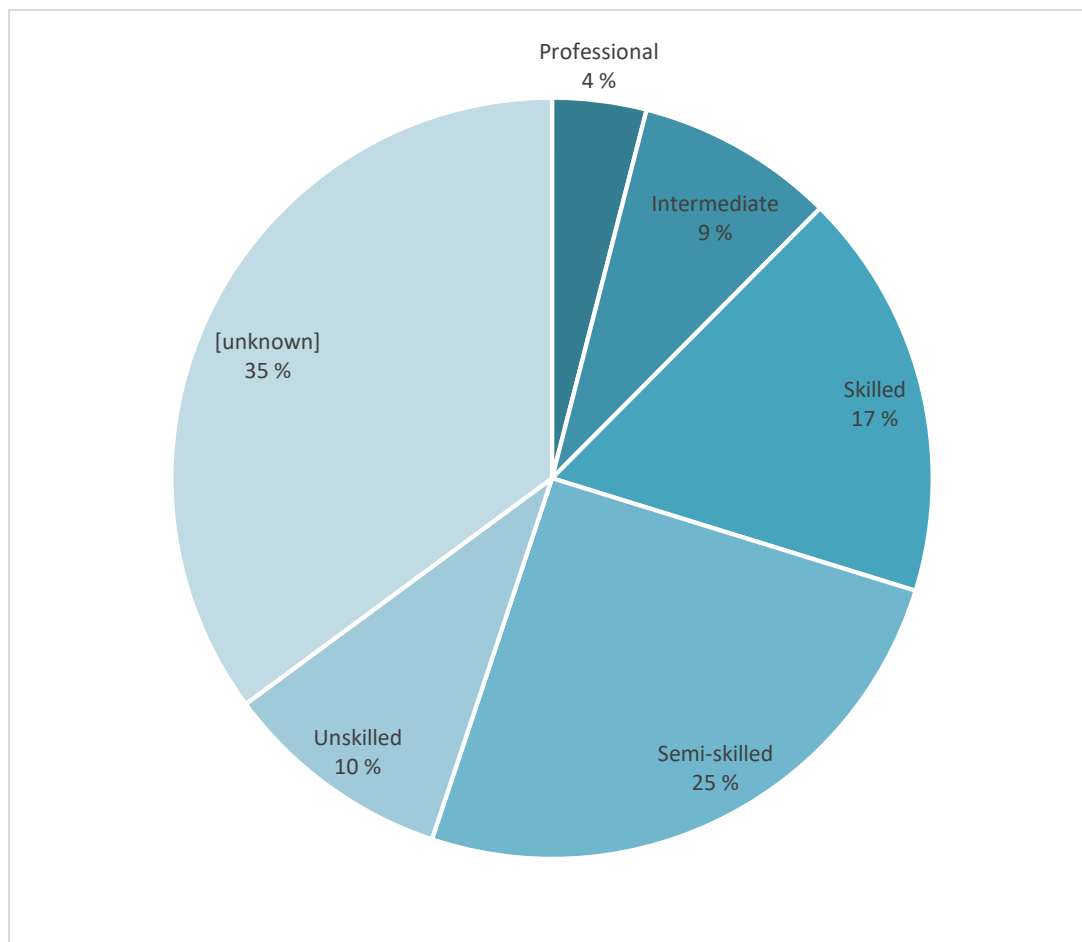
<sup>203</sup> Ralph Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism, 1789-1914* (London, 1989), 68.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 198 and 415 (Table 1).

The 146 known parental occupations have been classified into the five broad classes used by Miles. While this is inevitably a subjective exercise with some variance with regard to the middle categories, it is helpful in giving us an overall view of the background these students came from – there is a difference between a labourer and a lawyer. If known, the number of servants and/or the number of employees is also taken into account – this would have made a difference to the individual’s relative status in society and has, in some cases, justified a promotion in skill category. With regard to farmers, for example, high acreage has been taken as an indication of comparative wealth.

In this classification exercise, the category ‘professional’ contains occupations such as ‘solicitor’, ‘captain’ and ‘accountant’. These ‘higher middle class’ individuals would be enjoying a genteel existence, with a rigorous elite education of their children as a given. The ‘intermediate’ includes titles like ‘schoolmaster’, ‘railway station agent’, ‘clerk’, ‘master cabinet maker’, ‘optician’, ‘bookseller’, and some of the wealthy ‘merchants’. The ‘skilled’ include the wealthier farmers, tailors, blacksmiths, carpenters, brokers and clothiers. The ‘semi-skilled’ category holds shoemakers, bakers, crofters, weavers, painters, and paper-makers. These two middle categories flow into one another and are particularly difficult to classify reliably. For example, depending on the type of farmer, an individual could be categorised in any of them. The final category, here classified as ‘unskilled’, would hold those who would name themselves as a ‘labourer’ of any kind. Chimney-sweepers and miners would also be placed in this category, based on the lower skill-level required in their day-to-day jobs.

**Chart E: Parental Occupational Categories**



The results of this classification are not unexpected. If we assume the known 146 occupational titles to be representative of those of whom data could not be found, around eighty per cent of those who entered the seminary (and remained long enough to be sent abroad) were children of parents holding skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled occupations.<sup>205</sup> They would not have received, in all probability, a chance to access an elite education outside of the seminary setting during their lifetimes.

The children of those holding unskilled occupations could – and did – overcome their humble origins through pursuing a vocation. The changing social origins of the clergy could also have an unintended positive impact on the overall success of the Church: Henk van Dijk has found that recruitments of priests from the lower strata

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<sup>205</sup> The percentages are based on parental occupations, of which 9 were considered ‘Professional’, 19 ‘Intermediate’, 39 ‘Skilled’, 57 ‘Semi-skilled’ and 22 ‘Unskilled’. 79 parental occupations of the total of 225 could not be reliably determined.

‘contributed to a stronger link between the population, the church, and the religious revival’.<sup>206</sup> As more of the seminarians entering the career path had relatively humble beginnings, the change in status brought about by seminary education and finally priesthood could qualify as a significant instance of Smilesian social mobility.

## Social Mobility

The idea we might get from Samuel Smiles’ *Self-Help* of 1859 is that it was easy, if one only willed it and possessed the necessary skills, to significantly elevate one’s status in society. Even though the opportunities were certainly increasing for the majority, to many social mobility was less available than Smiles made out. Historian Andrew Miles has crushed the myth by stating that ‘[n]owhere and at no point was nineteenth- and early twentieth-century English society a land of “boundless opportunity”’.<sup>207</sup> However, the previously often unsurmountable influence of father’s social standing was more and more being undermined by changes brought about by modernisation and industrialisation which both functioned as ‘highly effective social solvents’.<sup>208</sup> Although in 1830 Bishop Scott still wondered whether a butcher’s son could be raised to Holy Orders,<sup>209</sup> the promising children of booksellers, bakers, shoemakers, soldiers and labourers of all kinds were welcomed to enter the career path. The entrant would quickly be moulded into a rank-and-file seminarian, and as Christine Johnson has succinctly put it, ‘[b]y the time he became a priest he might well feel he had more in common with the landowning classes than with the poorer Catholics of his congregation’.<sup>210</sup> So Father William Farrell (1839-1xxx) began his life as a son of an Irish chimney-sweeper.<sup>211</sup> William Allan (1825-1853) studied law

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<sup>206</sup> Henk van Dijk, ‘Religion Between State and Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe’, 263, in Hartmut Kaelble (ed.), *The European Way: European Societies during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Oxford, 20014), 253-275.

<sup>207</sup> Miles, *Social Mobility*, 46.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>209</sup> SCA: BL/6/23/10 (2), Bp Scott to Kyle, Glasgow 9 Dec 1830, including a Copy letter of Paterson to Bp Scott, 21 Nov 1830.

<sup>210</sup> Johnson, *Developments*, 207.

<sup>211</sup> James Farrell, chimney-sweeper. Census 1851, Kirkcudbright, RD 871-00, 003-010.

initially after his father's profession, before becoming an Episcopalian minister, soon after which he converted, spent a few of years in St Sulpice and was ordained a Roman Catholic priest.<sup>212</sup> William McIntosh (1794-1877) gave up smuggling whisky in order to pursue his newly-discovered vocation.<sup>213</sup> Where one came from – in terms of social status and geography – did matter; but with some skill, hard work, connections, funds and luck one might get relatively far in life. Ciaran O'Neill has concluded that 'an elite education continues to enhance the career trajectory and life-chances of those who avail of it'.<sup>214</sup> Especially education, in this case a seminary education, could act as an agent of social mobility.

If we consider the individual's ability to 'influence one's destiny' or 'life chances' as Van de Putte and Miles have formulated it, the 'ability to impose one's own will or to resist the will of others',<sup>215</sup> economic and the derivate social standing, though important, is not enough. Although the twenty-first century project of Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations (HISCO)<sup>216</sup> remains valuable when assessing economic power of individuals and groups, it leaves out a significant aspect of how people are stratified in a society in terms of power. Miles and Van de Putte suggested a scheme that, in addition to economic power or level of '(in)dependence', takes into account the cultural power of the individual, combining these into a place in their Social Power scheme (SOCPO). The cultural power of the individual they took to consist of two main aspects that assist in determining their relative status: the type of work they did (manual vs. non-manual) and 'pure status', encompassing status titles such as 'knight'.<sup>217</sup> This line of thinking is fitting when discussing priests: they wielded immense social and cultural power within their congregations, but, at the same time, were distinctly impoverished in comparison.

The changes from gentry-based aspirants to working-class based ones would indicate some significant degree of social mobility to those from humbler beginnings

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<sup>212</sup> *SCD* 1854 (obituary).

<sup>213</sup> See, for example, Alasdair Roberts, 'William McIntosh in the West Highlands: Changing the Practice of Religion', in *IR* 54/2 (2003), 111-141.

<sup>214</sup> Ciaran O'Neill, *Catholics of Consequence: Transnational Education, Social Mobility, and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900* (Oxford, 2014), 1.

<sup>215</sup> Van de Putte and Miles, 'A Social Classification Scheme for Historical Occupational Data', 63.

<sup>216</sup> See Marco H.D. van Leeuwen, Ineke Maas and Andrew Miles (eds), *HISCO: Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations* (Leuven, 2002).

<sup>217</sup> Van de Putte and Miles, 'A Social Classification Scheme for Historical Occupational Data', 66.

who were to become priests.<sup>218</sup> However, this does not shed light on the sheer scale of social mobility enabled by the rigorous, closed and discipline-filled seminary education: one could begin life as a son of an agricultural labourer or a furnace-keeper, and end up as a Roman Catholic priest. The spending of formative years among men of letters, as well as far away from home, allowed for a certain alienation from the birth family for the benefit of their new religious one.<sup>219</sup> We are yet to ask one important question: what if the student never completed his studies?

Those who did not complete their education did not necessarily advance in life as one would assume. Unfortunately, very few individuals can be tracked down after their departure from the seminary. Out of the 225 under scrutiny, 134 individuals reached ordination – about 60 per cent, although not all of these remained practising priests until their death. Out of the remaining 91, 11 individuals (about 5 per cent of the total) never reached ordination because they died at the seminary or soon after returning to Scotland. The post-seminary pursuits of 47 individuals are not known. However, census and marriage records have proved helpful for 33 individuals who were never ordained. Although admittedly this is a very small sample, it is worth investigating what sorts of futures these former seminarians built for themselves. The future careers of the non-ordained 33 are presented in the table below.

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<sup>218</sup> Miles, *Social Mobility*, 1.

<sup>219</sup> This is also affirmed by Christine Johnson. See her *Developments*, 205.



**Table A: Future Careers of the Non-Ordained**

<b>Name</b>	<b>From</b>	<b>Lived</b>	<b>Married?</b>	<b>Parent's Job (son of a...)</b>	<b>Individual's Later Job</b>
<b>Bennet, George</b>	Buckie	1828-1907	Yes	farmer	farmer of 230 acres arable
<b>Bremner, Arthur</b>	Fochabers	1833-1891	Yes	mason	master mason
<b>Burgess, John William Cameron</b>	Dingwall	1842-19xx	Yes	dress-maker	commercial clerk, traveller, theatried manager
<b>Caldwell, Thomas H.</b>	Glasgow	1859-19xx	Yes	merchant of old clothes	stableman
<b>Campbell, Ranald</b>	Arisaig	1841-18xx	Yes	boat builder and farmer of 12ac	engine smith
<b>Carolan, John</b>	Clogher, Ireland	1825-185x	Yes	broker	labourer
<b>Caven, John</b>	Dalbeattie	1826-1914	Yes	coachman	elementary school teacher
<b>McConnell, Hugh</b>	Co. Donegal, Ireland	1858-1937	Yes	pit sinker	sewing machine maker
<b>Dailly, Daniel</b>	Dundee	1856-1xxx	Not known	draper	spirit merchant
<b>McDermott, Wilfred Owen Grady</b>	Edinburgh	1857-19xx	Yes	inspector of city police	commercial traveller (sanitary goods)
<b>Dolan, James</b>	Boyle, Ireland	1838-1xxx	Yes	?	iron foundry labourer
<b>Drysdale, John Romeo</b>	Glasgow	1835-1xxx	Yes	painter	labourer

Name	From	Lived	Married?	Parent's Job (son of a...)	Individual's Later Job
<b>Egan, Peter C.</b>	Dundee	1855-19xx	Yes	general broker	law-clerk, later marine engineer
<b>Fox, Thomas</b>	Folkestone, England	1839-1xxx	Not known	coast guard	cork cutter
<b>French, James</b>	Glasgow	1823-1xxx	Not known	paper-maker	millwright
<b>Gordon, William</b>	?	1823-1895	Not known	straw thatcher	chemist
<b>Grant, Walter</b>	Braemar	1844-1919	Yes	cattle dealer with 5000ac	draper
<b>Hegarty, James</b>	Glasgow	1840-1921	Yes	teacher	?
<b>Joss, Adam</b>	Aberdeen	1838-1xxx	Not known	baker	clerk
<b>Lamont, William</b>	Glenshee	1860-19xx	Yes	shepherd	pharmacist
<b>McLusky, William J.</b>	Greenock	1831-1xxx	Yes	merchant tailor	rigger
<b>Margey, Hugh</b>	Glasgow	1839-18xx	Yes	bookseller	bookseller & stationer
<b>Mazzoni, John</b>	Edinburgh	1797-18xx	Yes	?	copyist and amanuensis
<b>Mitchelson, William V.</b>	Newcastle, England	1858-19xx	Yes	woodman	retail grocer and photographer
<b>Murnin, William</b>	Bathgate	1850-19xx	Not known	ironstone miner	'lunatic'
<b>Niven, Peter</b>	Dundee	1858-1xxx	Not known	general labourer	painter

Name	From	Lived	Married?	Parent's Job (son of a...)	Individual's Later Job
<b>McPhail, George</b>	Dumbarton	1853-1xxx	Not known	fish and eel merchant	stationer
<b>Reid, Alexander</b>	Portgordon	1832-1xxx	Yes	?	shipmaster
<b>Rowley, Thomas William</b>	Forgandenny	1850-1928	Yes	chelsea pensioner	?
<b>O'Shaughnessy, Patrick</b>	Rutherglen	1856-1885	Not known	agricultural labourer	grocer
<b>Stuart, Alexander</b>	?	1804-18xx	Yes	farmer	letter carrier
<b>Swan, Daniel</b>	Glasgow	1826-1xxx	Not known	spirit merchant	medical student, later spirit merchant
<b>Webster, Andrew</b>	Galloway	1805-18xx	Not known	?	coal agent

Interestingly, not all of these individuals managed – or wished to – use their education to move up on the social ladder and to achieve an easier (or simply different) life than that of their parents'. Hugh Margey (1839-18xx) followed his father's footsteps as a bookseller when he found priesthood was not for him. Thomas Fox (1839-1xxx) became a cork cutter despite his father being a coast guard, and John Romeo Drysdale (1835-1xxx), son of a painter, made his living as a labourer. However, many former seminarians made use of their incomplete education to seek out a (physically) easier life for themselves. The son of a pit sinker could become a sewing machine maker (Hugh McConnell (1858-1937)), a baker's son became a clerk (Adam Joss (1838-1xxx)), and the son of a fish and eel merchant a stationer (George McPhail (1853-1xxx)). Some tried to make their elite-level studies count, but were unable to. Daniel Swan (1826-1xxx) pursued medical studies for a while before becoming a spirit merchant like his mother. The unfortunate William Murnin (1850-19xx) drew the short

straw on all counts: he is listed in both the 1881 and 1901 census enumerators' books as an inmate at a 'lunatic asylum'.

Unfortunately, it has not been possible to find what sort of life the individual lived at a certain age or a certain number of years after leaving the seminary – this would have allowed us to compare like with like. However, like with the classification, we have to make do with approximates, and partially set aside the fact that people could work numerous fields and occupations during their lives, like Daniel Swan (1826-19xx) who tried but did not become a doctor. Peter C. Egan (1855-19xx), son of a broker, became a 'law-clerk' before building himself a career as a 'marine engineer'. Those with wealthier parents could also inherit. For example, Walter Grant (1844-1919), who was listed as a draper in Staffordshire in the 1871 census,<sup>220</sup> died a wealthy man at the age of 75 at 'Grandtully House, Kettlebrook, Bolehall and Glascote, England'.<sup>221</sup> The probate from 10 February 1920 passed on his (inherited) wealth to his wife and son: 4,339 pounds, 13 shillings and 7 pence.<sup>222</sup> Like Grant, most former seminarians eventually married and had children: at least 22 out of the 33, or 67 per cent, entered the holy matrimony.

Undoubtedly these individuals' lives turned out very different to how they would have if they had held on to their vocation. Those who were dismissed were generally set aside and never mentioned again; those who left due to realising they had no vocation were understandably given a more lenient treatment. There are a few cases when former seminarians were discussed in the bishops' correspondence. For example, in 1832 Father William Reid brought to the attention of Bishop Andrew Scott an individual who had formerly studied for priesthood, and requested assistance for finding him a teaching post in Glasgow. William Ireland, who had studied at Aquhorties and Valladolid, was reported to have had

many ups and down since he left the college, trying to do something for a livelyhood, and all to little purpose. In Liverpool he has been employed, partly in teaching languages and partly in a Mercantile house [...].<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1871: Fazeley, Tamworth, ED 001, piece 2911, f. 10, 10.

<sup>221</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Death Index for England and Wales: Tamworth, Dec 1919.

<sup>222</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: [Profile of Walter Grant; no source indicated].

<sup>223</sup> SCA: OL/2/9/10, William Reid to Bp Scott, Dumfries 13 Nov 1832.

Although Ireland had tried to use his education to his advantage, lack of connections in finding stable employment left him in a regrettable position. Although usually the clergy was not overly sympathetic as the remaining seminarians were a more immediate concern, the reason Ireland got this special treatment is that he went to the same seminary as Reid, who ‘cannot help taking some interest in him, as having been an alumno of Alma Mater’.<sup>224</sup> He also added that Ireland seemed ‘a young man of very good dispositions, and free from any of those vices, which a youth cast upon the world, might be supposed addicted to’.<sup>225</sup> It is reasonable to assume that Ireland left the seminary for reasons other than misbehaviour and he had managed to maintain a certain degree of respectability since then. Another aspect of this example is the potentially lasting importance of connections and friendships made at the foreign seminaries: William Reid felt obliged to try to help his former fellow student. Mr Ireland was no longer associated with the Mission and could not approach the Bishop himself; however, a friend’s recommendation crossed, in this case, the boundaries of clerical family to include former members.

Like Kristin Fjelde Tjelle’s Norwegian Lutheran missionaries who came from humble origins, the Scottish boys, by accessing this particular career path, could be ‘empowered, moving from being “nobody” to being “somebody”’.<sup>226</sup> Once they became a ‘somebody’, it was difficult to give that up. In an unfortunate case, Bishop Scott wrote about Mr Morgan who ‘was tired of the life of a Priest or Missionary’, arrogantly requesting help ‘to procure him some lay situation in which he could make a genteel Livelyhood’.<sup>227</sup> Morgan was a trained and ordained priest, and therefore assumed he could make a genteel life for himself outside of the priesthood, too.

The status of the priest was a peculiar one. The Roman Catholic clergy was in a rather precarious position as representatives of a hostility-inducing minority religion, even after Catholicism reacquired its status as a legal Christian denomination in Britain. Yet, among their congregations, priestly power was unmatched in religious affairs. They held the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven and therefore held immense

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<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

<sup>226</sup> Kristin Fjelde Tjelle, *Missionary Masculinity, 1870-1930: The Norwegian Missionaries in South-East Africa* (Basingstoke, 2014), 2.

<sup>227</sup> SCA: DD/1/6/12, Bp Scott to Carruthers, Greenock, 20 Dec 1837.

spiritual power over their congregations. But in addition to this, seminarians were also destined to hold other kinds of power.

## Economic Status and Spiritual Power

Scottish Catholic priests were far from wealthy. In fact, Callum Brown has found that the Roman Catholic priests of Scotland ‘were probably the lowest paid in the country’,<sup>228</sup> and Tom Gallagher has described them as ‘the only clergy in Scotland to live on the standards of the nineteenth century working-classes’.<sup>229</sup> The priest’s ‘quota’ or ‘stipend’ refers to his annual allowance, intended to cover his living expenses and sustenance as well as any expenses he incurred in the execution of his duties.<sup>230</sup> Darren Tierney has looked into Scottish Catholic clerical finances in detail, and found that a basic quota drawn from the central fund of the Mission varied from year-to-year and was only a meagre £9 by the 1830s.<sup>231</sup> With additional sources of income, the annual total a Scottish Roman Catholic secular priest would have to live on varied wildly from around £20 to £120 depending on where the clergyman was stationed.<sup>232</sup> In comparison, an Episcopal minister in Edinburgh earned £500 a year, the Baptist minister could receive £200 and the Wesleyan £150.<sup>233</sup> Church of Scotland ministers were living on a minimum of £150 annually, considerably more if they did not have dedicated lodgings at their disposal;<sup>234</sup> they could pocket up to

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<sup>228</sup> Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800-2000* (London, 2001), 32.

<sup>229</sup> Tom Gallagher, *Glasgow, The Uneasy Peace: Religious Tension in Modern Scotland, 1819-1914* (Manchester, 1987), 47.

<sup>230</sup> Darren Tierney, ‘Financing the Faith: Scottish Catholicism 1772 - c. 1890’ (2014), 30.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, 97-98 (Table 3.2: Clerical Stipends, 1830s). Earlier estimates by Christine Johnson suggested that £50 was considered a minimum income for a priest in the South-West between 1809 and 1814 (Johnson, *Developments*, 144), while Callum Brown found that in the 1830s Glasgow priests’ annual earnings were around £40 (Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh, 1997), 32).

<sup>233</sup> House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1837 (31): *First Report of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland*, quoted in Tierney, ‘Financing the Faith’, 99.

<sup>234</sup> John Sawkins, ‘Ministerial Stipends in the Free Church of Scotland: Edinburgh 1843-1900’, in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 41 (2012), 86, quoted in Tierney, ‘Financing the Faith’, 99.

£425 annually.<sup>235</sup> Although there was a general trend of falling incomes across the whole of the clerical occupation,<sup>236</sup> the Roman Catholic clergy of Scotland was, on average, poor.

Lodgings for the priest were generally provided, although the standard of these could vary enormously according to location. Town priests could share lodgings whereas those in remote areas usually worked alone. Conversely, the missionary priests stationed in towns required a somewhat heavier purse: in the eighteenth century, these were regularly 'allowed one half more than those in the country', as they were 'exposed to more expenses'.<sup>237</sup> On the odd occasion, a priest might also be lucky enough to be assigned a chaplaincy. The wealthy Catholic families (e.g. Traquair, Kirkconnel and Munshes) would provide for their assigned priest 'with all necessities'.<sup>238</sup> These individuals enjoyed a more genteel existence and lighter duties, even though they served the surrounding area as well as the noble family. However, permanent chaplaincies were unusual by 1829,<sup>239</sup> and the young and the fit of the clergy were rarely wasted in such low-stress posts.

For the most part, the Scottish missionary clergy had to get creative to survive as well as to maintain a certain degree of class befitting of their status. Chapel collections and the charging of seat rents and fees for marriages and baptisms could all supplement the priest's stipend.<sup>240</sup> Out of necessity, the priests were also allowed to take on secondary activities to supplement their meagre income, provided they were still able to perform their primary duties. In 1815, Andrew Scott (bishop-to-be) reflected on the realities of the Greenock Mission:

I do not think it possible for any clergyman to finish the chapel there and make out a livelihood, unless he be qualified and disposed to teach French, Italian or

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<sup>235</sup> Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, 32.

<sup>236</sup> John William Tomlinson, 'From Parson to Professional: The Changing Ministry of the Anglican Clergy in Staffordshire, 1830-1960' (2007), 217. An unpublished University of Birmingham doctoral thesis.

<sup>237</sup> SCA: BL/4/135/5 Copy Letter Bp Hay to Lord Advocate 'state of the affairs of the Mission', 26 Feb 1799.

<sup>238</sup> SCA: BL/4/135/1, Bishop Hay's handwritten copy, dated 4 Jan 1799, of his letter to Sir James Hippley 29 Dec 1798.

<sup>239</sup> Johnson, *Developments*, 147.

<sup>240</sup> Tierney, 'Financing the Faith', 97.

Spanish [...]. I think an active man could by teaching the languages make nearly a hundred a year and attend to the small congregation too.<sup>241</sup>

Teaching modern languages to, generally, Protestants was considered a legitimate way to make ends meet.<sup>242</sup> Small-scale farming was another endeavour that might become necessary, especially in the more remote regions of the country. Physical labour, however, was considered more problematic than teaching for a man of God. In 1829, Bishop Kyle lamented that

our northern missionaries are left by their people in circumstances so despondent, and are obliged in so many instances to eke out the scanty means of subsistence that they draw from the proper source, by farming.<sup>243</sup>

Farming was not an appropriate use of a clergyman's time. However, in the more remote areas of Scotland it seems to have been a necessary evil.<sup>244</sup>

Kyle's allocation of blame to the ungenerous congregations is telling of another long-standing tradition among the Roman Catholics of Scotland. Before the repeal of the penal laws it was often the Catholics of the parish themselves who supported a priest financially.<sup>245</sup> In 1829, Constantine Lee discussed the mission station at Perth and the funds required to support a priest – including how they were to be acquired:

knowing that you would not like to station a clergyman there without having some view of how he might be supported, I entered into the following agreement with the people of Perth... that they pay the Clergyman £50 per annum, independent of seat rents and Sunday collections which I think ought at the least give £50 more.<sup>246</sup>

It was 'the people of Perth' who provided for their clergyman; the clergyman himself was to take initiative to acquire the second half of his regular income through seat rents and Sunday collections. In 1839 some Catholics at Frazer's Hall, Glasgow, were

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<sup>241</sup> SCA: BL/4/467/1, Fr Scott to Cameron, Glasgow 9 Jan 1815.

<sup>242</sup> Johnson, *Developments*, 147-148.

<sup>243</sup> SCA: BL: Kyle Letters, Bp James Kyle to John Forbes, 3 Apr 1829, quoted in *ibid.*, 135.

<sup>244</sup> Johnson has discussed this necessity at length in her *Developments*, 131-132, 134.

<sup>245</sup> In his doctoral thesis, Darren Tierney has examined the gradual rise of voluntarism in the Scottish Mission as a means of supporting its labourers. See Tierney, 'Financing the Faith'.

<sup>246</sup> SCA: BL/5/243/13, Constantine Lee to Bp Paterson, Aberdeen 29 Dec 1829.



extremely sorry that the state of the funds has prevented their Lordships from augmenting the number of Clergymen in proportion to the urgent want of the congregation, and restricted them to the number of only 4 aching Clergymen where the services of 7 at least are in our humble opinion absolutely necessary.<sup>247</sup>

In this case the Catholics proceeded to collect subscriptions in order to provide for additional priests themselves.

In addition to communities directly sponsoring their priest, the clergy could also be supported by union-like charitable organisations with membership benefits.<sup>248</sup> For example, in 1834 the terms of the old Lowland District Friendly Society stated that on becoming a member, a clergyman had to pay an entry fee of two pounds, and thereafter a pound yearly, until this totalled to twenty pounds, after which the individual became a 'free member' and no longer needed to contribute.<sup>249</sup> The interest of this pot of money was regularly divided among the 'poorest clergymen' to make sure they could make a tolerable living.<sup>250</sup>

In Scotland, a missionary priest had to manage his income effectively in order to eke out a living. This was instilled into them, if possible, already at the seminary. The Scots seminarians received a small allowance of pocket money during their studies. The little lessons that might be learnt through managing one's own money are evident from a letter discussing the travel expenses of seminary students, travelling to Paris in 1830. Each of the students were deemed 'old enough to take care of their money', and were given seven pounds, which was considered sufficient.<sup>251</sup> Bishop Scott was even convinced that

if they be careful, they will save some money out of that sum. [...] The elder students can get recommendation to look after some of the youngest and to see that they do not make a bad use of their money, but it will be much better to give to each their own share.<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> SCA: OL/2/37/3, Minutes of 'Meeting of Catholics at Frazer's Hall', 7 Jan 1839.

<sup>248</sup> Johnson, *Developments*, 148.

<sup>249</sup> SCA: OL/2/11/5, Bp Scott to John Chisholm, Glasgow 17 Apr 1834.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>251</sup> BL/6/23/2, Bp Scott to James Sharp, Aberdeen 22 Oct 1830.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid.

This exercise in financial management reflects the awareness that only frugal priests, however gentlemanly, could be successful in the harsh missionary stations of Scotland.

All in all, the economic prospects for Scottish Missionary priests were not great. On top of the bad and uncertain pay, there was no hope of retirement but instead a promise of life-long labour. How a priest's life turned out depended on where he was stationed by his bishop, and this in turn depended on his level of seniority, connections and language skills. In addition, for a large part, the priest's life was moulded by chance: the simple timing of missionary posts becoming vacant. Even in comparable poverty, even the most over-worked priest was still expected to keep up appearances.

Anthony Giddens' three basic dimensions in the definition of an 'elite group' were recruitment, structure and power.<sup>253</sup> This model is used by Kenneth Thompson to consider the Church of England Bishops as an elite group,<sup>254</sup> and it seems very appropriate to extend this to their Roman Catholic counterparts, who are, if possible, even more segregated in their recruitment and organisation. It is justifiable to extend this elite-status of bishops to priests as well. While the pecking order within this elite group would vary between individuals and Mission stations, the status of a man of God begs for its own elite category, even if the same criteria of recruitment, structure and power are used. The variables of age, station, skill and connections did not change the fact that these individuals were carefully trained in separate institutions under the umbrella of a vast transnational organisation, wielding powers that no lay person could.

The feeling of a common goal and a uniform genteel education not only instilled into the seminarians the sense of their own importance, but also of their superiority to lay people. Priests in nineteenth-century Scotland wielded a social and religious power wholly disproportionate to their financial situation. Bernard Aspinwall has found that respect for priesthood grew rather than diminished in the nineteenth century,

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<sup>253</sup> Anthony Giddens, 'Elites in the British Class Structure', in Philip Stanworth and Anthony Giddens (eds), *Elites and Power in British Society* (London, 1974), 1-21.

<sup>254</sup> Kenneth Thompson, 'Church of England Bishops as an Elite', in *ibid.*, 198-207.

highlighted by the number of gifts to priests.<sup>255</sup> The respect did not make the clergy immune to clashes with their parishioners and the nobility, in particular, occasionally forgot its place. The God-given spiritual power of the priest – and the bishop – becomes evident in a letter by Bishop Scott to Lady Gordon where he, effectively, put the Lady in her place after she made a complaint about the clergyman stationed at Drimnin and Morven, who, in her opinion, could have used some more training:

If he does not give satisfaction to you, I fear the fault must be your own. You must recollect that he is appointed for the mission in general of Morvenn and not for your family only. [...] no good Clergyman who knew his duty [...] could in conscience allow himself to be dictated to by any Layperson whatever.<sup>256</sup>

The Bishop also heavily reprimanded her ladyship for removing (and washing) what she had evidently considered a disgracefully dirty altar cloth:

not even your Ladyship has a right to touch the altar without the consent of the Bishop or priest. [...] For your own sake and for the sake of preserving the blessing of God upon your family, do not [...] meddle with holy things when you were not called upon to do so.<sup>257</sup>

The Bishop also reminded Lady Gordon of the respect she was to hold towards the priest:

You ought to recollect that bad as the [...] scribes and Pharisees and priests were in the days of our saviour, he commanded the people to respect them because they sat on the chair of Moses. A much greater respect is due to Christian priests in the new Law and every insult offered to them is a direct insult offered to God and a grievous Sin.<sup>258</sup>

He finished the letter with heavy authority, wishing that his words would prevent the lady ‘from interfering with any thing committed only to the care and direction of

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<sup>255</sup> Bernard Aspinwall, ‘The Formation of a British Identity within Scottish Catholicism, 1830-1914’, 273, in Robert Pope (ed.), *Religion and National Identity: Wales and Scotland c. 1700-2000* (Cardiff, 2001), 268-306.

<sup>256</sup> SCA: OL/1/43/11 (4), Bp Scott to Lady Gordon, Greenock Aug 1846.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid.

Clergymen’ as she ‘cannot dictate to them in things appertaining to the Divine Service without offending God’.<sup>259</sup> Whether the fact she was a Lady rather than a Lord had an impact on Bishops Scott’s reaction is not clear.

The authority of the priest was more obvious to others, and he could also be treated with respectful deference.<sup>260</sup> A selection of Catholics in Tradeston who wished to distance themselves from what they perceived to be the Glasgow Catholic Association’s disrespect of Father Andrew Scott,<sup>261</sup> referred to him as ‘Reverend Pastor’. They also highlighted the extent of the priest’s education which contributed to this status as a man of God:

we view with Reverential respect the Extensive Field of literature in those seminaries Established amongst us by your indefatigable labour. [...] We now beg leave to offer you our sincere thanks for the many good Offices you have done by Instilling into our Minds the sweet Milk of the Word of God.<sup>262</sup>

They signed the letter emphasising his status as a father over them, as ‘Your most devoted, most humble Children, the Catholics of Tradeston’.<sup>263</sup> No doubt this is the way Lady Gordon was expected to treat the Morven parish priest as well: as a reverend, powerful pastor who was unquestionably above her own station spiritually, albeit of a similar status socially and far below it economically.

## Keeping Up (Genteel) Appearances

Christine Johnson has discussed the day-to-day realities of priestly life in the early nineteenth century at great length.<sup>264</sup> She has explained how in 1805 John Sharp, in a letter to Bishop Cameron, reported that ‘by observing the most rigid Economy’ (he

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<sup>259</sup> Ibid.

<sup>260</sup> Bernard Aspinwall, ‘The Formation of the Catholic Community in the West of Scotland: Some Preliminary Outlines’, *IR* 33/1 (1982), 54. Aspinwall connects this to ultramontaniam.

<sup>261</sup> This contempt went both ways. See Martin J. Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797-1848: Trade Unions, Strikes and Political Movements* (Edinburgh, 1998), 114-122.

<sup>262</sup> SCA: OL/2/2/4, Address to Fr Scott from the Catholics of Tradeston 4 May 1825.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.

<sup>264</sup> See especially ch. 17, ‘The Lowland Vicariate, 1793-1829: Its Priests and their Lives’, in Johnson, *Developments*, 130-151.

described that he lived mainly on potatoes) he gradually managed to acquire his ‘necessaries’. Regardless of being restricted to a remarkably plain diet for financial reasons at the mission station of Deecastle, he managed to procure ‘several articles of genteel furniture and endeavoured to keep [him]self in decent clothes’.<sup>265</sup> The reason for investing his scarce income into fine furniture and clothing over milk and meal was necessary in order to maintain a certain image reflecting ‘the dignity of his character’.<sup>266</sup> The genteel status of all of the seminarians, including those of humble origins, was carefully cultivated at the seminaries. The ‘dignity’ of the priest also drew from his manners, speech, clothes and posture, all of which were polished during the arduous education.

‘Decent clothes’ were important in the maintenance of a genteel façade in the face of relative poverty. A missionary priest had to

dress and appear in such a manner as to be accounted and unexceptionable companion for the high as well as the low, for the Rich as well as for the poor [...].<sup>267</sup>

A priest wearing clothes considered below his status was in danger of being considered laughable.<sup>268</sup> The focus on appearances began at the junior seminary, but study abroad cemented a gentlemanly attention to public image. As postscript to a letter to Bishop Scott, Abbé MacPherson highlighted the importance of appropriate clothing – or stockings in this case – for the seminarians sent abroad (in this case to Rome). He requested that any further students sent from Scotland would

bring along with them something of a decent hose. The last [lot] brought along with them stockings that scarcely the poorest porter would wear in Italy. In place of the coarse worsted stockings of Bl[ai]rs let them have strong cotton ones which will be every bit as cheap.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> SCA: CC, *Scotichronicon*, 360, quoted in Johnson, *Developments*, 131.

<sup>266</sup> SCA: BL, William MacDonald to the Bishops and Administrators of the Scotch Mission, 31 Jul 1804, quoted in Johnson, *Developments*, 131.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid.

<sup>269</sup> SCA: OL/2/16/7, Paul MacPherson to Bp Scott, Marino 22 Oct 1835.

However trifling the matter appears, the seminarians could not walk around the Eternal City wearing things that an impoverished porter would sniff at.

The complete ‘decent outfit’ required varied from seminary to seminary, but only in the specifics: students were given a list of clothes they were required to bring with them. If the parents could not afford the items required, the items – or at least the funds for them – were provided by the student’s sponsoring Bishop. An account of items owed by the Scottish Mission to St Edmund’s in 1859 listed not only the expenses of students’ journeys, but also items such as ‘suits and clothes’, ‘linen and shoes’, ‘books during course’, as well as the unexpected ‘silver forks and spoons’.<sup>270</sup> St Edmund’s at Douai specified that if the students did not have all the items on the ‘List of Articles’, it would ‘always be completed and charged for accordingly’.<sup>271</sup> The list of this college included, around 1886,

3 suits of clothes  
*1 great coat – optional*  
1 jersey (dark blue)  
1 hard felt hat  
1 straw hat (rustic straw, 3 1/8 brim, 2 3/4 height)  
1 polo cap, or tweed helmet, or lawn tennis hat (dark blue)  
1 pair of leggins (leather or cloth)  
2 pairs of outdoor shoes  
1 pair of indoor shoes  
1 pair of slippers (black)  
6 collars  
3 neckties  
6 day shirts  
6 pairs of summer socks  
6 pairs of winter socks  
12 pocket handkerchiefs  
3 night shirts  
6 towels  
*3 pairs of drawers (woollen) - optional*  
*3 Ditto (cotton) – optional*  
*3 under vests (woollen – optional*  
*3 under vests (cotton) – optional*  
Hair brush and comb  
Tooth brush

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<sup>270</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/8, ‘In account with St Edmund’s, Douai’, Jan 1859.

<sup>271</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/6, ‘St Edmund’s College, Douai: List of Articles of Clothing required as Outfit on Entrance’ [1886].

Nail brush  
Clothes brush  
Sponge and sponge bag  
Penknife<sup>272</sup>

The cost of the required articles was considerable, but the items were necessary for two main reasons. Firstly, a matching selection of clothes and items effectively brought the students to approximately same level regardless of their socio-economic background. Although the quality of the items may have varied, nobody was to stand out. The list contains some optional clothes, but aside from the great coat, these were extra undergarments. Secondly, they were necessary to project to outsiders that the seminarians were a group of highly respectable youngsters, for example during communal outings. The personal hygiene items are also accompanied by a clothes brush and a nail brush – items that might not have been in much use in many of the students' pre-seminary lives. The '12 pocket handkerchiefs', in particular, reflect the necessity to acquire and practise genteel manners while receiving an elite-level education.<sup>273</sup>

Growing up in a relative luxury of a seminary, being constantly reminded of their excellence and learning to act the part, might also contribute to spoiling the students. On their return to Scotland, some found it hard to adjust to the change in their living standards which had formerly been very high. Archibald Chisholm (1816-1869), who completed his studies in Scotland at Blairs after a short experience of St Nicolas in Paris and St Edmund's at Douai, appealed to the superiors with the guise of ill digestive health in order to receive higher quality foods, as 'the Food of the House [did] not agree with him':

He would wish to get Coffé instead of porage, Loaf bread instead of Cake, and Fresh meat on Meagre days instead of Fish. I consulted the Doctor & he tells me that any temporary Indulgence of this kind would produce no beneficial Effect whatever upon his health; & I am sure it would produce every bad effect upon the rest of the students [...].<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> Ibid.

<sup>273</sup> The last item on the list, a penknife, seems unusual; it could have been used for crafts, for example.

<sup>274</sup> SCA: OL/2/17/3, John Sharp to Bp Scott, Blairs 15 Jan 1836.

Chisholm also harboured the misapprehension that ‘he might be sent back to St Sulpice’ to recover, instead of his parents’ home.<sup>275</sup>

Young priests, as well as seminarians, were to be similarly careful at balancing the luxuries in which they indulged. In 1810 the young Father Scott bought a horse for his trip to the north, which he felt he could justify. He bragged of his purchase to Bishop Cameron as follows (and the offensive tone regarding the Irish should not be overlooked, either):

Yesterday I bought for my northern jaunt a stout well built Irishman, born in Lurgan. He is not very handsome but I think will bring the money again, and I expect to get as much assistance to help to buy and maintain him, as will carry me free to the north, if I sell him on my return. [...] Mr Badenoch and I will go in style [...].<sup>276</sup>

However, not long after, he had to explain himself to his Bishop, who, it appears, did not share his enthusiasm for ‘going in style’.<sup>277</sup> Scott later conceded that it was ‘very possible’ he ‘acted very imprudently in buying a horse’, but that he did it ‘with a view to save money for the public good’.<sup>278</sup>

When the future of the Scots College of Rome became uncertain due to a French military presence in 1815, Abbé MacPherson anticipated the need to leave the city and return to Scotland as well as the lowering of his living standards, even if he got his wish of a ‘small snug charge’:

it must not be on the east coast – nor a chaplany; as the former is quite against my health, the latter equally against my inclination. Though I be obliged to put up with such a dwelling as I was born in, I will be master of the house.<sup>279</sup>

The Abbé would grudgingly ‘put up with’ a house of lower level of luxury than what he had got used to at Rome. His humbler origins are indicated as well.

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<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>276</sup> SCA: BL/4/353/2, Fr Scott to Cameron, Glasgow 22 Jun 1810. The ‘racial’ derogatory content will be addressed in the following chapter.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid.

<sup>278</sup> SCA: BL/4/353/4, Fr Scott to Cameron, Glasgow 6 Jul 1810.

<sup>279</sup> SCA: BL/4/463/1, Paul MacPherson to Bishop Cameron, Rome 21 Apr 1815.



The focus on genteel rather than popular comforts drew from the same necessity that got John Sharp to live on potatoes and send his money on clothes and furniture. Maintaining a level of dignity expected of a priest was expensive but necessary to show both his parishioners as well as the Scottish Protestants that a Roman Catholic priest was a respectable member of society with status comparable to the nobility rather than the great masses he could have strived from originally. However, although gentlemen, they were not traditionally idle landowners, but working gentlemen. Their debatable professional status will be discussed next.

### Professional Priesthood?

For centuries, the Roman Catholic hierarchy have been particularly concerned with training and discipline.<sup>280</sup> The clergy were initiated through a process of ordination, which took place after the seminarians had completed the necessary part of the specialised studies and were ready to be consecrated by their superiors in the organisation. In their training and during their careers, members of the clergy had access to specialist knowledge, resulting in status and power as important members of society.<sup>281</sup> The role of the clergyman was highly ceremonial and visible.<sup>282</sup> The professional elements present in the occupation of a priest are numerous, and it is argued below that these clerical gentlemen had occupational status comparable to ‘professionals’.

A general trend of ‘professionalisation’ intensified in the European cultural sphere in the nineteenth century.<sup>283</sup> The professional occupations ‘modernised’ and developed to offer predominantly non-manual skills that have required advanced, specialised

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<sup>280</sup> Anthony Russell, *The Clerical Profession* (London, 1980), 15.

<sup>281</sup> Penelope Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain 1700-1850* (London, 1995), 13.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>283</sup> Michael Hawkins also warns us not to assume developmental sequence and to be as suspicious of the idea of ‘process’ as we are of the idea of ‘progress’. Michael Hawkins, ‘Ambiguity and Contradiction in “the Rise of Professionalism”: The English Clergy, 1570-1730’, 269, in A. L. Beier, David Cannadine and James M. Rosenheim (eds), *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone* (Cambridge, 1989), 241-269.

learning to develop.<sup>284</sup> This resulted in a formal entry to the occupation, as well as to have some sort of institutional body to maintain high standards among the professionals, controlling access and membership.<sup>285</sup> What united all of the professionals was a general elite education, which was the basis for practical skills and field-specific knowledge. For example, St Edmund's advertised that although it was designed as a seminary, it was not exclusively so:

The College course is especially framed with a view of preparing students for the ecclesiastical state. Other students are admitted provided they follow the ordinary course, which is also a suitable training for those intending to embrace any of the professions.<sup>286</sup>

'Any of the professions' here, at least, refers to occupations other than the priesthood, where a high-quality education had become increasingly necessary: medicine and law, but likely also careers in the army, accountancy and teaching.<sup>287</sup> The clergy qualifies in terms of its general status and rigorous education, but the occupation has some peculiarities that make the clergyman's professional status, and professional identification, more complicated.

Although patterns of professionalisation have more recently been found to be 'very far from uniform',<sup>288</sup> there has been a tendency to seek similarities rather than differences, especially in the seminal research of the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>289</sup> The clergy does 'not quite belong'.<sup>290</sup> Anthony Russell has located the formative period the clergyman's role in the nineteenth century.<sup>291</sup> This would have been far later than the other professions. Russell's thesis has been effectively challenged by Rosemary O'Day. She has claimed that instead of modelling the profession of the clergy on the

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<sup>284</sup> Ibid., 241.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/7 (1), College of St Edmund the King and Martyr: Douai, France (1886).

<sup>287</sup> Derwyn Williams, 'Parsons, Priests of Professionals? Transforming the Nineteenth-century Anglican Clergy', 435, in *Theology* 110/858 (2007), 433-442.

<sup>288</sup> Corfield, *Power and the Professions*, 183.

<sup>289</sup> See the works of W. J. Reader, *Professional Men: The Rise of Professional Classes in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1966); Brian Heeney, *A Different Kind of Gentleman: Parish Clergy as Professional Men in Early and Mid-Victorian England* (Hamden, 1976); Peter C. Hammond, *The Parson and the Victorian Parish* (London, 1977).

<sup>290</sup> W. M. Jacob, *The Clerical Profession in the Long Eighteenth Century 1680-1840* (Oxford, 2007), 306.

<sup>291</sup> Russell, *The Clerical Profession*, 6.

assumedly older secular professions, the clergy simply ‘revived an earlier tradition of occupational professionalism and moral earnestness’.<sup>292</sup> According to O’Day, what did happen in the nineteenth century was a ‘clerical renaissance’, a re-emphasis of the professional elements already long present.<sup>293</sup> Derwyn Williams has reiterated this view with regard to Anglican clergy: the Bible was full of clerical archetypes to draw from so there was no need to look for models in other fields.<sup>294</sup>

There are a few further peculiarities about the clerical occupation that defy categorising it as ‘a profession’. Problematically, there was no ‘single clerical profession’,<sup>295</sup> not even within the Christian Churches.<sup>296</sup> Each denomination varied in terms of its structure, hierarchy and legal status in any political territory. The clergy were considered experts in their field, and this expert position is recognised and promoted by the organisation the clergyman was affiliated with – and, in fact, his occupation would not exist without the organisation<sup>297</sup> – but the authority to perform the various duties prescribed by the denomination in question is believed to come from a higher power.

The access to the specialist knowledge and power did not only result from education and professional recognition, but is considered to be divinely instituted. A career in the clergy was not simply a matter of personal choice. The importance of vocation or ‘calling’ in Christian ministry has been examined in more detail by Richard W. Christopherson.<sup>298</sup> He agrees with Thomas M. Gannon: “‘Priest’ or ‘minister’ is above all something one is, not something one does.”<sup>299</sup> This ‘blurring the boundaries between work and non-work’<sup>300</sup> meant that it was not possible for the clergy to ever

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<sup>292</sup> Rosemary O’Day, ‘The Clerical Renaissance in Victorian England and Wales’, 185 footnote abstract, in Gerald Parsons (ed.), *Religion in Victorian Britain: Volume I: Traditions* (Manchester, 1988), 184-212.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

<sup>294</sup> Williams, ‘Parsons, Priests of Professionals?’, 441.

<sup>295</sup> Corfield, *Power and the Professions*, 112.

<sup>296</sup> Due to the limits of the author’s knowledge and subject matter, this work concentrates on the mainstream Christian clergy and is unable to discuss the religious professionals of, for example, Islam and Judaism.

<sup>297</sup> Thomas M. Gannon, ‘Priest/Minister: Profession or Non-Profession?’, 72, in *Review of Religious Research* 12/2 (1971), 66-79.

<sup>298</sup> Richard W. Christopherson, ‘Calling and Career in Christian Ministry’, in *Review of Religious Research* 35/3 (1994), 219-237.

<sup>299</sup> Gannon, ‘Priest/Minister: Profession or Non-Profession?’, 76.

<sup>300</sup> Russell, *The Clerical Profession*, 16.

‘retire’ in the conventional sense.<sup>301</sup> Even though it can be claimed that other professionals, too, experience a ‘calling’ of some sort, it is impossible to separate this aspect of the clergyman’s life from his work. One would therefore assume that the clergyman would build an identity based on their occupation, characterised by this special relationship with God, with his calling as

a symbol of divine direction and divine acceptance [...] used by clergy to connect themselves to the communities in which they serve, to articulate the most basic ideas about who they are, and to make sense of their lives.<sup>302</sup>

It is now relatively widely accepted that the clergy became a profession long before the nineteenth century and that the ‘occupational profession’ developed in the sixteenth century.<sup>303</sup> We will next turn our attention to the professional, ‘genteel’ status and its performance.

Priests referred to themselves and their fellow priests as gentlemen.<sup>304</sup> But in addition to this, Anthony Russell has found that in the nineteenth century the clergy came to acquire ‘a greater sense of their own corporate identity as a body of professional men’.<sup>305</sup> The clergy were part of the gentry, but no longer simply so; they began more forcefully to acknowledge their special position in society by behaving accordingly. This meant leading distinctive, exemplary lives.<sup>306</sup> The range of special skills developed by these individuals was impressive, the character and the inclination of the recruit ideally combining ‘morality, judgement, truth and compassion, plus an ability to communicate’.<sup>307</sup> The clergy wore a special dress and acquired habits and mannerisms particular to the denominational ‘standard’, this being available to the laity well in the form of advice manuals. According to Esther de Waal, group identity, the ‘increasing individual self-consciousness and corporate self-identity’, developed simultaneously to these external marks.<sup>308</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> Haig, *The Victorian Clergy*, 1.

<sup>302</sup> Christopherson, ‘Calling and Career in Christian Ministry’, 234.

<sup>303</sup> O’Day, ‘The Clerical Renaissance’, 185.

<sup>304</sup> SCA: OL/2/7/5, Bp Scott to Abbé MacPherson, Glasgow 15 Oct 1831.

<sup>305</sup> Russell, *The Clerical Profession*, 239.

<sup>306</sup> Williams, ‘Parsons, Priests of Professionals?’, 434.

<sup>307</sup> Corfield, *Power and the Professions*, 103.

<sup>308</sup> Esther de Waal, ‘New Style Parson: The Professionalisation of the Nineteenth Century Country Clergy’, 172, in *Theology* 82/687 (1979), 197-175. Professional identity in the nineteenth century was

The issue of professional identification can and has been approached in sociology, for example with the help of surveys.<sup>309</sup> Historians cannot gain access to people's ideas about themselves and their place in the world this way, but there are other methods and means available. For example, the clerical professional identity has been grasped by Wietse de Boer by investigating personal memoirs, by Ellen A. Macek through advice manuals for the clergy and by Patrick J. O'Banion's investigation of manuals of confession.<sup>310</sup> This chapter will look at portrait photographs.

### Self-Representation in Portrait Photographs

Before their role as a priest could be cemented by exercising priestly functions, the invention and popularisation of photography could fill an important place in the self-definition of a newly-ordained priest. A shared and circulated portrait photograph, highlighting one's recently acquired elevation in status, could help affirm the prestige that came with the professional title and the Holy Orders.<sup>311</sup> *Carte-de-visite* photographs provide an extremely helpful way of looking at self-representation. *Cartes* were one of the most popular photographic formats of the nineteenth century,<sup>312</sup> as their price, size and rapidity of production allowed them to be acquired quickly, with limited funds, and passed on as mementos to family, friends and parishioners.

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also, according to Maria Malatesta's research, essentially a masculine one. The professions were akin to 'gentlemen's clubs' with members with similar educational background. Maria Malatesta, *Professional Men, Professional Women: The European Professions from the Nineteenth Century until Today*, transl. by Adrian Belton (London, 2011), 8 and 126.

<sup>309</sup> For example, Stephen H. Loudon and Leslie J. Francis analyse the results of the Catholic Parochial clergy Survey of 1996 in their *The Naked Parish Priest: What Priests Really Think They're Doing* (London, 2003).

<sup>310</sup> Ellen A. Macek, 'Advice Manuals and the Formation of English Protestant and Catholic Identities, 1560-1660', in Wim Janse and Barbara Pitkin (eds), *The Formation of Clerical and Confessional Identities in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2005), 315-331; Wietse de Boer, 'Professionalization and Clerical Identity: Notes on the Early Modern Catholic Priest', in *ibid.*, 369-377. Patrick J. O'Banion, "'A Priest Who Appears Good": Manuals of Confession and the Construction of Clerical Identity in Early Modern Spain', in *ibid.*, 333-348.

<sup>311</sup> Peter Hamilton, 'The Beautiful and the Damned', 10, in Peter Hamilton and Roger Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned: The Creation of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Photography* (Aldershot, 2001), 1-16.

<sup>312</sup> 'Carte-de-visite', 276, in John Hannavy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of nineteenth-Century Photography* (New York, 2008), 276-277.

The format of a photograph of 9x6 cm pasted onto a piece of card was patented in France in 1854, and they experienced a boom in the late 1850s and 1860s, when these *cartes* became collectables, figuring celebrities as well as close family members and friends. Like its predecessors, the *carte* was harnessing, according to Charles Baudelaire, ‘the great industrial madness of our times’.<sup>313</sup> Baudelaire even called the photographic industry a ‘brutish conspiracy’.<sup>314</sup>

These small, ephemeral commodities were kept as keepsakes, but also catalogued and collected in albums, which were browsed as a social activity. In these collections, the multitude of the photographs ‘constituted and expressed a collective identity’.<sup>315</sup> Lara Perry has considered these photographs ‘as the material evidence of sitter’s ambition to command their self-presentation’.<sup>316</sup> The Roman Catholic clergy saw the new medium as an opportunity: it would be in their benefit ‘to cultivate a new custom for distributing their image for the inclusion in the albums of their parishioner’, which would allow them to construct and advertise what they considered a local celebrity status.<sup>317</sup> This would contribute to their influence among their flocks – occasionally a fragile thing as we shall see in the following chapter. The *cartes-de-visite* also fulfilled a very important role in the sitters’ own lives; Roger Hargreaves stated that they acted ‘as a convenient glue to help bond their collective identities and to paste them into their rightful places in the general scheme of the great and the good’.<sup>318</sup> They were simultaneously emblems of status, rank and maturity, as well as ambition and aspiration.<sup>319</sup> The context of a commercial studio gave people the opportunity to self-aggrandise, to ‘see themselves in a picture as *they* wished to appear’.<sup>320</sup> Performing to the camera was an opportunity to ‘augment the appearance of dignity, honor, respectability, and personal worth’ – and the photographers were keenly aware of the

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<sup>313</sup> Charles Baudelaire, ‘The Salon of 1859: Letters to the Editors of the *Revue Française*’, 155, in *idem, Art in Paris 1845-1862: Salons and Other Exhibitions*, transl. and ed. by Jonathan Mayne, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Oxford, 1981), 144-216.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>315</sup> ‘Carte-de-visite’, 276, in Hannavy (ed.), *Encyclopedia*.

<sup>316</sup> Lara Perry, ‘The Carte de Visite in the 1860s and the Serial Dynamic of Photographic Likeness’, 732, in *Art History* 35/4 (2012), 728-749.

<sup>317</sup> Roger Hargreaves, ‘Putting Faces to the Names: Social and Celebrity Portrait Photography’, 47, in Hamilton and Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned*, 17-56.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>320</sup> David Bate, *Photography: The Key Concepts* (London, 2009), 68.

importance of this skill.<sup>321</sup> The purpose was to describe an individual – who was ‘performing likeness’<sup>322</sup> – as well as to inscribe a certain kind of social identity.<sup>323</sup>

These portraits become even more important when we consider them against the sciences of phrenology and physiognomy.<sup>324</sup> A portrait photograph, and the ‘true’ likeness it conveyed (as opposed to a painted portrait, which was not necessarily as brutally honest), could act as direct evidence of good character and morality. It was a construction, but also a signature – ‘a trace of the unique personality which had left its mark (or sign) of identity’.<sup>325</sup>

It was not only features that made a virtuous man or a woman. Julie F. Codell has argued that in the second half of the nineteenth century, with the explosive growth of the new medium of photography, the problematisation of the ‘European ideal of portraiture’ began. This was ‘to contain in one image all “essential” information that defines the sitter’s character through the material markers of identity’.<sup>326</sup> The sitter was often portrayed standing or sitting (the full-length format was characteristic),<sup>327</sup> which would allow the markers of status to be visibly placed onto or next to the body of the sitter. As well as their facial expression and the shape of their head, viewers could analyse the figure’s pose in order to interpret character.<sup>328</sup> Even the smallest detail could be ‘a sign of collective code affirming significance’.<sup>329</sup> In 1859, Charles Baudelaire highlighted that ‘nothing in a portrait [was] a matter of indifference. Gesture, grimace, clothing, décor even – all must combine to realize a character’.<sup>330</sup> The obvious material markers of the ‘self’ included pose and gesture, facial expression, dress and props. As in a portrait photograph, the ‘individual is viewed as a

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<sup>321</sup> Donald E. English, *Political Uses of Photography in the Third French Republic 1871-1914* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1984), 5.

<sup>322</sup> Perry, ‘The Carte de Visite in the 1860s’, 731.

<sup>323</sup> John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Basingstoke, 1988), 37.

<sup>324</sup> These will be further discussed in chapter V.

<sup>325</sup> Graham Clarke, ‘Public Faces, Private Lives: August Sander and the Social Typology of the Portrait Photograph’, 72, in *idem* (ed.), *The Portrait in Photography* (London, 1992), 71-93.

<sup>326</sup> Julie F. Codell, ‘Victorian portraits: Re-Tailoring Identities’, 493, in *Nineteenth-Century Contexts: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 34/5 (2012), 493-561.

<sup>327</sup> John Plunkett, ‘Celebrity and Community: The Poetics of the Carte-de-Visite’, 59, in *Journal of Victorian Culture* 8/1 (2003), 55-79.

<sup>328</sup> Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A. A. E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven, 1985), 3.

<sup>329</sup> Clarke, ‘Public Faces, Private Lives’, 74.

<sup>330</sup> Baudelaire, ‘The Salon of 1859: Letters to the Editors of the Revue Française’, 190.

representative figure (of a group, of a profession, of a class)',<sup>331</sup> the *carte-de-visite* photographs of young, recently-ordained priests offer a fantastic opportunity to examine the qualities they wished to highlight through this performance to the camera.

The young priests who had their photograph taken, either on the Continent or after their return to Scotland, were almost exclusively not wealthy. The fact that many of them could afford to have their photograph taken highlights that the cost of this new medium was rapidly going down. The occasion commemorated – the recent reception of the Holy Orders – was first and foremost marking a moment as a fully authorised man of God and a beginning of a career, but also one also comparable to a sort of graduation, of adulthood, and of genteel manhood. Ten portrait photographs, most of which are of young priests, have been included. These are, based on a greater sample from the Scottish Catholic Archives, representative as well as suggestive of certain recurring themes, not just signifying moral superiority.<sup>332</sup>

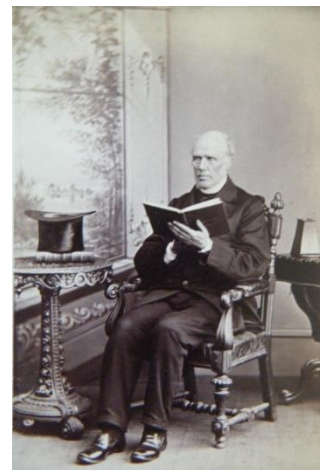
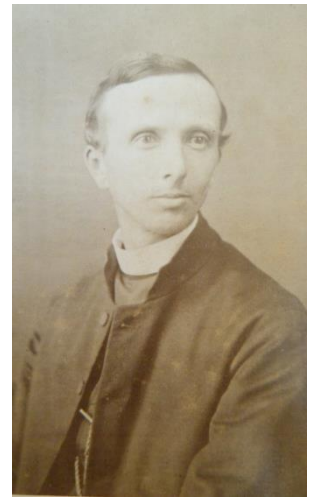
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<sup>331</sup> Clarke, 'Public Faces, Private Lives', 71-72.

<sup>332</sup> The photographs below are from left to right [1] SCA: MC/23/13/3, Fr Augustine McDermott (ord. 1863); [2] SCA: MC/23/11/1, Fr James Donlevy (ord. 1871); [3] SCA: MC/23/13/12, Fr Thomas Monaghan (ord. 1882); [4] SCA: MC/23/19/4, [unknown]; [5] SCA: MC/23/10/4, Fr Patrick Birnie; [6] SCA: MC/23/11/4, [unknown]; [7] SCA: MC/23/10/7, Fr James Casey; [8] SCA: MC/23/19/6 [unknown]; [9] SCA: MC/23/10/9, Fr Robert Clapperton (ord. 1856); [10] SCA: MC/23/13/11, Fr John MacPherson. Reproduced with the kind permission of Scottish Catholic Archives, Columba House, Edinburgh.







At first glance all of the sitters seem very stiff and respectably serious; they were all posing for the camera. Some looked at the camera, some slightly to the side. The gentleman in the middle photo (6) is unusual in that he was sporting sideburns. The individuals were either standing up or sitting down.

In terms of status and prestige, it is the clothing and the props that are most striking in these photographs. As these are studio photographs, many of the props were provided by the photographer to be used to indicate certain things: books designated learnedness as well as faith (in case the book was or could be imagined to be the Bible), and the writing desk (2) indicated the same thing. Expensive-looking surroundings including ornamental drapes and furniture indicated affluence. The priests were all dressed in their finest for the occasion, wearing respectable genteel clothing – but their Roman collar is always very clearly visible. They wanted to make sure there could be no doubt that these individuals were men of God.

In addition to this, though, a few curious things we do not normally associate with priesthood stand out: the top hats, the canes, and the gold chains, purportedly attached to pocket watches – not to mention the dog. These items had nothing directly to do with priesthood. In fact, it is likely that their bishops would have considered their gear flamboyant and even inappropriate for their sacred state. However, the heavy presence of these items indicates, as we mentioned before, ambition as well as self-making: these individuals may have been priests, but they also wished to be seen as gentlemen.

## Conclusion: Clerical Identities

While the status of a gentleman might open up certain social circles to the priests, the divine status could be even more powerful. The clerical family, past and present, was immensely important, and the priests maintained networks of contacts formed at the seminary.<sup>333</sup> They shared a similar lifestyle and their job descriptions were very alike,

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<sup>333</sup> Corfield, *Power and the Professions*, 214. For example, Jacob stated that the English clergy ‘were a relatively homogeneous group, partly perhaps because they were almost all educated at the two, relatively small, English universities.’ (Jacob, *The Clerical Profession*, 306). A similar solidarity amongst their Roman Catholic counterparts in their institutions is highly likely.

even if the nuances of their personal callings might differ. The sort of group identity we might be after was akin to the professions, ‘very much a feature of professional life’.<sup>334</sup> Yet this feeling of solidarity, although encouraged, was far from absolute. The picture of the Scottish missionary seems so far rather conflicted in terms of class: he was accustomed to certain luxuries, but he also needed to and was expected to be frugal; he was continuously reminded that he was special, but he was still to do whatever his bishop wished of him. Even the position of an ordained priest had its nuances: an older, charismatic, skilled and respected priest would have a higher status among his brethren, even if among the congregation the priest was always a man of God. The photographs as well as the living standards show what the priests were aspiring towards, and many of them also recognised their status outside of their priesthood, considering themselves, essentially, gentlemen.

This chapter has examined a wide array of class-related themes, focusing on terminologically equally complicated abstracts such as status, power, wealth as well as respectability and professionalism. Although we have classified the priest as a professional, a number of issues remain. What emerges is an image of the Roman Catholic seminarian and priest in the nineteenth century that is highly complex and, at times, conflicting. The social and spiritual power wielded by the priest among Roman Catholics was in drastic contrast with his economic power. Lady Gordon had to be reprimanded by the Bishop when she overlooked the spiritual power of the cleric and assumed that the young priest was working for her.

The priest’s power over non-Catholics is not discussed here, nor is the significance of the priest seniority or personality. It appears the Roman Catholic priest’s status in relation to Protestants would be even more delicate due to enduring prejudices and outright persecution. The priests themselves considered themselves socially at least at a par with the (Catholic) nobility. Among non-Catholics they might be recognised as learned men, but their poverty forced them to pay particular attention to appearance in order to be recognised as gentlemen. Impoverished clerics were at a par with noblemen and other professionals only through their superior spiritual power accompanied by social power through their genteel education. Roman Catholic priestly power in

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<sup>334</sup> Corfield, *Power and the Professions*, 206.

Scotland was delicately balanced and always in flux, and had to be continually reasserted to make sure it was not forgotten by their congregations. The flocks of the priest, if familiar, might know their clergyman to be the son of a fellow labourer. In addition, there were always those who did not recognise power – often because they were not Roman Catholics – but in addition to class (and surprisingly closely tied to it) the matter of ‘race’ was another factor that might either increase or decrease the priest’s influence among his parishioners.

## Chapter V: 'Race' and Nation I: Highlanders, Lowlanders and the Irish in Scotland

In terms of the development of Scottish Catholicism in the nineteenth century, the significance of mass migration from Ireland cannot be overstated.<sup>1</sup> Accelerated in the years following the Great Famine in the 1840s, the migrants and their descendants created an immense pressure on the Scottish Mission to provide a sufficient number of priests to see to the spiritual needs of their ever-growing flock. Financially hard-pressed as the Mission was, these were souls under their care. However, a shared Christian denomination was not enough to iron out all of the differences between native Catholic Scots and 'their paupered co-religionists'.<sup>2</sup> They also complicated the existing delicate dynamics in Scotland between the Catholics and the Protestants, the priests and their bishops, clergy and their congregations, and the Highland and the Lowland clergy. The newcomers were not welcomed with open arms, and this had to do with their culture, poverty, language, religion and (ethno-)nationalism, all of which were reinforced in the nineteenth century by the dubious idea of 'race'.

This chapter examines some of the internal divisions within the Scottish Mission, aggravated by (but not stemming from) perceived differences between the Lowlanders (Teutons) and Highlanders (Celts) as well as the Scots (Teutons) and the Irish (Celts). It first addresses the significance of lineage and examines the nineteenth-century pseudo-scientific rationale behind 'race', including its close connection to the concept of nation. It will then briefly examine the perceived and real differences between the highlands and lowlands seminarians and priests before moving on to examine the degree of the Scottish Mission's seminarian 'Scottishness' (being born in Scotland or being born of Scottish parents was not necessarily sufficient to qualify someone as 'Scots'). The racial demonization of the Irish migrant is discussed next, including the complicated relationship between the Scottish vicars apostolic, their Irish

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<sup>1</sup> Darren Tierney, 'Financing the Faith: Scottish Catholicism 1772 - c. 1890' (2014), 119.

<sup>2</sup> Steve Bruce, Tony Glendinning, Iain Paterson and Michael Rosie, *Sectarianism in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2004), 14.

congregations,<sup>3</sup> and the supplementary Irish priests. David Petrie has spoken of an apartheid when discussing priests and politics in nineteenth-century Scotland.<sup>4</sup> The issues were not just about prejudice. Political issues, including Irish radicalism, complicated the picture, and will also be examined in this chapter.

The source material examined here is predominantly correspondence and obituaries. Particularly the letters of Andrew Scott (1772-1845), a Douai-trained priest and later bishop (Western District, 1832-1845), have proved helpful in highlighting attitudes within the Mission with regard to both the highlander-lowlander and the Scots-Irish divides. Although relying strongly on letters of one individual who was vehemently anti-Irish and can be risky, the material is too rich to ignore. Stationed in the Western District as a young priest, he had first-hand experience of working with the Irish, and the fact that he chose to openly share his prejudices with his Bishop as well as senior clerics (who did not reproach him for them) suggests that his opinions were socially acceptable within the Mission – even if the others did not articulate their negative feelings with the same consistency and vigour. He also had experience of the French Revolution when he was forced to flee Scots College Douai in 1793, which explains his hostility towards any sort of reform. Apprehensive at the possibility of any social disturbance, the vicars apostolic did not envisage social reform as beneficial, either to them or to their flock.<sup>5</sup> While ‘race’ and racism alone are not a sufficient to explain the spectrum of Scottish attitudes towards the Irish,<sup>6</sup> a focus on this aspect of the complex relationship is vital in understanding nineteenth-century reality.

A further clarification on terminology is necessary before proceeding. Ethnicity, Ethno-cultural identities or ethno-nationalism could have been used as the title for this chapter. However, it was decided that the term ‘race’ (perpetually in laborious-but-necessary quotation marks) was the term more authentically indicative of a nineteenth-

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<sup>3</sup> Although most of the Irish migrants were Catholic, they were by no means exclusively so. In this chapter, when discussing ‘the Irish’, it is generally referred to the Catholic Irish, who the Scottish Mission was forced to acknowledge as souls under their care, or as colleagues working for the salvation of those souls.

<sup>4</sup> David Petrie, ‘Apartheid in Scotland: Irish Immigrants, their Priests and their Politics’, 131, in Horst W. Drescher and Pierre Morère (eds), *Scottish Studies, Études Écossaises: Proceedings of the Scottish Workshop of the E. S. S. E. Conference at Bordeaux, 1993* (Gemersheim, 1994), 125-135

<sup>5</sup> Bernard Aspinwall and John F. McCaffrey, ‘A Comparative View of the Irish in Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century’, 139, in Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds), *The Irish in the Victorian City* (London, 1985), 130-157.

<sup>6</sup> Geraldine Vaughan, *The 'Local' Irish in the West of Scotland 1851-1921* (Basingstoke, 2013), 38.

century reality. Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland and Jane Rendall have elaborated on this complex point when discussing the Irish in nineteenth-century England:

While ethnicity was to do with culture, race was concerned with biology, the ‘natural’ differences marked by colour above all. [...] Both terms, ethnicity and race, are used to denote the boundaries between ‘them’ and ‘us’.<sup>7</sup>

They have also pointed out that the frequent racialisation of ethnicities complicated the picture.<sup>8</sup> While in scholarship the terms have at times been used interchangeably, ethnicity is a younger term and seems better-suited to twenty-first century use. Even with its weaknesses, in order to understand the complexities of Roman Catholicism in nineteenth-century Scotland, ‘race’ appears the more appropriate lens to look through. Although we now know it was a political and cultural construct rather than a natural one,<sup>9</sup> ‘race’ was a factor to contemporaries.

Pinpointing all the interconnected elements of ‘race’ is challenging as even in contemporary usage, the definition of the term fluctuated enormously.<sup>10</sup> Sources might discuss ‘race’, ‘breed’, ‘stock’ or ‘blood’ in the context of inherited qualities, as well as relate these to the equally complicated idea of the accompanying national character. The ideas about ‘races’ in the British Isles were closely linked to the nations of Britain but they often were justified with a slightly different emphasis. Significantly Catherine Hall has specified that the concepts were used ‘virtually interchangeably for much of the nineteenth century, and ‘race’ could carry a mix of cultural, religious, historical and physical connotations (including skin colour)’.<sup>11</sup> Mary J. Hickman, too, has pointed out that race and nation became linked in the nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Because of this interconnectedness of the two lenses, this chapter is the first one on ‘race’ and

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<sup>7</sup> Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland and Jane Rendall, *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the British Reform Act of 1867* (Cambridge, 2000), 45.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*, repr. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1998), 9.

<sup>10</sup> Vaughan, *The ‘Local’ Irish in the West of Scotland 1851-1921*, 38; for a discussion on ‘race’ as a category of analysis, see 37-40.

<sup>11</sup> Catherine Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain* (New Haven, 2012), 204.

<sup>12</sup> Mary J. Hickman, ‘Incorporating and Denationalizing the Irish in England: The Role of the Catholic Church’, 199, in Patrick O’Sullivan (ed.), *The Irish Worldwide: History, Heritage, Identity: Religion and Identity*, (London, 1996), 196-216.



nation. It looks inwards and focuses on the Scottish Mission, addressing the perceived differences between the Scots and the Irish and Highlanders and Lowlanders.

### The Evolution of 'Race'

In a letter to Bishop Andrew Scott in 1838, Paul Macpherson described an event that had a significant impact on two seminarians' lives. With the Cardinal's authority, one, Collins, was admitted to the highly prestigious college of Propaganda Fide in Rome while the other, MacDonald, was rejected. This was regardless of MacDonald's comparatively superior academic merit, and the fact that he had been 'intended for Propaganda':

The Cardinal after considering his physiognomy said he had too much resemblance to Black and therefore would not take him for Propaganda, and fixed on Collins, who indeed has much more of an engaging appearance than either of the other two.<sup>13</sup>

'Black' refers to a former Scots seminarian who had been admitted to the College of Propaganda Fide, but who had disappointed his Superiors by giving up his studies and returning to Scotland. Hence, MacDonald was rejected only on the basis of his superficial resemblance to this individual rather than his actions. The reasoning for the decision was based on the science of physiognomy which postulated that character could be visible to the outside through facial features and outward appearance. At that time, evidently, the resemblance was considered far from coincidental; it was a promise of character and an indicator of nobility, and the boy with a more 'engaging appearance' was considered a safer option – the one less likely to quit. How the students themselves felt about this kind of evaluation is not known; however, they were likely at least vaguely familiar with the concepts.

The idea that the superficial differences in appearance of one's skin, hair, body and face also implied irreconcilable differences in 'temperaments' of these peoples has

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<sup>13</sup> SCA: OL/2/36/16, MacPherson to Bp Scott, Marino 13 Oct 1838.

remained appallingly resilient.<sup>14</sup> Both physiognomy and its sister phrenology (which analysed the form of an individual's skull to determine their character) were considered to be wholly scientific approaches in the nineteenth century, and Scotland was no exception.<sup>15</sup> The ideas of phrenology and physiognomy went deeper, buttressing, reflecting and explaining ideas about a nowadays dubious concept of 'race' which fit equally neatly into contemporary world view. They explained man's place in nature and in the divinely ordered, hierarchical 'Great Chain of Being'.<sup>16</sup> Classification, characteristically hierarchical, made perfect sense, and the expanding empire provided the British with numerous opportunities to assert and confirm their perceived biological and intellectual superiority.<sup>17</sup> This was, in their minds, closely accompanied by their cultural superiority and greater 'civilisation'. The same concepts and arguments that the Britons used when discussing their colonies were used when considering differences within the country as well. To the nineteenth-century European intellectuals, Charles Darwin's theories of evolution seemed to confirm that human beings, too, had – in relative geographical isolation – evolved into different subspecies.<sup>18</sup> Inequality was proscribed into this categorisation. It was widely believed 'that the character of a people was more or less biologically determined and could not be changed without prolonged crossbreeding or miscegenation'.<sup>19</sup> James Lachlan MacLeod has suggested that 'racism' was an accurate term to describe the attitudes; it had simply 'been given the spurious camouflage of pseudo-science'.<sup>20</sup> He referred to it as nineteenth-century "'acceptable'", "'intellectual" racism'.<sup>21</sup> Krisztina Fenyő has

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<sup>14</sup> L. Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Newton Abbot, 1971), 1.

<sup>15</sup> In fact, in the early 1800s Edinburgh was 'the citadel of phrenology in Britain'. Colin Kidd, 'Sentiment, Race and Revival: Scottish Identities in the Aftermath of Enlightenment', 117, in Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood (eds), *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c.1750-c.1850* (Manchester, 1997), 110-126.

<sup>16</sup> Krisztina Fenyő, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance: Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands and the Clearances during the Famine Years, 1845-1855* (East Linton, 2000), 30.

<sup>17</sup> For a particularly thorough investigation, see Richard McMahon, 'The Races of Europe: Anthropological Race Classification of Europeans, 1839-1939' (2007). A doctoral thesis from the European University Institute, Florence.

<sup>18</sup> Charles Hirschman, 'The Origins and Demise of the Concept of Race', 393, in *Population and Development Review* 30/3 (2004), 385-415.

<sup>19</sup> L. P. Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England* (Bridgeport, 1968), 48.

<sup>20</sup> James Lachlan MacLeod, *The Second Disruption: The Free Church in Victorian Scotland and the Origins of the Free Presbyterian Church* (East Linton, 2000), 139.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

pointed out that whilst these theories appear racist, they lacked the notion of inheritance.<sup>22</sup> This, too, was a factor when considering contemporary attitudes, and should be kept in mind when we consider attitudes towards the ‘Celt’ following a famine, for example, whether it was the Irish or the Highlanders.

In Scotland, the juxtaposition of what were considered by contemporaries as superior and inferior ‘races’ distilled itself broadly into differences between the perceived Celtic and the non-Celtic peoples although the perceived superiority was, generally, the burden of the people classifying other peoples. For example, those who considered themselves ‘Teutons’ or ‘Anglo-Saxons’, routinely demonised the Highlanders as ‘Celts’;<sup>23</sup> the Scottish Lowlanders fancied themselves a nobler stock,<sup>24</sup> superior to the Highlanders and the Irish in particular.<sup>25</sup> Equally, the Lowlanders were maligned to be ‘more authentically “English” than the English themselves’.<sup>26</sup> The ‘racial Other’ was not difficult to find, and it is worth exploring the existing internal constraints within the Scottish Mission, explained in terms of ‘race’ as well as culture before discussing the Irish.

### Scottish Highlanders and Lowlanders

The perceived ‘temperamental’ differences between Scottish Highlanders and Scottish Lowlanders were considered significant well into the nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Potential loyalties connected to individual priests’ and bishops’ roots could keep colouring their careers, as well as the careers of others, until the very end. Christine Johnson has pointed out that especially in terms of Highland bishops selecting boys for priesthood,

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<sup>22</sup> Fenyő, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance*, 31.

<sup>23</sup> Kidd, ‘Sentiment, Race and Revival’, 117.

<sup>24</sup> Sheridan Gilley has discussed the paradox of perceived superiority of a mixed race over a pure one: Sheridan Gilley, ‘The Irish’, 19-20, in *History Today* 35/6 (1985), 17-23.

<sup>25</sup> S. Karly Kehoe, ‘Unionism, Nationalism and the Scottish Catholic Periphery’, 66, in *Britain and the World* 4/1 (2011), 65-83.

<sup>26</sup> Colin Kidd, ‘Race, Empire, and the Limits of Nineteenth-Century Scottish Nationhood’, 877, in *The Historical Journal* 46/4 (2003), 873-892.

<sup>27</sup> Alasdair Roberts discusses the vague notion of a Highland temperament, already in existence in the eighteenth century. Alasdair Roberts, ‘Gregor McGregor (1681-1740) and the Highland Problem in the Scottish Catholic Mission’, 104, in *IR* 39/2 (1988), 181-108.

clan loyalty remained a factor well into the nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup> The seminarians' family background was not only scrutinised in terms of the parents' respectability and occupation, but also their biological and cultural origin – especially if this 'race' was determined to be an Irish one. Highlanders and Lowlanders were, similarly, considered significantly different from one another.

Until 1827, the Scottish Catholic Mission consisted of two vicariates or districts, named after the approximate cultural-geographical areas they covered. The geographical and cultural boundary separating the Highland District and the Lowland District followed the geological Highland Boundary Fault line before turning north and finally north-west, excluding a generous portion of the north-eastern coast area.<sup>29</sup> Until the redivision of the Scottish Mission, the districts worked relatively independently of one another in the early education of their future priests. The separation had previously been justified by the need to appease the Protestants elites, who tolerated the education of Catholic priests as long as it remained small-scale.<sup>30</sup> However, one of the reasons for the founding of the shared junior seminary at Blairs in Aberdeenshire, included the divisions caused by the perceived and real differences between Highland Scots and Lowland Scots. Internally, these differences between the two were discussed at great length. It was recognised that there were differences 'in the Language & disposition of the youth in the two Districts', which was 'of no small weight'.<sup>31</sup> The cultural differences between the Scottish Highlands and the Lowlands were old and inflexible. Bishop Grant alluded to

a very great difference there visibly is between the natural disposition of our [Lowlander] country boys and that of the Highlanders, which often occasions disagreement and quarrels and jars, to the great detriment of regular discipline.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Christine Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, 1789-1829* (Edinburgh 1983), 42.

<sup>29</sup> Crieff, Braemar and Corgarf as well as Inverness belonged to the Highland District. Johnson, *Developments*, 133 (Map 2: The Scottish Mission in 1790).

<sup>30</sup> 'It was not thought advisable to have the youth from both Districts in one place, least too many in one place should give umbrage to certain classes of people, which we always wish to avoid as far as possible.' SCA: BL/4/135/5 Copy Letter Bp Hay to Lord Advocate 'state of the affairs of the Mission', 26 Feb 1799.

<sup>31</sup> SCA: BL/4/135/6 Copy letter to Sir John Hipplesley, 1 Mar 1799.

<sup>32</sup> 'The Highland Seminaries: Glenfinnan and Buorbalach', *St Peter's College Magazine*, Jun 1951, 22, quoted in Johnson, *Developments*, 74.

This is not to say all the differences were necessarily understood in racial terms, and the reference to ‘country boys’ might also imply differences of station and livelihood of the pupils’ families. The boys themselves brought some sectarian attitudes with them to the junior seminary, and differences, real and imagined, regularly resulted in arguments between the factions.<sup>33</sup>

Although the seminary experience – including a stay abroad – was supposed to iron out the perceived differences between boys from different parts of the country, evidence suggests that this ideal was not reached until later in the course of their studies, if it was reached at all. As discussed in the previous chapter, the common seminarian identity could only emerge gradually and result from years of conditioning, and the attitudes and identities acquired early in life could be tenacious. The favoured seminary companions could be those from a culturally similar and geographically close home area, even if preference of some individuals over others was actively discouraged. In 1808, the young priest Andrew Scott confessed that he was generally ‘more at ease with some of [his] North country Brethren than with any of your Edinburgh Gents’.<sup>34</sup>

The Mission recognised the problem of early cliquishness. In 1834, five years after the opening of Blairs, Bishop Scott wrote that the redivision of Districts was devised with the ‘express understanding that all distinction of Highlands and Lowlands should for ever be done away with both in name and in effect’.<sup>35</sup> It was to address the problem of two distinct clerical bodies within Scotland, uniting them ‘as it were into one by being all educated at one common seminary’.<sup>36</sup> If the clergy was to rid itself of regional factionalism, it was reasoned that there was to be no institutional segregation to reinforce it. Early shared education would also make the subsequent study experience abroad smoother, highlighting the commonalities rather than the differences among the Scots seminarians. However, sectarianism was not easily rid of. Bishop Scott continued his letter by acknowledging that there were those who thought ‘that our

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<sup>33</sup> Bishop Hay had already in the late 1770s drawn up a list of reasons against the proposed union of seminaries. Johnson, *Developments*, 74.

<sup>34</sup> SCA: BL/4/315/9, Fr Scott to Alexander Cameron, Glasgow 23 May 1808.

<sup>35</sup> SCA: OL/1/9/1, Bp Scott to John Chisholm, Fort William 22 Jan 1834.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

Highland Brethren would never amalgamate with their Lowland Brethren and become one body with them'.<sup>37</sup> This was a cynical prediction, but not entirely unjustified. It highlighted the towering and deep-seated differences, real and perceived, between the two regions. A considerable proportion of these differences were thought to be due to an innate, inherited nature.

The 'Lowland contempt for the Highland Gael' was unsurprising. It fitted into the pattern of contemporary thought in Europe, emphasising the existence of a racial hierarchy.<sup>38</sup> Hugh Trevor-Roper has controversially claimed that before the later seventeenth century, 'the Highlanders of Scotland did not form a distinct people';<sup>39</sup> that, racially and culturally, they were 'simply the overflow of Ireland'.<sup>40</sup> Their origins were considered to be Celtic rather than Teutonic, and their character 'inherently idle and inferior to the superior and successful Saxon lowlanders'.<sup>41</sup> Even their language was regularly referred to as 'Irish' in the eighteenth century.<sup>42</sup> Both Gaelic language and geography had an impact on the emergence of the Highlands as a separate culture region, the *Gaidhealtachd* (Gaelic-speaking Highlands).<sup>43</sup> In her *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance: Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands and the Clearances during the Famine Years, 1845-1855*, Krisztina Fenyő has concluded that the prevailing views concerning the Highlands experienced a swift from contempt to sympathy sometime in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>44</sup> The prevailing views of the Highlander gradually changed 'from inferior race to picturesque and poetic heroes'.<sup>45</sup> The stereotype may have changed, but it did not disappear.

Antipathy over loyalty to a region over a shared nation could seep into internal politics. Alasdair Roberts, for example, has argued that 'the division between Highland and Lowland Catholic' was what fuelled the Jansenist controversy in the eighteenth

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Fenyő, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance*, 32.

<sup>39</sup> Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland', 15, in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), 15-41.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> John F. McCaffrey, 'Reactions in Scotland to the Irish Famine', 169, in Stewart J. Brown and George Newlands (eds), *Scottish Christianity in the Modern World* (Edinburgh, 2000), 155-175.

<sup>42</sup> Trevor-Roper, 'The Invention of Tradition', 16.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 144.

<sup>44</sup> See Fenyő, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance*.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 184.

century.<sup>46</sup> However, we must be careful not to instil too much significance into these differences between individuals which might be for a large part coincidental, or simply a minor contributing factor. James Lachlan MacLeod has examined the Highland-Lowland divide in Scotland through the Free Church and assessed its impact on the Second Disruption.<sup>47</sup> His conclusions note that ‘while the Highland-Lowland hostility contributed to the eventual rending of the Free Church, it was not in itself enough to provoke a schism’.<sup>48</sup> However, the attitudes within the Mission, especially towards what was quickly becoming a minority, are still worth examining. It was especially the Highlanders who were considered the Other, and the stereotypes connected to the image of the Highlander can be rather telling. This is particularly the case since Fenyő has argued that, regardless of the changing views, they were hardly ever ‘seen as equal, fellow human beings’.<sup>49</sup>

The obituaries and correspondence provide evidence of both the imagined positive and the negative characteristics of the Highlander. Although good moral character and lack of any scandal in the family were sufficient for a boy to be advanced to a seminary,<sup>50</sup> a noble lineage of devout Catholics did not go amiss – and often, these lineages were geographically and culturally defined. This was particularly highlighted in obituaries of former priests. For example, Alexander MacKintosh’s (1854-1922) ‘parents came of a stock which has never lost the faith’,<sup>51</sup> and James Bonnyman (1833-1890) was reported to have descended ‘from a pious race, and born of parents who had imbibed the true spirit of religion from the lips of [...] great confessors of the faith’.<sup>52</sup> In the nineteenth century ‘race’ could habitually signify cultural affiliation, nationality, class, or religion as well as what we now as well as what we now refer to as

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<sup>46</sup> Roberts, ‘Gregor McGregor (1681-1740) and the Highland Problem in the Scottish Catholic Mission’, 81.

<sup>47</sup> MacLeod, *The Second Disruption*, esp. ch. 3.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 234.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 184.

<sup>50</sup> SCA: OL/1/11/1, Bp Scott to J. Chisholm, Greenock 27 Apr 1835.

<sup>51</sup> *SCD* 1923 (obituary).

<sup>52</sup> *SCD* 1891 (obituary). It is noteworthy that the term ‘race’ is used in this context to refer to lineage rather than to what we might consider a more visible facet of ethnicity. However, as we have referred to physiognomy and phrenology before, this term is also used in a pseudo-scientific way. To contemporaries, the multiple meanings of the term were not in conflict with each other.

‘ethnicity’,<sup>53</sup> and to an extent it was a combination of these that made up the stereotype. According to one obituary, ‘a typical Highland priest’ had ‘strong national and racial sympathies, but [...] a cosmopolitan outlook’; he was ‘cheerful, affable, and possessed of an old-world courtesy that enhanced the dignity of the man’.<sup>54</sup> A corresponding description of ‘a typical Lowland priest’ eludes the researcher, but it is likely this was the norm the stereotypical Highland priest was compared to; if a Lowland priest had ‘national and racial sympathies’, they were weak compared to those of their Highland brethren.

Outward appearance was considered to hold significance in relation to the individual’s character as we prominently saw in the case of Collins and MacDonald earlier in this chapter. Physical appearance was also noted in the obituaries. The obituary of Father Alexander MacKintosh (1854-1922) described the noble outward appearance of the deceased (and his humility regarding it):

Tall, handsome, with massive, shapely head, clean cut features and fine complexion, his was a figure that would attract attention in any crowd, yet he carried his honours lightly, as if unconscious of his splendid gifts.<sup>55</sup>

The focus on the shape of his head and his facial features emphasise the significance of phrenological and physiognomic evaluation of a character, even in an obituary written as late as in 1923.<sup>56</sup> A panegyric by Bishop McCarthy painted a similarly positive picture of Father Donald Aloysius Mackintosh (1844-1919) who, in his thirties, was ‘in the full vigour and freshness of his manhood’.<sup>57</sup> His physical form was reported as ‘tall, lithe, muscular, his figure [...] remarkably handsome’.<sup>58</sup> This was explained to be not just a personal grace, but characteristic of

an old Highland stock, who from time immemorial had their home in Lochaber, under the shadow of Ben Nevis, where strong men are reared, and where the

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<sup>53</sup> Renee J. Bornais, *A Dubious Welcome; An Ambivalent Acceptance: Representations of the Irish in Scottish Official Reports, 1836-2000* (Guelph, 2000) (MA thesis, University of Guelph, 2000), 13.

<sup>54</sup> *SCD* 1923 (obituary).

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> For more on phrenology, see, for example, Enda Laney, ‘Phrenology in Nineteenth-Century Ireland’, in *New Hibernia Review / Iris Éireannach Nua*, 10/3 (2006), 24-42.

<sup>57</sup> *SCD* 1920 (obituary).

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*



atmosphere of the ancient Catholic faith permeates the mountain glens since the days of St Columba.<sup>59</sup>

According to the obituarist there was something particularly spiritual about the Highlands, which had upheld the Catholic Faith even in the face of persecution. This fits the romantic image of the Highlands, which, in the nineteenth century, gradually became 'a major element in Scotland's national identity' as well as a recreational commodity in the form of hunting grounds.<sup>60</sup> The nobility of the features of a Highlander fitted this picture well. The idealisation of the 'noble savage' – a 'primitive ornament in a primeval landscape'<sup>61</sup> – mixed romantic notions with contempt and condescension. As Charles Withers has argued, the Highlands were both real and mythical.<sup>62</sup>

Regardless of whether there was a real difference in the highland and lowland 'stock', the cultural differences and stereotypical personality traits were frequently highlighted. The groups did not need to be different for people to think they were different. The Rome-trained Father Angus, for example, was described by Bishop Scott as 'too much of a Highlander, whatever ruin might come to the District, to wish for independent powers to a Lowlander, while a Highlander lives'.<sup>63</sup> In another letter five months later, Scott lamented that Father Angus, 'a Highlander to the backbone' would 'do what he can to get a Highlander named' as the new vicar apostolic due to 'his partiality for Gaelic and for the Highlands'.<sup>64</sup> These, Scott complained, 'would blind even his sense of Religion'.<sup>65</sup> He further stated that Father Angus' shared his 'real character' with 'almost every Highlander, none of whom are very scrupulous about the means employed, provided the end be obtained'.<sup>66</sup> This 'partiality' and cliquishness within the Mission is particularly well highlighted in this extract, as is

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Charles Withers, 'The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands', 154, in Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whatley (eds), *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1992), 143-156.

<sup>61</sup> Charles W. J. Withers, *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region* (London, 1988), 67.

<sup>62</sup> Withers, 'The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands', 143.

<sup>63</sup> SCA: OL/1/6/16 Typescript Bp Scott to Abbe McPherson, 27 Nov 1831.

<sup>64</sup> SCA: OL/1/7/3, Typescript Bp Scott to Abbe McPherson, 3 Feb 1832.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

Scott's frustration with it – regardless of the fact that he himself thought there was not one Highlander priest in the Mission fit to be a bishop.<sup>67</sup>

Scott's later letters provide further evidence for the cultural attitudes within the Mission. He considered his fellow Highlanders ruthless and cunning as well as proud and just, as he on one occasion admitted to have had his 'Highland pride humbled, and to have learned to submit to injustice and disgrace'.<sup>68</sup> However, one of his letters also hints at the non-ethnic catalyst for sectarianism. He blamed the geographical isolation and sparse communications, which have resulted in 'ignorance' in the abovementioned Father Angus, who

passed all his days while in Scotland in the remotest part of the Highlands without having almost any communication with his Brethren in the lowland District of Scotland, and is consequently as ignorant of the state of Religion and of Ecclesiastical matters in the old Lowland District of Scotland, as if he had never in his life been out of Rome.<sup>69</sup>

This fits well into Withers' argument that the Highlands were 'culturally created' combining aspects of geography and idyllic scenery, ideas of the Highlander as 'noble savage' and 'a romantic interest in primitive virtue'.<sup>70</sup> As well as highlighting factionalism within the Mission, the extract stresses the problem of training priests predominantly abroad which could result in ignorance over some aspects of the Scottish Mission and its day-to-day realities.

Few priests had a real say in their geographical location or the duration of their placement. The vow of obedience would require an individual to, at a moment's notice from the Bishop, to pack up and move to another mission station within Scotland, or to take up a teaching post in one of the Scots Colleges abroad. Yet there were strings that attached individuals to certain districts, and local and regional cultures did play a part. Each student's status as their district's Bishop's protégé tied them to that district, but more significant was the rare ability to speak Gaelic. This would almost certainly determine the seminarian's later placement as a priest.

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> SCA: OL/1/10/12, William McIntosh to Bp Scott, Blairs 21 Feb 1835.

<sup>69</sup> SCA: OL/2/5/6, Bp Scott to Paul MacPherson at Rome, Glasgow 4 Feb 1831. Father Angus completed his studies in Rome.

<sup>70</sup> Withers, 'The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands', 145.

Although in theory, the Scottish Mission was supposed to be a united front of clerical professionals, the reality was far from the ideal. The real and imagined differences between Scots were seen to be the starkest between the Highland Scots and the Lowland Scots. Migration complicated matters further, as the same Teuton–Celt juxtaposition was present between the native Scots and the Irish. In 1860, the English clergyman, historian and novelist Charles Kingsley described the Irish as ‘white chimpanzees’ in a letter to his wife,<sup>71</sup> and a satirical piece in *Punch, or the London Charivari* called the Irish migrant to London a ‘creature manifestly between the Gorilla and the Negro’.<sup>72</sup> Enda Duffy has called such rhetoric of racial hatred as a *mélange* of racism, travelogue and imperial condescension’.<sup>73</sup> It was, as usual, accompanied by fear. But before we move on to discuss the prejudices towards the Irish in detail, we will focus on the seminarians for a moment.

### ‘Scottish’ Seminarians and the Irish Connection

Contemporaries were unclear on what constituted a ‘real’ Scotsman. In a union state, traditional loyalties could thrive and coexist, not necessarily in competition: a Scotsman might identify as a Briton as well as an Edinburgher. In more stable political and geographical entities the range of choices might be more limited,<sup>74</sup> but identities were still markedly fluid, unstable and abundant. With regard to the 225 France-trained seminarians, the connection to Scotland is through the Scottish Mission, operating within the borders of Scotland. In this sense, the Scottish Mission’s seminarians were all ‘Scots’. But this did not mean they were necessarily born in Scotland. We will

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<sup>71</sup> Kingsley was also a friend of Charles Darwin’s. Charles Kingsley, *His Letters and Memories of His Life*, vol. II, 10<sup>th</sup> edn (London, 1881), 111-112, quoted in Enda Duffy, ‘“As White as Ours”: Africa, Ireland, Imperial Panic, and the Effects of British Race Discourse’, 25, in Graham MacPhee and Prem Poddar (eds), *Empire and After: Englishness in Postcolonial Perspective* (New York, 2007), 25-56.

<sup>72</sup> ‘The Missing Link’, in *Punch, or the London Charivari* (London), 18 Oct 1862, 165.

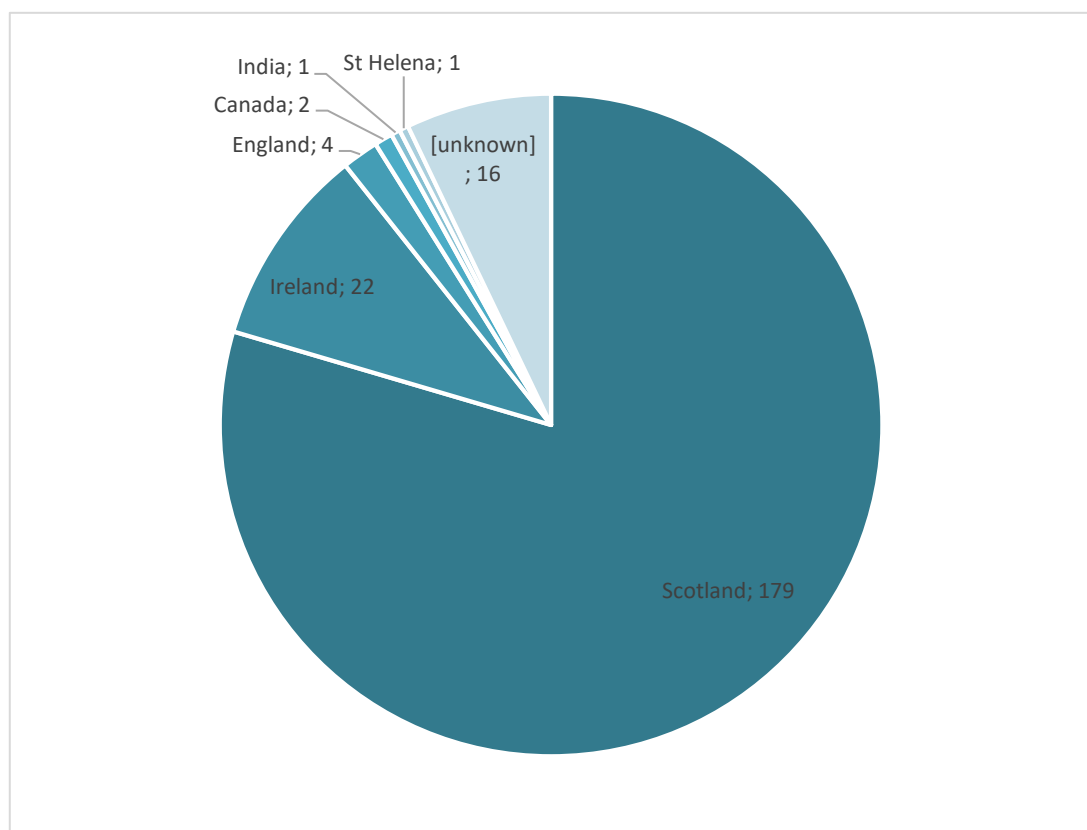
<sup>73</sup> Duffy, ‘“As White as Ours”’, 25.

<sup>74</sup> For example, in France the fact that provincialism was for a long time equated with the *ancien régime* did not serve to sing its praises. David Eastwood, Laurence Brockliss and Michael John, ‘From Dynastic Union to Unitary State: the European Experience’, 199-200, in Brockliss and Eastwood (eds), *A Union of Multiple Identities*, 193-212.

briefly examine the place of birth of these individuals before examining the contrasting ‘Irishness’ in the context of the Scottish Mission in greater detail.

Aside from a few unusual exceptions, a child born on British soil or in a British dominion automatically became a British subject (*jus soli*).<sup>75</sup> The ‘subject’ status could also be passed on abroad for two generations in the legitimate male line (*jus sanguinis*).<sup>76</sup> Aside from cultural and ethnic baggage, the country of birth itself is quite interesting when considering the seminarians as a group. The following classification is based on the ‘place of birth’ noted in the college registers.<sup>77</sup>

**Chart F: Birth Countries of Seminarians**



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<sup>75</sup> GOV.UK, ‘British Nationality: Summary’, accessed 29 Dec 2016. URL: [www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/267913/britnatsummary.pdf](http://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/267913/britnatsummary.pdf).

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register) and CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

Based on birth, it appears that the vast majority of the 225 France-trained Scottish seminarians under scrutiny were from within the current or former British Empire. Records mention the country of birth of all but sixteen individuals. Out of the 219 whose country of birth is known, only four (1.8 %) were not born within the boundaries of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. 179 seminarians (81.7 %) were born on Scottish soil, and twenty-two (10.0 %) were born in Ireland.<sup>78</sup> Four were born in England, two in Canada (James Gillis (1802-1864) and John MacDonald (180x-18xx)), one on the island of St Helena (Alexander O'Donnell (1817-1882)) and one in India (Bruce Geddes (1851-1906)). Although predominantly born in Scotland, the seminarians were not solely so; nor did their body consist solely of individuals with a tangible Scottish connection through either birth or lineage. Even though many of those born elsewhere may have had a Scottish connection from birth, this is often far from obvious.

Although the assessment of place of birth was considered necessary, great care must be taken before making any firm conclusions on the seminarians based solely on country of birth. English-born Thomas Fox (1839-1xxx), for example, was the son of a mother born in Ireland and a father born in England.<sup>79</sup> Aside from his admittance to Blairs at age eleven there is no clear Scottish connection, but it can be assumed that there was something tangible enough to convince the vicars apostolic of the earnestness of the boy's vocation and his willingness to dedicate his working life for the Scottish Mission over any other. Residency would have been sufficient, so it is plausible that the Fox family moved to and settled in Scotland. Another example of a less clear-cut case is that of James Gillis (1802-1864). His father was born in Banffshire; yet the son was considered 'a Canadian' and therefore, according to some, a bad candidate for a Scottish apostolic vicariate.<sup>80</sup> Interestingly, a similar suspicion over loyalties or suitability is even more visibly true of those born in Ireland.

The Lowlanders and Highlanders might have got their share of attention in the squabbles within the Mission, but it was 'the Irish' that were mentioned most often in

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<sup>78</sup> This percentage is indicative of findings regarding the total population of Scotland: in 1851, roughly seven per cent of the population of Scotland was born in Ireland. This does not take into account the children of Irish migrants born in Scotland. Gilley, 'The Irish', 18.

<sup>79</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Peterhead, RD 232-00, 001-013.

<sup>80</sup> SCA: OL/1/6/16, Typescript Bp Scott to Abbe McPherson, 27 Nov 1831.

the correspondence. The Scottish Mission was in general no different from the mainstream press: the Irish 'character' was seen as inherently defective and they were portrayed as a fundamentally different and foreign race.<sup>81</sup> Yet, the sample of 225 Scottish seminarians who studied in France contains a significant number of verifiably 'Irish-born' individuals. Twenty-two of the individuals in our sample (10.0 %) were born on Irish soil. However, when we look at the birth country of the parents (as far as it is known), we discover that a total of sixty-five individuals (in addition to the twenty-two born in Ireland) have what can be called an 'Irish connection': either one parent or both parents born in Ireland (based on their birth country on the Census Enumerators' Books). Of these additional individuals, all but one were born in Scotland. This is where the troublesome semantics come into play. The correspondence speaks of 'the Irish' when the author means to refer to the Irish in Ireland, the Irish in Scotland, or the Scots-born children of the Irish (or merely Irish fathers) in Scotland. 'Irishness' was malleable and flexible. Unfortunately, it also stuck, and in Scotland it could be a hindrance.

The paradox of the integration, or lack thereof, of the expatriate Irish has been frequently discussed by historians. In terms of Scotland, Bernard Aspinwall and John F. McCaffrey have claimed that (even) the Irish migrant was 'in the almost impossible position of being unable to become Scottish'.<sup>82</sup> The seminarians that may have been born to Irish parents in Scotland, or brought to Scotland in their infancy, were considered to be culturally in a similar position. It is difficult to say how much their 'Irishness' affected their education and study experience among their more straightforwardly Scottish compatriots, but in the end, they were cast with the same mould. A Scottish-led training, started early, was thought to be able to cancel out some of their troublesome 'Irishness', innate through birth and blood, as it was supposed to cancel the differences between the Highlander and Lowlander boys.

In terms of seminary admission, Irish boys were generally considered less preferable to Scottish boys. In 1841, Bishop Scott complained about the pool he was

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<sup>81</sup> Michael de Nie, 'The Famine, Irish Identity, and the British Press', 34, in *Irish Studies Review*, 6/1 (1998), 27-35.

<sup>82</sup> Aspinwall and McCaffrey, 'A Comparative View of the Irish in Edinburgh', 130.

recruiting from in the Western District which was becoming increasingly ‘Irish’.<sup>83</sup> Scott considered the recruits foreign, whether they were born in Scotland or not:

I am obliged to take more students from this part of the Country than I would wish to do, if I could possibly avoid it. [...] As Dr Carruthers once said to me, “it is better to fill our own garden with our own tools, than with foreign ones”.<sup>84</sup>

Problems arose, however, when there were not enough ‘Scottish’ tools to go around. Broadly, ‘the Irish’ were seen as foreign, as outcasts, as the alien Other.<sup>85</sup> Respectability or hard work might not be enough to overcome the prejudices. For example, the Irishman Constantine Lee, who was received into the Scots College in Rome in 1822 and took the Mission oath, was put in a difficult situation in 1825 when his ordination coincided with a new regulation by the Bishops of Scotland stating that ‘no Priest but a native can be Missionary in that country’.<sup>86</sup> Although he was described as ‘a conscientious man’,<sup>87</sup> alternative plans were made so that he could be employed in Northern Ireland. Yet Bishop Paterson backtracked and stated that

On the whole I think he might be employed to advantage in the Northern parts of our District & relieve [sic] a Clergyman more qualified on many accounts to labor on the West Coast.<sup>88</sup>

Even though in this case Lee actually finished his training at a Scots College and took the Mission Oath, his country of origin was still considered problematic. The new regulation was, however, impossible to enforce, and it was most likely agreed on as an ideal rather than an attainable policy.

An additional problem of recruiting from Irish migrant communities was apparently their strong sense of place in a hierarchical society. Although this applied to low-born Scots as well, Bishop Scott seemed to think that the Irish communities of Scotland were particularly resentful ‘when any of them gets forward in the world or rises to a

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<sup>83</sup> SCA: BL/6/330/5, Bp Scott to Charles Gordon, Greenock 31 Jul 1841.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Bornais, *A Dubious Welcome; An Ambivalent Acceptance*, 62.

<sup>86</sup> SCA: BL/5/175/2: Paterson to Cameron, London 27 Apr 1825.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

situation in life above their neighbours'.<sup>89</sup> The migrants to the Glasgow area were for the most part poor,<sup>90</sup> and aversion to what was considered stepping out of one's place was not unusual. It is, however, unlikely that the Irish would have been very different in this respect to their native hosts.

The Irish connection might seem a rather superficial way of classifying individuals from our vantage point. However, it was exactly this connection that contemporaries grasped when describing their brethren. We know that the Irish-born priests, some of which were fully or partially trained by the Scottish Mission, made a significant contribution to Scottish Catholicism.<sup>91</sup> If we look anew at the proportion of 'Irish', including those who have an Irish connection, Ireland's presence in this section of the seminarian body was at least thirty per cent. It is not certain whether similar proportion of those studying in Spain or Rome, for example, had Irish roots – but the significant proportion explains the prickly 'racial' dimension of the internal controversies the Scottish Mission was grappling with.

### (The Problem of) Irish Catholics in Scotland

The Irish in Scotland have received a fair deal of academic attention in recent years as their importance to the development of the Scottish nation and the corresponding identities have been more widely acknowledged. Following James Edmund Handley's noteworthy research conducted over seventy years ago,<sup>92</sup> a significant amount of research has been done to examine the experience of both the Irish and the Scots.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> SCA: DD/1/6/9, Bp Scott to Carruthers, Greenock 27 May 1837.

<sup>90</sup> Bernard Aspinwall, 'Children of the Dead End: The Formation of the Modern Archdiocese of Glasgow, 1815-1914', in *IR* 43/2 (1992), 126, 129.

<sup>91</sup> See for example Bernard J. Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests in Scotland 1829-1979* (Inverness, 1979).

<sup>92</sup> James Edmund Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork, 1947). See also his *The Irish in Scotland 1798-1845*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Cork, 1945).

<sup>93</sup> See Vaughan, *The 'Local' Irish in the West of Scotland 1851-1921*; Martin J. Mitchell (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Irish in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2008), and his *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797-1848: Trade Unions, Strikes and Political Movements* (Edinburgh, 1998); Bernard Aspinwall, 'A Long Journey: The Irish in Scotland', in O'Sullivan (ed.), *The Irish Worldwide*, 146-182; Aspinwall and McCaffrey, 'A Comparative View of the Irish in Edinburgh'; McCaffrey, 'Reactions in Scotland to the Irish Famine'; Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds), *Irish Identities in Victorian*



The Irish were referred to as ‘aliens’ in many contemporary accounts, even though they were British subjects.<sup>94</sup> The rhetoric describing the ‘habits and the dispositions’<sup>95</sup> of the migrants is markedly similar to that discussing differences between Lowlanders and Highlanders. In fact, the perceived racial differences were explained by using the same racial framework which classified the Irish and the Highlanders as Celts, and the Lowlanders and the Scots as Teutons.<sup>96</sup>

To the Scottish Mission, the changing demographics precipitated by the migration were a challenge. Irish migrants tended to form their own expatriate communities within industrial cities, and bring their children up in a cultural environment often drawing more closely from Ireland than from their current domicile, even if their children were born in Scotland. Problems arose from the political organisation and fundraising of both their Irish congregations and the Irish-born clergy. To the clerical leaders, a policy of quiet, non-confrontational coexistence with the Protestant majority was disrupted by political movements among their congregations,<sup>97</sup> most notably nationalistic causes. For example, in the late 1820s in Glasgow, the local branch of the Catholic Association clashed with the clergy directly after a conflict escalated into a power struggle.<sup>98</sup> In addition, a Mission short of priests was forced to recruit clergymen from Ireland, and not all of these were suitably subservient to manage with ease. While a lot of the issues had complex roots, some of the problems with both the Irish congregations and the clergy were expressed in overtly racial terms. The Irish were perceived to be fundamentally different from their Scottish counterparts, which exacerbated the conflicts and coloured the rhetoric, even if it did not directly cause them. Similarly argued clashes, although to a lesser degree, occasionally sparked between the Scottish Lowlander priests and Highlander priests. The common

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*Britain* (Abingdon, 2011); Donald M. MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Basingstoke, 2011).

<sup>94</sup> Geraldine Vaughan, *The 'Local' Irish in the West of Scotland 1851-1921* (Basingstoke, 2013), 2.

<sup>95</sup> SCA: OL/2/8/1, Bp Scott to Abbé MacPherson, Glasgow 10 Jan 1832.

<sup>96</sup> Bruce Nelson, *Irish Nationalists and the Making of the Irish Race* (Princeton, 2012), 31.

<sup>97</sup> McCaffrey, ‘Reactions in Scotland to the Irish Famine’, 161.

<sup>98</sup> The Glasgow Catholic Association operated between 1823 and 1829. It sent a portion of its income to Ireland to support Daniel O’Connell. Martin J. Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797-1848: Trade Unions, Strikes and Political Movements* (Edinburgh, 1998), 114-116. For more on O’Connell and the Catholic Association, see R. V. Comerford, ‘O’Connell, Daniel (1775–1847)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), online edn (2009).

denominator was the assumed ‘racial’ difference between those who were perceived to be different peoples.

The array of terms in use when discussing migration within Britain was generally limited to ‘Irish’, ‘Scots’ and ‘English’, and borderline cases were rarely referred to as such. As national and ethno-cultural roots were considered relatively insurmountable, a second-generation migrant born and raised in Scotland might still be considered ‘Irish’. Their shared status as British subjects did not help here. In the bishop’s letter of recommendation to John Gordon, who was dispatched to Ireland to ask for charitable donations, the bishop did not speak of the expatriate Irish with affection (although it is worth noting that he held stronger prejudices against them than most):

the crying religious wants of the poor Irish Catholics under my charge loudly call upon me to make every possible effort for their relief: their complete removal, I fear, I cannot expect to see in my day.<sup>99</sup>

The Irish Catholic souls were considered as much of the duty of the priests as the Scots Catholic ones. Their spiritual needs were to be met even in the face of challenges. In 1809 Father William Rattray lamented that

the great bulk of them here are merely birds of passage; and no sooner have you got those of them whom you can induce to attend, instructed and brought into some degree of order, than away they go [...].<sup>100</sup>

For the already pressured Scottish Mission, the work with these culturally exclusive and often impoverished congregations was a struggle. Their mobility was a perception than reality. However, these perceptions of what the Irish were like ran deep.

There was a more widely felt sentiment of the migrants not belonging in Scotland. This was not exclusive to Scottish Catholics nor the Catholic clergy. The national press on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean did its best to caricature and demonise the

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<sup>99</sup> SCA: OL/2/8/3, Bp Scott to Bp William Abraham (Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, Ireland), Glasgow 17 Jan 1832.

<sup>100</sup> SCA: BL, William Rattray to Bp Hay, Paisley 24 Feb 1809, quoted in Johnson, *Developments*, 137.

newcomers.<sup>101</sup> Anti-Irishness intensified in the second half of the nineteenth century, but it had manifested itself in Britain decades earlier, both before and after the Irish Famine.<sup>102</sup> The perceived Irish character was seen as problematic. Father Rattray's prejudices drew from familiar stereotypes, stating that the Irish were never 'lukewarm', but either 'hot or cold, saints or divels'.<sup>103</sup>

After restraining their passions, and frequenting the sacraments most devoutly for years; the next thing you hear of them is, that they have been concerned in some scandalous scenes of drunkenness, rioting, etc. But they soon repent as heartily as they had sinned [...].<sup>104</sup>

The congregations were no doubt troublesome to manage at times, but it is fair to assume that there was also a degree of bitterness regarding the amount of work expected of a priest in urban Western District. There were other factors at play, but that the clergy resorted to stereotyping the Irish in familiar, unfavourable terms is not a surprising response.

The priest and later Bishop Andrew Scott did not have a high opinion of the Irish.<sup>105</sup> His ideas on the 'Irish disposition' were overwhelmingly negative, and while heavily biased in this way, they indicate the kinds of things a priest felt comfortable reporting in written form. Speaking of his own undesirable qualities, the Highlander equated his 'being rough, uncultivated, and ill natured' with being 'in a word, a rough Irishman'.<sup>106</sup> In 1826 he lamented what he considered the 'self conceit and general obstinacy of the

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<sup>101</sup> See, for example, Martin Forker, 'The Use of the "Cartoonist's Armoury" in Manipulating Public Opinion: Anti-Irish Imagery in 19th Century British and American Periodicals', in *Journal of Irish Studies* 27 (2012), 58-71.

<sup>102</sup> See, for example, MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain*. The historiography of Irish diaspora and Irish migration to Britain is immense. For two relatively recent collections of essays that provide a good overview: see Swift and Gilley (eds), *Irish Identities in Victorian Britain*, and Frank Ferguson and James McConnel (eds), *Ireland and Scotland in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, 2009).

<sup>103</sup> SCA: BL, William Rattray to Bp Hay, Paisley 24 Feb 1809, quoted in Johnson, *Developments*, 137.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> See also Vincent Alan McClelland, 'Irish Clergy and Archbishop Manning's Apostolic Visitation of the Western District of Scotland, 1867 Part I: The Coming of the Irish', 4, in *The Catholic Historical Review* 53/1 (1967), 1-27.

<sup>106</sup> Underlining in the original. SCA: BL/4/315/16 (2), Fr Scott to Alexander Cameron, Glasgow 26 Jul 1808.

Irish character'.<sup>107</sup> In 1810, the bishop-to-be referred to a horse as 'a stout well built Irishman':<sup>108</sup>

My pooney is like my flock a real paddy, born in the County of Armanagh, not very handsome, but as high spirited and blooded as any Irishman that ever crossed the water.<sup>109</sup>

The rhetoric was far from flattering, and this is not the only example of such derogatory language. The characterisation shows that at least in Scott's mind, there existed a distinct (negative) archetype of an Irishman. This archetype was not only familiar; it was also condoned enough so that Father Scott could confidently share his thoughts with his Bishop.

The chronic lack of labourers put the Scottish hierarchy under pressure from the needs of their ever-growing congregations. If the Mission needed priests urgently – and could not wait until more seminarians would have finished their studies – they could consider recruiting (or even borrowing them for a few years) from Ireland. In 1824 Alexander Paterson complained that

at present our Mission must be supplied with young men ignorant in a great measure of our manners & of our language: but we must have them as we can get them; better to have them than to have none at all.<sup>110</sup>

Due to the enduring oversupply in Ireland, Irish priests were easy to recruit or borrow by the Scottish Mission in order to relieve some pressure on dwindling resources, especially from the 1830s onwards. Some of these young Irish priests (or later-stage seminarians) preferred serving another Mission outside of Ireland 'sooner than be for a considerable time unemployed'.<sup>111</sup> For the Scottish Mission it was also a question of self-sufficiency. In 1844 Bishop Scott expressed his 'disgust' over the way in which

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<sup>107</sup> SCA: BL/5/196/2 Fr Scott to Alexander Paterson, Blairs 12 Jan 1826.

<sup>108</sup> SCA: BL/4/353/2, Fr Scott to Cameron, Glasgow 22 Jun 1810.

<sup>109</sup> SCA: BL/4/353/3, Fr Scott to Charles Maxwell, Glasgow 24 Jun 1810.

<sup>110</sup> SCA: BL/5/156/8, Paterson to Cameron, 8 Rue de Monsieur 3 Oct 1824.

<sup>111</sup> SCA: OL/2/31/5, John Ryan to Bp Scott, Limerick 13 Jan 1838.

his District was ‘served by the Irish priests’; his preference was for ‘Scotch Priests’ and full independence from what he considered the imported ones.<sup>112</sup>

The Irish who were recruited as priests or just before their ordination were considered to be different from those recruited as children. In 1824, it was suggested that as there was ‘some ready cash’, the Mission would do well to take into its pay ‘two or three young men’ from Ireland, who

would be ready for us in two years, & who, before they were prelates on our funds, would take the Mission-oath or obligation to serve the Scotch Mission during life.<sup>113</sup>

At this particular time, the suggestion was not heeded. However, in 1838, the situation was considered more pressing. Bishop Scott was forced to visit the government-funded Irish seminary of St Patrick’s in Maynooth, County Kildare.<sup>114</sup> Bishop Scott was convinced that it was best to recruit the Irish seminarians before they had had the chance to work as priests in Ireland and thus develop bad habits:

they would answer better in this country to begin their labours here. They cannot feel the change of the manner of conducting Mission here, which they might do had they been previously employed in Ireland.<sup>115</sup>

Although they could not compete with those trained from childhood and with a clear Scottish connection, young, freshly-ordained (or soon-to-be-ordained) men were considered more mouldable than the older Irish missionaries who had already developed habits unacceptable for the Scottish version of Roman Catholicism. The flipside of the coin was that they would have no previous experience, and therefore would need some guidance as well as supervision in case their knowledge and methods differed from those of their Scottish counterparts.

The recruitment of additional labourers was a necessity, but throughout the nineteenth century, there were serious concerns that the Irish clergy were bringing their

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<sup>112</sup> SCA: DD/1/12/11, Bp Scott to Gillis, Greenock 2 Oct 1844.

<sup>113</sup> SCA: BL/5/156/8, Paterson to Cameron, 8 Rue de Monsieur 3 Oct 1824. The Mission Oath is discussed in greater detail in Chapter I.

<sup>114</sup> For more on Maynooth, see Jeremiah Newman, *Maynooth and Georgian Ireland* (Galway, 1979).

<sup>115</sup> SCA: DD/1/7/6, Bp Scott to Carruthers, Greenock 17 Apr 1838.

politics with them. As a young priest in 1826, Andrew Scott stated his prejudices in a letter to Bishop Alexander Paterson. He cautioned against bringing an Irishman to work in the Glasgow Mission, however temporarily, as in his opinion that could cause irreparable harm.<sup>116</sup> He spoke of the Irish clergymen as if they were a pest:

It would take half an hours conversation to explain to you all the evils which from my knowledge of the Irish would result to the Congregation itself from introducing one of their countrymen among them. You would not find it easy to get rid of them again.<sup>117</sup>

The deeper issue here was that Scott was concerned that the reform agitation could impact the goodwill of the Protestant merchants in the city towards Catholics.<sup>118</sup> The Glasgow Catholic Association (1823-1829) worked locally towards achieving Catholic Emancipation.<sup>119</sup> It was a branch of Catholic Association founded by an Irish nationalist Daniel O'Connell, designed to attract those of a lower socio-economic status.<sup>120</sup> Especially in Glasgow, there were fears among the city civic authorities over O'Connellite politics.<sup>121</sup> A mass-movement like that could jeopardise social order. Due to his experience of the French Revolution, Scott feared that the clergy and the bishops should 'crack down' on this awakening political feeling, 'lest it should lead to the same horrors'.<sup>122</sup> McCaffrey and Aspinwall have found that, apprehensive at the possibility of any social disturbance, the vicars apostolic did not envisage social reform as beneficial.<sup>123</sup> It distracted 'the individual from spiritual concerns, particularly the salvation of his own soul',<sup>124</sup> and was 'something which could lead to sedition and revolution'.<sup>125</sup> The Catholic Emancipation was not the only issue of concern. In 1833, now a bishop, Scott complained that the Irish Catholics in the West of Scotland 'have

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<sup>116</sup> SCA: BL/5/196/3, Fr Scott to Paterson, Blairs 15 Jan 1826.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> John F. McCaffrey, 'Irish Immigrants and Radical Movements in the West of Scotland in the Early Nineteenth Century', 49-50, in *IR* 39/1 (1988), 46-60.

<sup>119</sup> Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797-1848*, 114.

<sup>120</sup> See Comerford, 'O'Connell, Daniel (1775-1847)'.

<sup>121</sup> McCaffrey, 'Irish Immigrants and Radical Movements', 49-50.

<sup>122</sup> William McGowan, 'Address of the Glasgow Catholic Association' (1825), 61-63, quoted in Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797-1848*, 122. See also McCaffrey, 'Reactions in Scotland to the Irish Famine', 161.

<sup>123</sup> Aspinwall and McCaffrey, 'A Comparative View of the Irish in Edinburgh', 139.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> John F. McCaffrey, 'Irish Immigrants and Radical Movements', 50.

all become keen politicians, and without proper management, are in danger of walking in the footsteps of the French Infidels'.<sup>126</sup>

In 1841, Bishop Scott explained in slightly softer terms that

although good moral Clergymen generally speaking in every respect, do not, and cannot, advance the interests of Religion in this country as much as our native priests can do.<sup>127</sup>

Scott mentioned the 'prejudices against them' and what they represented as Irishmen on behalf of Scottish Catholic flocks, but even by Protestants – possible converts and future patrons – around whom the Catholic clergy still wanted to tread carefully:

The habits, the ideas, the customs and manners of the Irish priests are in general in such opposition to those of our Scotch population that even those Protestants who might be converted by a Scotch priest will not and cannot prevail upon themselves to apply to an Irish priest.<sup>128</sup>

The Irish priests in Scotland could be too 'Irish'. The concern over cultural transfer was, again, accompanied by a fear of radicalisation. In the 1840s, the O'Connellite Repeal Association and the newer Young Ireland movement became a concern.<sup>129</sup> The Irish clergy could hold 'violent political feelings'.<sup>130</sup> Scott was of the opinion that Catholicism 'cannot be increased in our present circumstances in this Country either by Irish or English Clergymen but only by native Scotch secular missionaries'.<sup>131</sup> In 1848 Bishop Murdoch, too, complained of the 'Hibernian portion' of his clergy: 'I wish to heaven I could do without Irish Priests, & in general they do not answer well; but it is impossible for me to get on without them'.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> SCA: PL/3/234/5, Fr Scott to Bp Kyle, 22 Mar 1833, quoted in Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797-1848*, 157.

<sup>127</sup> SCA: BL/6/330/12, Bp Scott to Bp Kyle, Greenock 10 Dec 1841. Also quoted by Martin J. Mitchell, "'In General, They Do Not Answer Well": Irish Priests in the Western Lowlands of Scotland, 1838-50', 153, in Oonagh Walsh (ed.), *Ireland Abroad: Politics and Professions in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, 2003), 147-159.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Interestingly, the juxtaposition of Celts and the Teutonic Anglo-Saxon was also used as a means to justify ethnic nationalism, such as Young Irelander politics in the 1840s. Cian Turlough McMahon, 'Did the Irish "become white"? Global migration and national identity, 1842-1877' (2010), 22.

<sup>130</sup> SCA: BL/6/330/12, Bp Scott to Bp Kyle, Greenock 10 Dec 1841.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> SCA: BL/6/587/6, Bp Murdoch [to Rev. MacLachlan?], Glasgow 31 May 1848.

It was largely this imported clergy that could become problematic to manage, although those trained by the Scottish Mission from boyhood were also suspicious due to their background. The Scottish Mission held little control over these individuals' training, which meant they could not be sure they fitted the mould that the boys, Scottish or Irish, who were trained from childhood. Although reluctant to do so, the Mission was forced to accept Irish priests to the West of Scotland as well as the rest of the country in order to manage the growing congregant numbers. We have already alluded to the fact that the Irish clerics were seen as potentially troublesome, especially when they worked among their own countrymen in the migrant communities. The republican Irish posed a risk to the stability of the country,<sup>133</sup> but combined with affront to clerical authority, this sort of nationalism could be disastrous to local clerical power structures as well.

The perceived problem was that those trained in Ireland could form cliques and effectively appeal to their migrant countrymen in Scotland, eventually overruling Scottish episcopal authority. Already in the 1820s, it was feared that they might

naturally fall in to all the habits he was accustomed to see between his own Country priests at home and their flocks. He would appear to have all their hearts, which might flatter too much a young mind, and if he had not extraordinary prudence all Episcopal authority would soon be set aside.<sup>134</sup>

Indeed, the episcopal authority of the Scottish vicars apostolic did not always triumph. The Irish roots of the troublemakers were seen as further proof of the 'Irish agenda',<sup>135</sup> aiming to repeal the Union of 1801 but also to displace Scottish bishops in favour of Irish ones. The fears were not wholly unfounded.<sup>136</sup> A small but loud minority of Irish priests were ideologically affiliated with Young Irelanders.<sup>137</sup> They were accused of

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<sup>133</sup> For an overview, see Máirtín Ó Catháin, *Irish Republicanism in Scotland, 1858-1916: Fenians in Exile* (Dublin, 2007).

<sup>134</sup> SCA: BL/5/196/3, Fr Scott to Paterson, Blairs 15 Jan 1826.

<sup>135</sup> For more on the perceived Irish threat, see for example Terence McBride, 'The Secular and the Radical in Irish Associational Culture in Mid-Victorian Glasgow', in *Immigrants & Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora* 28/1 (2010), 31-41.

<sup>136</sup> See, for example, Liam Swords (ed.), *Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter: The Clergy and 1798* (Blackrock, 1997).

<sup>137</sup> For more on Young Irelanders, see for example Stephen Kelly, 'John Henry Newman, the Young Irelanders, and the Catholic University of Ireland', esp. 332-333, in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 100/399 (2011), 331-347.



preaching a ‘hysterical campaign against the native Scots clergy’, undermining native episcopal and ministerial authority and encouraging others to do so as well.<sup>138</sup> In 1840, when another ‘young Irish priest’ (O’Shea) was received in Glasgow, it was postulated that the Mission had ‘too many of them in one place’ and that they did not ‘value the same interest in the temporal or spiritual welfare of the Mission as Scotch priests do’.<sup>139</sup>

The Irish priests were seen to appeal ‘to the Irish blend of radical nationalism and religion [...] by invoking the intermingled loves of faith and fatherland’ among the migrant population in Scotland.<sup>140</sup> The Scottish clergy could not compete. By mid-century they had become increasingly suspicious of Irish priests and their political and religious power over what they considered to be their congregations. It was feared that ‘most of the Irish clergy have taken in the Irish Association’, which was reported to be ‘held in the same estimation in Glasgow as the Devil himself’.<sup>141</sup>

As reflected in the prejudices voiced by Scottish priests and bishops, not all the Irish priests ‘answered well’.<sup>142</sup> In theory, the assistance of the Irish priests took some pressure off the Scottish Mission which did not have enough priests to deal with the growing number of migrants entering the Western District. Yet, some radical young priests among the Irish clergy began to preach aggressive Irish nationalism to their flocks in addition to – or blended into – their religious sermons. Although this was just a loud minority, its aim was viable: an appointment of Irish bishop to the new Hierarchy in Scotland,<sup>143</sup> which, to the Scottish vicars apostolic, appeared a strategic takeover. At least partially justified – even if inflated by paranoia – the Scottish Mission remained strongly prejudiced against the Irish clergy, considered ‘a threat to the well-being, and [...] identity, of the Catholic Church in the Western District’<sup>144</sup> David McRoberts found that this feeling was at times reciprocated:<sup>145</sup> power scuffles

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<sup>138</sup> David McRoberts, ‘The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy in 1878’, 11, in *idem* (ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism*, 3-29.

<sup>139</sup> SCA: BL/6/281/1, [unknown author], Greenock, 15 Jan 1840.

<sup>140</sup> Sheridan Gilley, ‘The Roman Catholic Church in England, 1780-1940’, 351, in Sheridan Gilley and W. J. Sheils (eds), *A History of Religion in Britain: Practice & Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present* (Oxford, 1994), 346-362.

<sup>141</sup> SCA: BL/5/196/3, Fr Scott to Paterson, Blairs 15 Jan 1826.

<sup>142</sup> See also Mitchell “‘In General, They Do Not Answer Well’”.

<sup>143</sup> McRoberts, ‘The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy’, 11.

<sup>144</sup> Mitchell, “‘In General, They Do Not Answer Well’”, 147.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

between the two Missions took precedence over a shared faith. The situation in which Irish priests served Irish migrants in Scotland created animosity due to what S. Karly Kehoe has dubbed ‘cultural friction’ between Irish and Scottish clergy.<sup>146</sup>

Experience had caused the Scottish Hierarchy to be wary of the Irish Church. For example, in 1767 the Irish College of Alcalá appropriated the endowments and property of the Scots College Madrid.<sup>147</sup> Some Irishmen had also used their influence with the Napoleonic regime in order to have the British colleges incorporated into an Irish-led college. The chaos concerning the short-lived Scots College Rockwell at County Tipperary in the 1860s was considered further proof of the deviousness of the Irish.<sup>148</sup> Perhaps best known of the nineteenth-century conflicts within the Roman Catholic Church of Scotland was the ‘*Free Press* conflict’ of the Scottish and ‘Irish-born’ priests in the 1850s and 1860s.<sup>149</sup> It revealed the festering political divisions and power-games played within the Mission.<sup>150</sup>

As the country’s only Catholic newspaper,<sup>151</sup> the *Glasgow Free Press* had a rather disproportionate impact when it began to attack ‘the Hielan Clique’ in charge of the Western District and to openly and aggressively promote Irish nationalist ideals.<sup>152</sup> It went as far as to incite rebellion among the ‘Irish clergy’ in Scotland.<sup>153</sup> Although the *Free Press* conflict was a highly public affair, a lot of ink was spilled privately on the Irish, before and after the controversy. Martin J. Mitchell deservedly called the controversy a ‘civil war’ within the Western District between the Irish clergy and the

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<sup>146</sup> S. Karly Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church: Catholicism, Gender and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-century Scotland* (Manchester, 2010), 52.

<sup>147</sup> William McGoldrick, ‘The Scots College, Madrid’, 106-107, in *IR* 4/2 (1953), 92-109.

<sup>148</sup> McRoberts, ‘The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy’, footnote 19 (12).

<sup>149</sup> See, for example, Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, ch 3.

<sup>150</sup> The conflict between Scots and Irish-born priests was enflamed due to seemingly genuine efforts of an Irish clerical minority to bring the Western District under the control of the Irish Mission. See David McRoberts’ account in his ‘The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy’.

<sup>151</sup> See Andrew G. Newby, ‘Scottish Anti-Catholicism in a British and European Context: The ‘North Pole Mission’ and Victorian Scotland’, in Yvonne Maria Werner and Jonas Harvard (eds), *European Anti-Catholicism in Comparative and Transnational Perspective, 1750-2000* (Amsterdam, 2013), 237-251.

<sup>152</sup> Owen Dudley Edwards, ‘The Catholic Press in Scotland since the Restoration of the Hierarchy’, 159-160, in *IR* 29 (1978), 156-182; McClelland, ‘Irish Clergy and Archbishop Manning’s Apostolic Visitation’, 6-7.

<sup>153</sup> McClelland, ‘Irish Clergy and Archbishop Manning’s Apostolic Visitation’, 6.

Scottish bishops and priests.<sup>154</sup> Who these ‘Irish-born’ clergymen were, however, is not as clear-cut as the term would suggest.

Four people of the France-trained were directly involved in the *Free Press* controversy by attending a meeting in January 1864 and decided to declare a sort of vote of no-confidence towards Bishop Murdoch. ‘The twenty-two Irish priests’ who signed the rebellious document included Fathers Michael Cronin (1825-1877), Bernard Tracy (1832-1912), James MacNamara (1837-1899) and George McBrearty (1838-1918).<sup>155</sup> All four of these seem to have very different qualifications in terms of their Irishness. Father Cronin was born in County Cork and publicly examined in Ireland before being sent to Irish College Paris for five years to complete his studies. He was one of the only three seminarians trained at the Irish College while being sponsored by the Scottish Mission, two of which completed their studies successfully and were ordained on Scottish soil.<sup>156</sup> Father MacNamara was also born in Ireland, but migrated from Belfast to Glasgow with his parents when he was still young. He received a seminary education at Douai and St Sulpice with his Scots-born fellow students. George McBrearty was born in Greenock, and only his involvement in the controversy hints at any Irish connection. Finally, Father Bernard Tracy was born in County Derry and schooled at All Hallows College in Dublin, completing his studies with two years of theology at St Sulpice. He worked for the Scottish Mission, but retained a strong Irish identity throughout his life. An obituary in the *Glasgow Observer* stated that he,

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<sup>154</sup> Mitchell, “‘In General, They Do Not Answer Well’”, 147. David McRoberts has, however, pointed out that ‘Scottish Catholicism generally managed to contain its differences within the family circle and settle them without involving the outside world.’ Unfortunately, Monsignor McRoberts, himself a priest, did not elaborate on who exactly he meant by ‘the family circle’. See his ‘The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy’, 8. A thorough discussion can also be found in John McCaffrey, ‘Roman Catholics in Scotland in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries’, in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 21 (1983), 275-300.

<sup>155</sup> McClelland, ‘Irish Clergy and Archbishop Manning’s Apostolic Visitation’, 11. See the full list of names in footnote 18.

<sup>156</sup> The other two were James Gibbons (180x-1xxx) and Terence MacGuire (1799-1869), both born in Ireland. Gibbons attended the Irish College only briefly in 1825 before disappearing from the Scottish Foundation accounts. Cronin left priesthood in 1877 and died ‘unreconciled with the Church’. See Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 63.

by the noble simplicity of his life and heroic devotion to Irish National ideals has cast a lustre on the country he hails from. Than Father Tracy there is no Catholic priest of Irish blood in Scotland more sincerely esteemed.<sup>157</sup>

It continued by highlighting the cause dear to him:

After his love for his faith came his love for his native land. And Ulster man and a Derry man, he had all the enthusiasm of a native of the North. In youth he took a prominent part in all National celebrations and in old age his heart still burned with as strong an affection as ever for his beloved Ireland.<sup>158</sup>

That all four were considered ‘Irish’ again confirms that this category could include anyone with an Irish connection and Irish sympathies – not just those born in Ireland or those trained in Irish context, fully or partially. Although we can safely conclude that being ‘Irish’ made nobody automatically revolutionary, as we have found with regard to a study stay in France, it could make the individual more suspicious in the eyes of others. Tom Gallagher has rightly pointed out that the Scots ‘viewed the Irish as a complicating force who did not fit in and had a worrying potential for trouble’.<sup>159</sup>

### Conclusion: ‘Race’ and Belonging

In 1868, the English Cardinal Henry Manning wrote a report to Rome, detailing the troublesome situation he had been sent to investigate. His visitation to the Western District of the Scottish Mission was a consequence of bitter civil war between the Irish and the Scottish factions of the Scottish Mission, following the appointment of an Irishman as the coadjutor to the vicar apostolic of the Western District. While the controversy, which eventually led to the restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy

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<sup>157</sup> *The Glasgow Observer*, 21 Jan 1899, 4, quoted in Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 371-372.

<sup>158</sup> *The Glasgow Observer*, 2 Mar 1912, 2, quoted in *ibid.*, 373.

<sup>159</sup> Tom Gallagher, *Glasgow, The Uneasy Peace: Religious Tension in Modern Scotland, 1819-1914* (Manchester, 1987), 349.

in 1878, has been examined elsewhere,<sup>160</sup> Manning's report reflects on the situation using familiar language:

National feeling is greatly inflamed on both sides and the natural opposition, so to speak, of the two temperaments and the two national characteristics seriously restricts the intermingling of the two races.<sup>161</sup>

He continued by explaining that the Irishmen who came to Glasgow

were different from the Scots not only by race and religious conviction but they were also separated from them because of mutual prejudice, and there was a good deal of racial antipathy.<sup>162</sup>

He also explained that it was the 'Irish priests born in Scotland' who were forced to 'take on the role of intermediaries between the two parties'.<sup>163</sup> The situation was finally placated by appointing an Englishman, Charles Petre Eyre, as the new Archbishop of Glasgow.

It is clear to any historian examining the correspondence of the Scots vicars apostolic that the Scottish Mission was beset with divisions.<sup>164</sup> Factionalism within the Mission was the norm rather than an exception in the decades following the French Revolution, and while the points of contention were many, the sources show continuing strife between groups that the twenty-first century historian might describe as 'ethno-cultural' (culturally-based ethnicities), but contemporaries understood in overwhelmingly innate, 'racial' terms.<sup>165</sup> The plethora of disagreements over political, administrative and theological matters was complicated by a varying sense of belonging to a different 'race'. Firstly, there was strife between cultural regions within

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<sup>160</sup> See Vincent Alan McClelland, 'Irish Clergy and Archbishop Manning's Apostolic Visitation of the Western District of Scotland, 1867, Part II: The Final Solution', in *The Catholic Historical Review* 53/2 (1967), 229-250.

<sup>161</sup> Cardinal Manning's Report (1868), 12, annotated and transl. from Italian by James Walsh in his 'Archbishop Manning's Visitation of the Western District of Scotland in 1867', in *IR* 18/1 (1967), 3-18.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>164</sup> See for example Anthony Ross, 'The Development of the Scottish Catholic Community 1878-1978', 30, in David McRoberts (ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878-1978* (Glasgow, 1979), 30-55.

<sup>165</sup> Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 6.

Scotland: Scottish Highlanders and Lowlanders, although Scots, were consistently seen as different peoples. Secondly, there was longstanding friction between the equally vague categories of ‘the Irish’ and ‘the Scots’ in Scotland. Many priests identified as Highlanders or Lowlanders, as well as Scots and Irish, and were keen to label others as such. Part of this labelling, John F. McCaffrey has explained, was that Catholics in modern Scotland were still ‘in the process of trying to work out and discover its own identity, neither purely Scottish, nor purely Irish’.<sup>166</sup> They were adapting to a changing world

This chapter has addressed the ethno-cultural identities highlighted in missionary correspondence, discussing the kinds of attitudes the students brought to seminaries with them, and the kinds of attitudes they left the seminaries with. Highlanders and the Irish, especially, are described ethnic or ‘racial’ terms, although their perceived Otherness is less highlighted than the supposed accompanying character. That these differences among priests were brought up during periods of crisis highlights the importance of ethno-cultural roots to both the self and others, understood in terms of the nineteenth-century scientific concept of ‘race’. These were not effectively removed or undermined at the seminaries, even if the shared study environment was supposed to encourage a new sense of unity. Unfortunately, we know very little about how individual seminarians saw themselves in ethnic terms and whether cliquishness based on culture and ethnicity still prevailed at the shared junior seminary, let alone the foreign ones.

As well as Scots Highlanders, attitudes towards the Irish among the migrants, the priests and the seminarians were often expressed in terms of enduring stereotypes. The significance of who was, in effect, considered to be Scots and who Irish becomes clear in the squabbles between the two Missions which in turn gave rise to internal friction, resulting in discriminatory discourse and treatment. However, these groups that appeared to contemporaries as visible and significant were usually remarkably badly defined. Whether all those labelled ‘Scottish’ or ‘Irish’ by others identified as Scots or Irishmen is doubtful, and as we have seen, this was as much a national as well as an ethno-cultural category.

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<sup>166</sup> McCaffrey, ‘Roman Catholics in Scotland in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries’, 288-289.

The following chapter will elaborate on national belonging vis-à-vis the seminarians. Although beset with internal divisions, including ones that were inseparably ethnic, cultural and national, the Scottish Mission's seminarians also need to be discussed in relation to their French education. When abroad on French soil, Frenchness was ever-present culturally, but also in terms of French Superiors and French fellow students, not to mention seminarians of other nationalities. The Scots' Scottishness was highlighted in the foreign environment, but not necessarily in the ways we might expect.

## Chapter VI: 'Race' and Nation II: Scottishness and Britishness Abroad

I am sure you have seen a French or an English hen [...] sitting with her cloven feet upon a nest of duck's eggs and bringing forth rare ducklings – teaching them to sing and cackle – but in vain. They stick to their own quack and native gibberish. Their good mother can never get them either to learn her own cant or to imbibe her hydrophobia. She abhors the water-pond [...], and she never tries to sail, nor even dips her feet in water, but she walks round and round whilst her pupils swim delighted round and round according to their natural inclinations.<sup>1</sup>

The extract above is part of a long essay, reportedly written by an anonymous 'Scotch student' around the turn of the eighteenth into nineteenth century. Its content reflects how the role of France was perceived in the education of the Scottish seminarians before the Revolution: offering shelter and instruction, the French hen did her best to transmit knowledge to her adopted waterfowl children. The Scottish Seminarians were designated as 'rare ducklings', markedly different from the French (as well as the English) 'hens'. The French hen (who was described as liberal and sentimental as per her perceived stereotypical character) was nevertheless commended for offering protection for the foreign children under her wing.<sup>2</sup> The ducklings, meanwhile, kept using their 'native gibberish' while acting 'according to their natural inclinations'. There was something distinctly Scottish to the seminarians that could not be changed by their French surrogate mother, just as there was something distinctly French about France that could not be fruitfully transmitted. The differences were argued in ways that were simultaneously national as well as ethnic and cultural. This chapter will concentrate on themes of national belonging and perceived national and accompanying cultural differences.

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<sup>1</sup> SCA: CA/2/9/5, 'Objections answered by a Scotch Student Or Reputation of the Arguments of Frenchmen claiming Indemnities for the Property of British Subjects, Lands, Houses &c Now in the Hands of French Subjects in Consequence of the Decree 10th Oct: 1793' [A farce written in jest making fun of the French Government].

<sup>2</sup> 'Although she never can persuade them to change their nature or their principles or to follow her example or to imbibe her instructions, the good bird notwithstanding always liberal, sentimental, takes the poor Scotch ducklings under the wings of her protection.' Ibid.



The Scottish Mission's Scots Colleges abroad were designed to disseminate a Scotland-led education to Scottish students on the European continent. This came to an end in both Douai and Paris due to the events precipitated by the French Revolution of 1789. Although the 'French' Scots colleges disappeared, the nature of the study experience in France remained: it was designed to produce Scottish priests for the Roman Catholic Mission of Scotland, while also making sure they had been sufficiently seasoned in continental culture.<sup>3</sup> Instruction of the ducklings by the French hen was considered an asset, but it is also noteworthy that it was not feared to overpower the inherent Scottishness of the ducklings.

The degree and the nature of the 'Scottishness' of the seminarians is the subject of this chapter, and the extent to which the Scottishness of the seminarians was highlighted during and after the seminary experience in France. What is or was meant by Scottishness is neither clear nor static, nor can we speak of only one kind of Scottishness.<sup>4</sup> While this chapter is not able to address the totality of a complex picture, it addresses some aspects of the 'Scottish', and the accompanying but separate 'British', facet of the seminary experience in France. We also investigate who the national Others were during the seminary experience (in addition to Ireland, discussed in more detail in the previous chapter) and how the Scottish Mission's seminarians negotiated their place during and after their studies abroad. We will first briefly examine the framework of Great Britain in the nineteenth century in terms of the term 'nation' before moving on to how religion and especially Roman Catholicism related to the nation. We then investigate some of the documents relating to the attempts to reclaim Scottish funds in France in the quarter of a century following the revolution, as the rhetoric used is highly nationalistic. After this, we will try to answer where the seminarians were from and how mobile they were. We then briefly consider issues concerning language, before discussing how the Scots were seen by their French hosts. As we have seen in the previous chapter, 'nation' and 'race' cannot be fully separated

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<sup>3</sup> David McRoberts, 'The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy in 1878', 3, in *idem* (ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878-1978* (Glasgow, 1979), 3-29.

<sup>4</sup> Among others, Geraldine Vaughan speaks of Irishness(es). See her *The 'Local' Irish in the West of Scotland 1851-1921* (Basingstoke, 2013).

when discussing nineteenth-century Europe. This chapter will complement the previous one, drawing from a similar framework with a slightly different emphasis.

### The 'British Missions'?

An intensification of nationalistic rhetoric in the nineteenth century encouraged and even assumed an emotional attachment to one's nation.<sup>5</sup> This was justified by a variety of factors including birth and/or lineage, and amplified by common cultural denominators. This 'nationalism' or 'national sentiment' accompanied and fortified ideas of 'patriotism', broadly defined as a sentiment of loyalty to the state. Although nations were essentially ideas, 'imagined communities'<sup>6</sup> rather than tangible entities, they could be compared and contrasted with other similar entities to enable 'othering' and the reinforcement of one's own national identity, 'national consciousness',<sup>7</sup> or sense of belonging to a nation. The concept itself is fluid and vague, but a sense of a unique homeland and a unique people remain at the centre of it. To the seminarians of the Scottish Mission, this homeland was, generally speaking (but not exclusively), Scotland.<sup>8</sup> Remarkably, this homeland was rarely 'Britain' from the students' point of view, and they were not overly pleased with their Scottishness to be conflated with Englishness or Irishness by foreigners (the French) as we shall see later in the chapter.

Scots were not, in the nineteenth century, inhabiting a nation-state in the strict sense of the term. Although united under the same British government with a single monarch, there was a distinct sentiment that the peoples inhabiting the historic kingdoms within the union were essentially different from one another. The differences stemmed from perceived cultural and ethnic differences. Whether the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was a nation-state, a state of nations, or a composite monarchy, consisting of three or four nations,<sup>9</sup> has not been conclusively

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<sup>5</sup> Timothy Baycroft, *Nationalism in Europe, 1789-1945* (Cambridge, 1998, repr. 1999), 3.

<sup>6</sup> See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, new. edn. (London, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> Peter Mandler, *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair* (New Haven, 2006), 4.

<sup>8</sup> See also Chapter V and the section on the 'Irish Connection'.

<sup>9</sup> Wales is still often ignored.

decided. Empire, or ‘Greater Britain’, complicated the matter further.<sup>10</sup> Keith Robbins has suggested that the United Kingdom both ‘was and was not a multinational state’,<sup>11</sup> and Antonia Dodds, among others, has been keen to declare exceptionalism in the case of Britain due to its ‘strong dual identities’.<sup>12</sup> In theory, the seminarians of the Scottish Mission would have been both Britons and Scots; in practice, as we have seen in the previous chapter, it was more complex.

The interplay of nation, empire and religion was extremely relevant to the Scottish Mission’s seminarians in terms of their identities. They were Catholics drawn from a predominantly Presbyterian country, destined to work in a prejudiced setting with isolated congregations. To them, neither their Scottishness nor Britishness could be equated with Protestantism. Linda Colley has famously charted the emergence of a British identity as an essentially Protestant (anti-Catholic) as well as an anti-French one in the long eighteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Although her thesis has been both commended and criticised since its publication,<sup>14</sup> the two key aspects of dawning Britishness did not apply to individuals who remained Roman Catholic. It has been convincingly argued by S. Karly Kehoe, among others, that, Scottish Catholics were actively preoccupied with redefining their identity in a way that would allow them to take part in the life of the nation and the empire.<sup>15</sup> Excluding them as potentially unpatriotic reflected mainly the views of anti-papists who suspected the Catholics’ loyalties lay in Rome rather than in Britain.

Being a Roman Catholic priest did not exclude patriotism, either. In fact, some clergymen felt that it could have its place within the Roman Catholic religion. In 1852, Father William Wallace reflected on patriotism in a sermon titled ‘Our National

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<sup>10</sup> David Armitage, ‘Greater Britain: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?’, 428, in *The American Historical Review* 104/2 (1999), 427-445.

<sup>11</sup> Keith Robbins, ‘Regions, Nations and States: The United Kingdom and Europe’, 219, in *The World Today* 50/11 (1994), 218-220, iii.

<sup>12</sup> Antonia Dodds, ‘The Exception to the Rule: Nineteenth Century Scotland and the Causes of National Movements’, in Catherine Di Domenico, Alex Law, Jonathan Skinner and Mick Smith (eds), *Boundaries and Identities: Nation, Politics and Culture in Scotland* (Dundee, 2001), 61-81.

<sup>13</sup> See Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, rev. edn (London, 2012).

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Theodore Koditschek, ‘The Making of British Nationality’, in *Victorian Studies* 44/3 (2002), 389-398.

<sup>15</sup> S. Karly Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church: Catholicism, Gender and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-century Scotland* (Manchester, 2010), 1-2. See also John McCaffrey, ‘Roman Catholics in Scotland in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries’, 277, in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 21 (1983), 275-300.

Church, Our National Religion, Our National Establishment’: ‘That the Love of our Country and a desire to promote its honor [sic], are very good things, is what no good man will deny.’<sup>16</sup> He did, however, also recognise that these ideas could be misinterpreted and misused and that were ‘certain things which, in their own place, are very good, but which, if abused, may be very bad and may lead to the worst consequences’.<sup>17</sup> Although Wallace concluded that God would have an even greater claim to the love and gratitude of an individual, he considered love and honour of the fatherland admirable values. The regulars could harbour similar values: Aidan Bellenger has shown that the English Benedictines managed to remain patriotic Englishmen while serving in the British Empire.<sup>18</sup> These were also important values to teach to the new generation of priests. In 1799, Bishop Hay highlighted the importance of a Scottish seminary in educating the seminarians not just in ecclesiastical studies, but also ‘in those principles of Government and Loyalty, which are congenial to the constitution of our Country which they could not have easily got elsewhere’.<sup>19</sup> Since he mentions the Constitution, it is likely he here considers ‘our Country’ to be the United Kingdom of Great Britain (Ireland would join the Union two years later). However, when it came to the Catholic Missions of the United Kingdom, the United Kingdom – and the Britishness that went with it – was rarely summoned.

The Scottish Mission was separate from the English Mission and the Irish Church; that they were all ‘British’ operations was more often forgotten than not. Even when the status of the Scottish Catholic Mission changed in 1878 from ‘Mission’ to ‘Church’, it proudly and at times wilfully retained its independent organisation. Although the Catholic Missions and Churches of the British Isles were organised around historical kingdoms, there was surprisingly little cooperation between the Scottish, the English and the Irish branches. Each received funds from Rome and

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<sup>16</sup> SCA: P/10/10/5, William Wallace: ‘Our National Church, Our National Religion, Our National Establishment’, Oct 1852. He added that God has a greater claim to our love and gratitude.

<sup>17</sup> SCA: P/10/10/5, William Wallace: ‘Our National Church, Our National Religion, Our National Establishment’, Oct 1852. He added that God has a greater claim to our love and gratitude.

<sup>18</sup> Aidan Bellenger, ‘The English Benedictines and the British Empire’, 95, in Sheridan Gilley (ed.), *Victorian Churches and Churchmen* (Woodbridge, 2005), 94-109.

<sup>19</sup> SCA: BL/4/135/5 Copy Letter Bp Hay to Lord Advocate ‘state of the affairs of the Mission’, 26 Feb 1799.

collected funds for their parishes separately.<sup>20</sup> Although there existed a keenness to cooperate for the good of the Religion, the prospect of ulterior motives made the Scottish vicars apostolic suspicious of greater collaboration. In 1839 Peter Forbes reported on his discussion with the Irish Bishop Connolly, who lamented that there was ‘not a better understanding, and a more regular communication between the Bishops of the three Kingdoms’.<sup>21</sup> Bishop Connolly also suggested that ‘at every general meeting of Irish B[isho]ps there should always be one of the B[isho]ps of Scotland and one from England present’ and *vice versa*.<sup>22</sup> This apparent willingness to collaborate for the greater good of the wider Roman Catholic Church could have some strings attached, and it was not pursued by the Scots.<sup>23</sup>

The Scottish Mission took pride in its independence and even its saint-like poverty. While managing its own limited sphere of influence, it maintained a predominantly functional relationship with the state. According to David Hempton, Scottish Catholics maintained a ‘symbiotic relationship between religious loyalty and other kinds of allegiance’.<sup>24</sup> Both S. Karly Kehoe and Bernard Aspinwall have claimed that being a Catholic and being Scottish and/or British were not conflicting identifications.<sup>25</sup> Kehoe has concluded that in general, Scottish Catholics never wished to exist ‘beyond or apart from the imagined boundaries of the nation and the state’.<sup>26</sup> Overall, the Catholics remained an exclusive rather than an inclusive body of people in Britain; they were professing and performing what at times seems like a distinct and markedly separate identity from the rest of the British.<sup>27</sup> Although there were some apparent difficulties in serving the Roman Catholic Church while holding strong national loyalties that

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<sup>20</sup> See Martin J. Mitchell, ‘“In General, They Do Not Answer Well”: Irish Priests in the Western Lowlands of Scotland, 1838-50’, in Oonagh Walsh (ed.), *Ireland Abroad: Politics and Professions in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, 2003), 147-159.

<sup>21</sup> SCA: OL/2/39/7, Peter Forbes to Bp Scott, Dublin 29 Apr 1839.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> The delicate relationship with the Irish is discussed in Chapter V.

<sup>24</sup> David Hempton, ‘Religious Life in Industrial Britain, 1830-1914’, 312, in Sheridan Gilley and W. J. Sheils (eds), *A History of Religion in Britain: Practice & Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present* (Oxford, 1994), 306-321.

<sup>25</sup> See Bernard Aspinwall, ‘The Formation of a British Identity within Scottish Catholicism, 1830-1914’, in Robert Pope (ed.), *Religion and National Identity: Wales and Scotland c. 1700-2000* (Cardiff, 2001), 268-306; S. Karly Kehoe, ‘Unionism, Nationalism and the Scottish Catholic Periphery’, in *Britain and the World* 4/1 (2011), 65-83.

<sup>26</sup> Kehoe, ‘Unionism, Nationalism and the Scottish Catholic Periphery’, 67.

<sup>27</sup> Gerald Parsons, ‘Victorian Roman Catholicism: Emancipation, Expansion and Achievement’, 180, in *idem* (ed.), *Religion in Victorian Britain: Volume I: Traditions* (Manchester, 1988), 146-183.

might clash with the interests of the transnational Roman Catholic Church,<sup>28</sup> the two were not mutually exclusive. Bernard Aspinwall has confirmed that in general, Catholic patriotism in Britain was incontestable.<sup>29</sup> For seminarians abroad in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France, however, the matter of their Scottishness and Britishness (and even Frenchness) could be a little more complex.

### Rhetoric of Exceptionality: Scottish not British

Although the newly-ordained were often sent to manned parishes as assistant priests to give them some time to adapt, the change from a student in Paris to a missionary in rural Scotland was substantial. This would have been the case even in the previous century when the seminary they attended was a Scots College with a distinctly Scottish purpose and approach. Study migration abroad in itself is significant in terms of identities, however mutative they might be. Liam Chambers has shown that for the Irish studying in the Irish Colleges in Paris in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the experience of migration fostered ‘an adaptable and flexible approach to identity’.<sup>30</sup> This ‘permitted the Irish Colleges to emphasise their French-ness or French “attachment”’ as well as their Irishness and even Britishness as the world around them changed.<sup>31</sup> While the Scottish situation was somewhat different in the nineteenth century, similarities in rhetoric and strategy in the face of hardship seem to provide further evidence of this adaptability of identity.

Being educated in a French environment by Frenchmen among an international cohort of students rather than in a French environment by Scots Superiors with predominantly fellow Scots made a difference in terms of culture shock. A great life change brought about by ordination was combined with the shock of returning to a

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<sup>28</sup> Michael Pasquier, *Fathers on the Frontier: French Missionaries and the Roman Catholic Priesthood in the United States, 1789-1870* (Oxford, 2009), 6.

<sup>29</sup> Aspinwall, ‘The Formation of a British Identity within Scottish Catholicism’, 294.

<sup>30</sup> Liam Chambers, ‘“*Une Seconde Patrie*”: The Irish Colleges, Paris, in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries’, 28, in Susanne Lachenicht and Kirsten Heinsohn (eds), *Diaspora Identities: Exile, Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in Past and Present* (Frankfurt am Main, 2009), 16-30.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

country the seminarian had not, in some cases, seen for a decade. Yet the returnee was still very firmly considered a Scots priest, and while his experience had undoubtedly changed him, his bond to the Scottish Mission was supposed to remind him to maintain his Scottish identity – whether he had been born to it or whether his Scottishness was an adopted identification. Aspects of the traditional Scots College education helped the Scottish seminarians to hold on to their Scottishness in the face of overwhelming internationalism and cosmopolitanism, it was reasoned. It is noteworthy, too, how strongly the Scottish Mission held on to the possibility of reviving its own, independent training operations in France, and how much the vicars apostolic detested the idea of having their future labourers simply lumped together with the Irish and the English students in France.

The national character the original Scots Colleges abroad was held in high regard by the Scottish vicars apostolic. The necessity of the arrangement in the context of educating priests who would be working in Scotland for the Scottish Mission was particularly strongly argued during the legal and administrative disputes in the decades following the Revolution of 1789, and the rhetoric used is helpful when considering the importance of the ‘Scottish’ side of the experience in the century that followed. While these aspects of the *fondations* were harnessed as a tool in a dire situation, the arguments still reflect contemporary attitudes. That the Scots were also British subjects and their property under the protection of the British crown came up especially when the fact could work for their advantage, such as during the post-Revolution legal wrangles over the Mission’s property and funds in France.

In the years following the Revolution, the essay by a ‘Scotch Student’ complained that there was ‘perfect absurdity in the idea of British property being under French administration, and British students entirely under French teachers’.<sup>32</sup> Yet, even when highlighting that the Scots College was, indeed, a ‘British’ property, there was little concern over the English and the Irish equivalents before the French united the colleges on their own accord. The funds of the Scottish Catholic Mission in France

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<sup>32</sup> SCA: CA/2/9/5, ‘Objections answered by a Scotch Student Or Reputation of the Arguments of Frenchmen claiming Indemnities for the Property of British Subjects, Lands, Houses &c Now in the Hands of French Subjects in Consequence of the Decree 10th Oct: 1793’ [A farce written in jest making fun of the French Government].

were, against the Mission's will, managed by a French administrative body until 1818. This deserves further examination.

Although individuals of Scottish descent were admitted to the university as per a quota when France reached some stability, no ecclesiastical students were trained on the funds in post-Revolution France before 1818. The accounts of the British Colleges were examined in 1816 when the three Parisian 'properties of the three nations' were finally separated:

the Directors of the Irish section, stated they had spent all of our income, and more; [...] they assured us at the same time they had acted in our interests; with all the zeal and economy possible. We could not understand how they could have acted in our interests; for since the beginning of the revolution, we had not had a single student, neither in their section nor in our own: but they explained to us that for these many unprofitable years, we had nevertheless paid fourth of the common expenses and administrative costs, and that we had received only an eighth of the joint income.<sup>33</sup>

The ire was aimed at the Irish Catholics as well as the French administration.<sup>34</sup> In this particular case, the representatives of the Scottish Mission felt cheated out of their income as well as studentships. For the French, the property of the Scottish Mission was not exactly a priority; neither were they keen to deal with the property and funds of the three Missions separately. From their point of view these could conveniently be generalised as the 'British Missions' and dealt with as an entity. The English and the Irish, as well as the Scottish, worked to get their Colleges back under their control. However, they did not always agree about the means. In 1818, by the decree of Napoleon II, Scottish funds were fully united with those of the English and the Irish.

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<sup>33</sup> '[...] les Administrateurs, sous la dénomination de la section Irlandoise, nous assurèrent qu'ils avoient dépensé tous nos revenus, et même plus; [...] et ils nous assuroient en même temps qu'ils avoient agi dans nos intérêts; avec tout le zèle et l'économie possibles. Nous ne pouvions pas comprendre cette manière de prouver qu'ils avoient agi dans nos intérêts; car, depuis le commencement de la révolution, nous n'avions pas eu un seul écolier, ni sur leur section, ni sur la nôtre: mais ils nous expliquèrent que, pendant tant d'années de stérilité pour nous, nous avons payé la quatrième partie des dépenses communes ou frais d'administration, et que nous avons seulement la huitième partie des revenus communs.' SCA: ED/8/12/10, Mémoire présenté à son excellence M. De Corbière, Ministre de l'Intérieur, au nom de tous les Catholiques d'Écosse, par M- L'Évêque de Cybistra, Coadjuteur d'Édimbourg', 2-3.

<sup>34</sup> The complicated relationship with the Irish is explored in the previous chapter.



It was in this situation that the national distinctiveness of the Scots with reference to their fellow Britons was highlighted:

To subject the students of different countries to a common regime would be contrary to their nature, which has given each nation their own *character*, their *language*, their *customs* and their *habits*... The English, the Scottish and the Irish have founded separate establishments for their respective students.<sup>35</sup>

The argument was that chronic unrest would reign in a united 'British' college abroad due to the uniqueness of each nationality. This point was brought up over and over again. For example, Monsieur Desjardins explained that the Bishops considered the union of the three colleges would be 'distasteful for the three nations',<sup>36</sup>

especially as their foundations have nothing in common with that of the Irish, & are not subject to the same regulations [...] & governed by men to whom we would not entrust their education & their instruction, which is particular to the country where they are to be employed as missionaries.<sup>37</sup>

The future country of employment was highlighted as an important consideration. A few years later, the situation remained unresolved from the Scottish point of view:

Every particular College has its particular foundations and rules and, we may add, its particular spirit; and inadvertently, one is acting against us and against the interest of all by uniting and binding us together, without our consent.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> 'Vouloir assujettir les élèves de différens pays à un commun régime, ce seroit contrarier le vœu de la nature, qui a donné à chaque nation son *caractère* propre, sa *langue*, ses *mœurs* et ses *habitudes*... Les Anglais, les Écossais et les Irlandais ont fondé des Établissements distincts et séparés pour leurs élèves respectifs.' SCA: CA/1/26/3 'Réclamation du Commissaire-Proviseur de la Maison des Irlandais et de ses Collègues a Paris, contre le Projet de Réunion au Prytanée', 4.

<sup>36</sup> '[Ils pensent] que la fusion des trois colleges en une seule maison commune, seroit odiente aux trois nations'. SCA: ED/8/5/2, Desjardins to Mourre (procurateur générale et président de Bureau d'administration des établissements Britanniques), Paris, 30 Nov 1818.

<sup>37</sup> '[D]'autant que leurs fondations n'ont rien de commun avec celle des Irlandais, & ne sont point assujetties au même régleme[n]t [...] & gouverné par des hommes à qui il n'aurait pas confié leur éducation & leur particulière instruction, suivant les besoins à lui connus des pays où ils doivent être employés comme Missionnaires.' Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> 'Chaque Collège en particulier a ses fondations et réglemens particuliers, et nous pouvons ajouter son esprit particulier; et, sans le vouloir, c'est agir contre nous, et en sens inverse de l'intérêt de tous, que de nous unir et nous lier ensemble, sans notre consentement.' SCA: ED/8/12/10, Mémoire présenté a son excellence M. De Corbière, Ministre de l'Interieur, au nom de tous les Catholiques d'Écosse, par M. L'Évêque de Cybistra, Coadjuteur d'Édimbourg' [c1823], 7.

The Scots Catholics had argued their case for their distinctiveness in a similar fashion in the 1760s.<sup>39</sup> Then, too, the Irish used similar rhetoric, emphasising their ‘distinctive Irish and foreign identity’.<sup>40</sup> This appears to correlate with Chambers’ study on the Irish College: it was

the experience of exile, or migration, or simply living abroad for an extended period, both encouraged the development of an Irish identity and produced a fluid and adaptable approach to identity necessary for survival and success.<sup>41</sup>

A certain flexibility applied to cosmopolitan identities, especially in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The students could, depending on the situation, adopt a convenient label declaring them ‘Irish, French, “Franco-Irish”, anti-British and even British.’<sup>42</sup> As the nineteenth century progressed, however, this label became more clearly simply ‘Irish’.<sup>43</sup>

It is important to point out that to the French administrative gaze, the Scots Colleges were akin to other similar establishments enjoying a special status on foreign soil, and there was nothing obvious to separate them from the English, Irish or even Dutch equivalents. Yet the Scottish Mission persistently argued that the Scots had a unique nature that could not be easily mixed with other nationalities. This reasoning, used as a legal and administrative wedge, somewhat mellowed from the mid-1820s onwards when the Scots finally got the rights to their funds back. This indicates that that the rhetoric was, indeed, used creatively to achieve a goal rather than to state immovable facts. Regardless of the passionate arguments, it was reluctantly decided that the costs prohibited the reopening of a separate, fully Scottish establishment. Rebuilding the Scottish Catholic base in France took new forms out of necessity as the French funds were more or less tied to that country and had to be spent there or be forfeited. If the Mission was to take advantage of those funds, it had to send its students to educational establishments on the French soil.

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<sup>39</sup> M. G. Rapport, ‘A Community Apart? The Closure of the Scots College in Paris during the French Revolution, 1789-1794’, 81-84, in *IR* 53/1 (2002), 79-107.

<sup>40</sup> Chambers, “‘*Une Seconde Patrie*’”, 19-20.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>42</sup> Chambers, “‘*Une Seconde Patrie*’”, 26.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 26-27.

As the French education of Scottish priests entered a new era, there was an interesting shift in priorities. The discrimination against institutions due to their non-Scottish national character was no longer possible. That, however, was considered a lesser evil in comparison to giving up on their France-based education and, in the process, losing their France-bound funds altogether. As a compromise between the ideal and the necessity to train priests quickly, the Mission settled for choosing the establishments carefully. But this did not change the fact that many of the Scottish seminarians were now sent to complete their further studies in France, in non-Scottish establishments, benefitting from ‘the countless resources that exist in France for a strong cultivation of the mind’.<sup>44</sup> This created a novel situation and novel advantages as well as problems for the Mission. It also acclimatised the seminarians to a country where they would not, provided everything went according to plan, spend their professional lives.

### Continuing Geographical Mobility

Laurence Brockliss has suggested that most clergymen of the United Kingdom were largely ordained, educated and employed within their home country. This, he argued, would have contributed to ‘cementing traditional loyalties rather than fostering a more deeply felt British identity’.<sup>45</sup> But although his concluding sentiment might still be accurate, we find that relative geographical immobility did not apply to the Catholic seminarians: as a rule, they received a large part of their education abroad. However, even their origins were more complicated than we might initially assume. When it comes to geographical mobility over these individuals’ lifetimes, even just looking at the France-trained seminarians paints a more colourful picture.

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<sup>44</sup> ‘[I]ls profiteraient des innombrables ressources qui existent en France pour la forte culture de l’esprit’. SCA: ED/8/13/15, ‘Note soumise à la consideration de son Excellence Monsieur le Ministre de l’Instruction publique et des cultes par l’êveque Vicair Apostolique d’Edimbourg’ [1833].

<sup>45</sup> Laurence Brockliss, ‘The Professions and National Identity’, 13, in Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood (eds), *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c.1750-c.1850* (Manchester, 1997), 9-28.

The birth countries of the seminarians already imply some heterogeneity in the student body.<sup>46</sup> In addition to France, a large portion of the sample seminarians had been abroad at some point of their lives. Students were sometimes shuffled between the Scots seminaries on the continent, and some had study experience in Rome and Spain as well as France. Others had even more unusual study paths. The Inverness-shire-born Thomas Chisholm (1807-1872), for example, went to Upper Canada ‘at an early age’ and studied law before commencing his ecclesiastical studies in Montreal.<sup>47</sup> He then entered Blairs, was sent to St Nicolas for a short spell, and finished his studies, unusually, at Carlow College in Ireland, before his ordination at Preshome, Scotland, in 1833.<sup>48</sup> Some individuals had a colourful family history; for example, Wilfrid McDermott (1857-19xx) was born in the Scottish town of Dunkeld, but his parents were born in Ireland and his eldest siblings in Canada.<sup>49</sup> But aside from the geographical mobility of these individuals’ parents and the temporary study migration (which could include more than one foreign country), the seminarians were a remarkably mobile group during their later lives. This could have meant further opportunities to perform one’s ‘Scottishness’ and to lend it importance while abroad.

After the priest was ordained and returned to work in a parish in Scotland, there was often still scope for international travel during his career. Health might force the individual, temporarily (or permanently if the ailment persisted), to seek a more favourable climate. Bruce Geddes (1851-1906), who was born in Ceylon, found convalescence in the Canary Isles.<sup>50</sup> Fundraising for certain projects was also a reasonable cause for a further temporary stay abroad. The Canadian-Scot James Gillis (1802-1864), for example, raised funds in France, Spain and Rome, in addition to making several administrative visits to different parts of Europe.<sup>51</sup> Favoured priests might also be allowed brief respites: Alexander O’Donnell (1817-1882) from the Island of St Helena obtained permission to visit Rome after his ordination.<sup>52</sup> One could

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<sup>46</sup> See Chart F: Birth Countries of Seminarians in Chapter V.

<sup>47</sup> *SCD* 1873 (obituary).

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *SPC*: Census 1861: Newington, RD 685-05, 001-011.

<sup>50</sup> ‘It was during his incumbency at Montrose that he was attacked with a serious pulmonary trouble which necessitated him wintering in a warmer climate, and since 1892 he had resided almost continuously in the Canary Islands’. *SCD* 1907 (obituary).

<sup>51</sup> *SCD* 1865 (obituary).

<sup>52</sup> *SCD* 1883 (obituary).

also be appointed to a post at one of the Scots Colleges abroad, like Andrew Smith (1822-1877), who visited Spain for the first time when he was sent to Valladolid to teach immediately after his ordination.<sup>53</sup> Although there were also those who never again left Scotland, many of those who became priests experienced further international travel authorised by their bishop.

In addition to the life-long missionaries of Scotland, there were also those that left the Mission, never to return, in order to work as priests elsewhere. In the late 1790s, Bishop Hay lamented that

There has been for some years past a pretty general disposition among our people in several places of the Highlands to emigrate to America; [...] But as I know their attachment to their Country, and that nothing but their necessity could induce them to engage in such scheme.<sup>54</sup>

Hay was speaking of the parishioners, but this equally applied to the priests, some of whom made the request to follow the flocks of Scottish Catholic migrants to the New World. The Scottish vicars apostolic tended to allow their priests to emigrate if they were firm in their convictions (and requested rather than demanded to be released from duty), but this would have also meant that that a missionary was no longer available to work in Scotland where they were sorely needed. Of the ordained priests in this cohort, twelve individuals (or 9%) emigrated post-ordination to work as priests abroad. Most of these individuals travelled West across the Atlantic Ocean to Canada and the United States. John MacDonald (180x-18xx), most likely due to his family's wealth and the fact that his studies were self-funded, only worked for the Mission for two years before settling into his place of birth: he returned to Prince Edward Island, Canada, in 1829 alongside thirty Glaswegian families.<sup>55</sup> George MacMahon (1827-1xxx) was also allowed to leave the Mission and go to America,<sup>56</sup> and although we do not know much of his life, William Sweeney (1844-1874) had a note in the *Directory* announcing his

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<sup>53</sup> Christine Johnson, 'Scottish Secular Clergy, 1830-1878: The Northern and Eastern Districts', 60, in *IR* 40/1 (1989), 24-68.

<sup>54</sup> SCA: BL/4/135/1, Bp Hay's handwritten copy, dated 4 Jan 1799, of his letter to Sir James Hippenley 29 Dec 1798.

<sup>55</sup> Christine Johnson, 'Secular Clergy of the Lowland District 1732-1829', 45, in *IR* 34/2 (1983), 66-87. MacDonald was a wealthy man with property and name SCA: OL/1/3/17, Fr Scott to John McDonald Esq of Glenaladale, George St, Edinburgh, 21 Aug 1826, Glasgow.

<sup>56</sup> Johnson, 'The Northern and Eastern Districts', 56.

death at Nacogdoches, Texas.<sup>57</sup> Patrick Agnew (1848-1897) worked for the Scottish Mission for eight years before being enticed to emigrate to Chicago and affiliate himself with that Mission following a completed fundraising trip and permission from his bishop.<sup>58</sup> Alexander MacKintosh (1854-1922) was granted permission to go with many of his parishioners to Manitoba in 1844, but was forced to pass on the opportunity after he was urgently requested to cover for an ill fellow priest.<sup>59</sup>

The reasons for a wish to emigrate might have been a spirit of adventure, sense of duty or family connections, but also wish to become a martyr to missionary work. Already during his studies James Lamont (1819-1891) requested to go to the Benedictine establishments at Ratisbon, but

It was not for a life of religious retirement that he took an inclination, but a notion came across him some time ago that he would wish a mission of greater labour & greater suffering than ours.<sup>60</sup>

His obituary mentions that he ‘nearly emigrated’ to New Zealand, but eventually decided to leave the Scottish Mission altogether and settle in Canada.<sup>61</sup>

Some simply emigrated after their retirement for missionary work. This was often due to ailing health as ideally the priest would work until his death if at all able. James McIntosh (1850-1903) emigrated post-retirement and died in Auckland, New Zealand,<sup>62</sup> whereas John MacKay (1841-1926) emigrated to New Zealand in search of healthier climate.<sup>63</sup> MacKay eventually worked there for another fifty-four years.<sup>64</sup>

International relocation was not necessarily initiated by the priest. Sending the culprit to work elsewhere was also a way to hush up a scandal. Whether this was due to sexual misconduct, drinking or something else, relocation was one of the ways the Mission could keep a priest working for the Roman Catholic Church if not for the Scottish Mission, giving him another chance somewhere where his crimes were not

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<sup>57</sup> *SCD* 1875 (obituary).

<sup>58</sup> *SCD* 1898 (obituary).

<sup>59</sup> *SCD* 1923 (obituary).

<sup>60</sup> SCA: OL/2/45/5, Bp Kyle to Bp Scott, Preshome 18 Jan 1840.

<sup>61</sup> *SCD* 1893 (obituary).

<sup>62</sup> *SCD* 1904 (obituary).

<sup>63</sup> *SCD* 1927 (obituary).

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

known. Bishop James Kyle described a problem priest William MacKintosh (1806-1854?) and the Mission's options to his fellow bishop Andrew Scott in 1842, who had proposed sending him to the Isle of Eigg:

He is not, I am sorry to say a teetotaller. And I suspect that as he would consider the removing him to that station out of this district, as a public testimony to our belief of his guilt, he would rather flee to some other country, America or Australia, where the effects of that testimony might not reach him.<sup>65</sup>

Alcohol could be problematic in the isolation of the Western Isles.<sup>66</sup> Kyle elaborated on the risks of keeping Father MacKintosh in Scotland:

If I can keep him in the district there will be less risk of scandal. If I am obliged to dismiss him, you shall have him in your power, but seriously I do not think he will answer for you, but he must go beyond seas.<sup>67</sup>

MacKintosh eventually went to Canada and served the Diocese of Toronto for half-a-decade before his premature death.<sup>68</sup>

The case of Edinburgh-born Walter Lovi (18xx-1878), who trained in Ireland, Rome and Paris, is similarly unfortunate. He spent a brief spell in Austria (1842-1843) and 'on the Continent' (1844-1847) during his missionary career before settling in England to work for the English Mission for the last three decades of his life.<sup>69</sup> His self-flagellating letter in which he lamented his crimes expressed a wish to emigrate somewhere distant and dangerous as punishment:

My wish as I expressed to Mr Stewart was, to go into some La trappe [...]; or to some S[i]erra Leone there to perish. [...] Let me perish therefore, but try to fall after some plan to save our holy mission from the effects of this blow. If that could be done I would welcome death in its most appalling form. But if that cannot be done, of course I must go immediately into perpetual exile.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> SCA: OL/2/63/3 (1) and (2), James Kyle to Bp Scott, Preshome 15 Jan 1842.

<sup>66</sup> The temperance movement was considered a healthy development in the remoter parts of Scotland. For example, Archibald Chisholm wrote to his Bishop from Fort William that his parishioners considered 'whisky as necessary for health & life as their potatoes & herring'. SCA: OL/1/35/4, Archibald Chisholm to Bp Scott, Fort William 13 Apr 1841.

<sup>67</sup> SCA: OL/2/63/3 (1) and (2), James Kyle to Bp Scott, Preshome 15 Jan 1842.

<sup>68</sup> Johnson, 'The Northern and Eastern Districts', 35.

<sup>69</sup> SCA: BL/5/175/1, Bp Paterson to Alexander Cameron, Paris, 6 Apr 1825.

<sup>70</sup> SCA: BL/6/206/6, Walter Lovi to Kyle, Braemar, 14 Apr 1838.

Others, too, made a new life for themselves abroad after misbehaviour: Duncan Gillis (1838-1xxx) emigrated to Canada sometime after he was dismissed from missionary service for drinking.<sup>71</sup> Thomas Morgan (1810-1845) from Belfast only worked for the Mission for two years before he was sent away; he died at St Lucia, Barbados, after being kicked by a horse.<sup>72</sup>

One of the most mobile individuals of the sample was James Dowling (1855-1923). He was born in Dundee to an Irish couple, and proceeded to pursue priesthood with the Scottish Mission. However, after some time at Douai and St Sulpice he experienced a serious accident ('the fracture of a limb and a painful injury to an eye')<sup>73</sup> and had his studies interrupted 'for a considerable time'.<sup>74</sup> Upon his recovery, he requested, and was permitted, to join the French Society of Missionaries for West Africa and to complete his studies at the training college of Lyon. As an ordained priest, he worked as a professor at a secular college in Egypt and during his holidays travelled in Palestine, Syria, 'the islands of the Mediterranean', and Athens.<sup>75</sup> Unrest in Egypt prompted his superiors to depute him to go fundraising to Australia. However, it was a holiday to his country of birth that caused him to have a change of heart, as his obituarist explained in rather dramatized terms how the 'aspirations of his youth to missionary life in Scotland were naturally reawakened' in his native Dundee, and how 'the idea of working in the Diocese of Dunkeld seized hold of his being'.<sup>76</sup> Father Dowling worked for the Scottish Mission for another twenty-eight years before he was forced to retire.

Dowling's affections for Scotland, although described by an obituarist rather than himself, reveal a familiar fondness to one's 'home country'. To some extent Catholic priests were supposed to be members of the Church first and foremost, working towards the salvation of souls wherever they were sent. Paul MacPherson, who had

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<sup>71</sup> Christine Johnson, 'Scottish Secular Clergy, 1830-1878: The Western District', 121-122, in *IR* 40/1 (1989), 106-152.

<sup>72</sup> Johnson, 'The Northern and Eastern Districts', 58.

<sup>73</sup> *SCD* 1924 (obituary).

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*



spent a large portion of his life abroad ridiculed his self-confessed affection towards Scotland as ‘a puerile attachment to the country or to some individuals in it’.<sup>77</sup>

We have already discussed in Chapter I the impact study abroad could have on individuals. Joseph Holder’s (1845-1917) obituary stated that during his studies, ‘France became to him like an adopted country’,<sup>78</sup> regardless of what could be considered his bonds to his native Scotland. However, although not necessarily highlighted, some sort of affection towards a ‘home country’ seems to be, at least, assumed. There are factors that necessarily kept the Scots from being absorbed into the great international atmosphere they were studying in. Although these individuals spent years in France, they had a very particular links to Scotland in addition to their connection to the Scottish Mission; namely, the languages of (Scots) English and Gaelic.

### Scots Seminarians as *Anglais*

Michael Rapport has confidently stated that nationality immediately distinguished the expatriate seminarians from their host community.<sup>79</sup> The Scottish Mission, the Scottish bishops and the Scottish seminarians consistently referred to themselves as ‘Scottish’, ‘Scotch’ or ‘Scots’ in the correspondence, underlining the national Mission they were to serve. While their study migration in the nineteenth century was not straightforwardly diasporic, it was definitely homeland-orientated with careful maintenance of boundaries and separateness from the English, the Irish and the French.<sup>80</sup> Britishness, as we have seen, was a more complicated concept. Especially due to revolutionary unrest on the continent, as Michael Rapport has pointed out, ‘the individuals involved were forced to find ways of dealing with their Scottish and British

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<sup>77</sup> SCA: OL/2/10/14, Paul MacPherson to Bp Scott, Chapelton of Glenlivet 29 Oct 1833.

<sup>78</sup> SCD 1920 (obituary).

<sup>79</sup> Michael Rapport, ‘Loyal Catholics and Revolutionary Patriots: National Identity and the Scots in Revolutionary Paris’, 68, in *The Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies* 2/1 (2008), 51-72.

<sup>80</sup> For a review on the use of the term ‘diaspora’, see Rogers Brubaker, ‘The “Diaspora” Diaspora’, in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28/1 (2005).

identities in the starkest of circumstances'.<sup>81</sup> Britishness became more relevant abroad, not necessarily because it was readily and actively embraced by the seminarians, but because it was imposed on them as an umbrella term.

In France all English-speaking students were conveniently labelled the 'English' ('*Anglais*') by the locals, rather than 'Britons' ('*Britanniques*').<sup>82</sup> The Scottish seminarians referred to themselves as 'Scots' whatever their country of birth. In any case, they did not see themselves as 'English'. The Irish, too, considered themselves different to their peers, and they were generally proud to declare themselves so.<sup>83</sup> The French, however, were keen to generalise and did not or chose not to grasp the subtle difference between 'English' and 'British', so important to both the Scots and the Irish who, decidedly, were not English. The unfortunate terminological confusion endured through the war years and throughout the century. An obituary of John MacPherson (1801-1871) described his seminary days at St Nicolas, initially hostile to the Scots: 'our students at first met with little friendliness from their French companions: they were looked upon as *Anglais*, who at that time found no favour in France'.<sup>84</sup> Another obituary from three decades later, showing the durability of the concept, made the same point:

Amongst the French students, even ecclesiastical, foreigners, and especially 'Les Anglais,' as all the English-speaking students were termed, did not always escape being looked upon with distrust.<sup>85</sup>

Similarly, in a report on the Scottish students at Monsieur Poiloup's educational establishment at Vaugirard in 1840, the students were all listed as 'English'.<sup>86</sup> When a group of Scottish seminarians turned up at Issy in 1830, the superior simply advised the students 'to go to the Irish College'.<sup>87</sup> While this was explained to be due to their

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<sup>81</sup> Rapport, 'Loyal Catholics and Revolutionary Patriots', 51.

<sup>82</sup> '[F]or they all go under the name of English'. SCA: OL/2/47/11, Peter Keenan to Bp Scott, Paris 3 May 1840.

<sup>83</sup> Ciaran O'Neill, *Catholics of Consequence: Transnational Education, Social Mobility, and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900* (Oxford, 2014), 7.

<sup>84</sup> SCD 1872 (obituary).

<sup>85</sup> SCD 1904 (obituary of James Donlevy (1843-1903)).

<sup>86</sup> SCA: CA/1/43/19, English students at Institution of Mr Poiloup at Vaugirard, 16 Jul 1840. The list includes several Scots seminarians.

<sup>87</sup> SCA: BL/6/23/6, Bp Scott to Bp Paterson, Glasgow 12 Nov 1830.

insufficient French language skills, it did not occur to the Superior that the Scots might think a French college preferential to what they considered a British one (let alone an Irish one) in their hour of need.

This prioritisation of England and the subtle emphasis of this nation-within-a-state was not exclusive to foreigners, either, although the reason for referring to the students as anything but Scottish was perhaps less to do with ignorance than with egoism. For example, the English Reverend Collier of the Douai College referred to the Scottish Mission as that of ‘North Britain’.<sup>88</sup> But while the way in which the seminarians were seen by others was undoubtedly important, we should also remember not to place excessive importance on these points. Similar generalising inaccuracy can be seen within the Mission regarding North America: ‘America’ could equally refer to Canada. For example, in two letters less than a week apart, Andrew Scott described James Gillis ‘a Canadian’ and as someone who ‘was born in America’.<sup>89</sup>

The contrast that the Scottish seminarians were willing to draw between themselves and the English seminarians is amply highlighted in correspondence concerning some trouble at Vaugirard around 1840, already discussed in Chapter II. There were issues maintaining authority, and the Scots promptly attempted to distance themselves from who they assumed to be the real troublemakers with ‘bad spirit’: the English students.<sup>90</sup> The Scots knew that in the eyes of the French this distinction was not a given, and thus their seminarians could get some of the blame aimed solely at some English ‘bad apples’, who had been ‘in the habit of visiting the Palais-Royal (one of the worst places in Paris) upon recreation days’, including eating dinner outside of the seminary, accompanied by ‘wine to the utmost excess’.<sup>91</sup> Peter Keenan assumed that the practice ‘must have arisen among the English’:

they and the Scotch are permitted sometime to go out alone under the care of some of the more advanced among themselves and these are the very persons I am told who take the lead in the evil.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> SCA: OL/2/6/1, Fr Collier to Bp Scott, English College Douai 28 May 1831.

<sup>89</sup> SCA: OL/1/6/16, Typescript Bp Scott to Abbe McPherson, 27 Nov 1831; OL/1/6/17, Bp Scott to Rev John Chisholm, Glasgow 2 Dec 1831.

<sup>90</sup> SCA: OL/2/47/11, Peter Keenan to Bp Scott, Paris 3 May 1840.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

The English were readily depicted as corrupting elements, different from the virtuous Scots. While in France, the Scottish seminarians perhaps gained ‘nothing by their association with the English’,<sup>93</sup> they could not rid themselves of it, either.

### ‘All Languages Except Their Own’?

[T]here is very great inconvenience and expense [...] in sending students to France in order to learn all languages except their own, in sending Scotchmen to be taught by Frenchmen to preach in French to our Scotch Highlanders.<sup>94</sup>

Language remains one of the widely accepted markers of ‘national’ unity. In the French institutions used by the Scottish Mission, much of the tuition was in French, even if a sizeable portion of it was in Latin. Aside from the Douai establishment (which was English rather than French) the English language, let alone Gaelic, was not used. One might think that this did not stop the boys from using these languages among themselves and corresponding in them; however, this was not always entirely straightforward due to the need of the superiors to be aware of the students’ relationships with one another, as well as the content of their letters.<sup>95</sup> Language, as the extract above points out, was one of the main points of unity to the Scottish (as well as the British, although this is downplayed). The shared languages in the seminary were French and Latin; the main shared language of home among most Scots students was Scots. Holding on to this marker of identity separating the Britons from the French could, as we will see, turn out to be a challenge.

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<sup>93</sup> SCA: OL/2/47/11, Peter Keenan to Bp Scott, Paris 3 May 1840.

<sup>94</sup> SCA: CA/2/9/5, ‘Objections answered by a Scotch Student Or Reputation of the Arguments of Frenchmen claiming Indemnities for the Property of British Subjects, Lands, Houses &c Now in the Hands of French Subjects in Consequence of the Decree 10th Oct: 1793’ [A farce written in jest making fun of the French Government].

<sup>95</sup> In Rome, for example, a language the superiors did not speak was considered suspicious: ‘I find it very difficult to obtain leave to write to Germany in the German language, for it seems that such letters would create suspicions, of which I am an enemy.’ SCA: OL/2/24/14, Alexander Scott to his uncle Bp Scott, Rome 26 Feb 1837.

The Scottish seminarians studying in the French establishments dealt with a problem that had not existed in the former French Scots Colleges: they had to consciously keep up their native language skills.<sup>96</sup> In 1828, three students wrote to their bishop stating that they were still ‘occasionally’ reading English books ‘in order not to forget our Language’.<sup>97</sup> A decade later two students wrote a slightly clumsy letter to their bishop, requesting that they would be allowed to take an additional year of studies at Blairs before entering missionary duties. The reasoning for the request deserves to be quoted at length, not because of its content, but because of the language used in the letter:

The College that we are in possesses a certain regular course of studies peculiar to itself, which regular courses if we follow up, we shall enter the seminary of Issy in the middle of the course of Philosophy, it being of two years. Rather than spoil such an important branch of our education (for if we went there in the middle of the course we would certainly understand nothing of it, because there are continual allusions made to the study of the first year) we are next year going to make our rhetorick and to pass over our literature; in order that we may arrive at Issy at the beginning of the course. But before we make such a decisif step (before we pass over a class consequently take a year less) we beg of your lordship to promise to us that when we have finished our divinity and are gone home to Scotland, you will allow us to pass a year at Blairs, to make up for the year that we will not have taken in france.<sup>98</sup>

The long-winded request is particularly fascinating to a francophone: in places, both the language flow and the spelling resemble more closely French than English. The issue was also readily recognised by contemporaries. In 1847, writing to his great-nephew and namesake, Donald Carmichael (1833-1902), the great-uncle (priest himself) points out some of the errors of the fourteen-year-old’s English:<sup>99</sup>

Uncle you spell Uncl, written writ, famous fameus, suppose suppos repeated several times without the last e. Weather you make wether (a he sheep) rainy.

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<sup>96</sup> This has also been commented on by Lisa Curry in her discussion on letters to Donald Carmichael (1833-1902), who is cautioned by his great-uncle and namesake to keep up his native language skills. Lisa Curry, “‘My Dear Nephew’: Letters to a Student Priest”, 59-60, in *IR* 59/1 (2008), 49-76.

<sup>97</sup> ‘Telles sont, Monseigneur, nos occupations pendant cette année qui ne nous empêchent pas de lire quelquefois des livres Anglais, pour ne pas oublier notre Langue.’ SCA: CA1/43/4, A. Grant, E. McD. Dawson and I. Malcolm to Bp Paterson, Conflans 28 Jun 1828.

<sup>98</sup> SCA: OL/2/39/3, John Shaw and Donald MacKenzie to Bp Scott, Vaugirard 10 Apr 1839.

<sup>99</sup> Curry, “‘My Dear Nephew’”, 59-60.

I hope you write, in place of I wish you a good new year – I have, in place of I am 13 years (French not English). Priest you writ Prist. This must not do in place of this will not do. Classes – clases, too *to* strong – affectionate affectionat e wanting.<sup>100</sup>

A remedy was also offered: accompanying his next letter, the great-uncle sent the teenager some English-language books to read.<sup>101</sup>

The issue was not just with English. The letter of John Shaw (1820-1885) and Donald MacKenzie (1817-1843) continued that an extra year at Blairs would ‘likewise serve us for the Gaelick that we will have nearly forgot, and for the English that we speak very poorly having never learned it grammatically [sic]’.<sup>102</sup> At this point of their lives, the young men had already spent five years at Vaugirard; Shaw was nineteen years old, MacKenzie a couple of years older. They had nearly forgotten their Gaelic and were not confident in their English – both of these languages that they had to work with in the not-so-distant future. There is no indication that they got their wish – in fact, at least Shaw was sent to work directly after his return to Scotland following his ordination.<sup>103</sup>

Emigration, even temporary, might deteriorate one’s native language skills while improving the foreign ones. After the 1830 revolution, when ‘the greater part of the Scotch students in Paris’ were forced to continue their studies at the English College at Douai, the superior remarked that he was generally very satisfied with them and that the only deficiency was ‘in their knowledge of English, which due care will be taken to teach them’.<sup>104</sup> Those who had studies at the Parisian seminaries had difficulty pursuing their studies in their native language. These issues were not specific to the France-trained seminarians. Writing to his uncle, the young Alexander Scott complained about the scarcity of opportunities to practise his English in a German-speaking establishment, where he had ‘acquired a facility in speaking and writing it

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<sup>100</sup> Letter from Donald Carmichael to Donald Carmichael, Blairs, 8 Feb 1847. Transcribed and quoted in *ibid.*, 60.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> *SCD* 1886 (obituary).

<sup>104</sup> *SCA*: OL/2/6/1, Fr Collier to Bp Scott, English College Douai 28 May 1831.

[German], which I do not possess in the English tongue'.<sup>105</sup> His fellow seminarians at Ratisbon were in the same lamentable situation:

It is a very great loss for us in this respect that we have no more such good opportunity of perfecting ourselves in the English, being mixed with Germans on every occasion & having no one to consult in matters of difficulty.<sup>106</sup>

The students learned their Latin grammar, and that of their language of study; but English was left on a weaker footing, especially in terms of grammar. The later bishop Scott bemoaned the same in a letter his own written English language skills more than twenty years earlier:

there are I am sure errors of orthography, and expressions not really English which you will have to correct; for I am a wretched proficient in the English language which I never had an opportunity of studying [...].<sup>107</sup>

Revealingly, Father Scott had not just arrived from abroad; he had laboured in Scotland for seventeen years at this point, the last seven of those in the rapidly growing mission of Glasgow. In another telling example, freshly ordained Father McKay was so unable to speak either English or Gaelic upon his return from the Continent that he had to be placed as an apprentice.<sup>108</sup>

At the French seminaries the Scots were not isolated from their fellow students of different nationalities. Jacques (James) Gillis, at this point a tonsured cleric, after five years of St Nicolas was called by his Bishop to return to Scotland.<sup>109</sup> His French 'compatriots' composed a touching farewell speech for him lamenting a 'premature separation' of a 'much-loved brother'.<sup>110</sup> Gillis, at least, made friends with his French fellow students – but he was a Canadian-born Scot with fluent French before his entry

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<sup>105</sup> SCA: OL/2/16/10, Alexander Scott to his uncle Bp Scott, Ratisbon 26 Nov 1835.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> SCA: BL/4/398/11 (1), Fr Scott to Cameron, Glasgow 30 Jun 1812.

<sup>108</sup> SCA: OL/2/35/5, Daniel O'Neill to Bp Scott, Vaugirard 12 Jul 1838.

<sup>109</sup> Demogeot, 'XLIII: Adieu des élèves de rhétorique à M. Jacques Gillis, cleric tonsuré, qui, après avoir fait pendant cinq années l'ornement et les délices du séminaire de Saint-Nicolas, retournait en Ecosse, le 17 avril 1826, rappelé avant le temps par son évêque', in Abbé Daix, *Monsieur Frère et Félix Dupanloup ou Quelques Années au Petit Séminaire de Paris* (Paris, 1885), 282-285. BNF 8-R-6777.

<sup>110</sup> 'Agréez, frère bien-aimé, qu'une séparation prématurée nous rend encore plus cher'. Ibid.

to the Parisian seminary. The Scottish students, like established in Chapter II when discussing the problems with the seminary at Vaugirard, could also turn inward and only socialise with fellow Scotsmen, as was claimed by the young Daniel O'Neill (1820-1839) in 1838 at Vaugirard.<sup>111</sup> The culture in these institutions might have varied significantly, as naturally did the personalities of individuals in question – even if they were encouraged to socialise with everybody. However, this might also have been a communication issue to the Scots newly abroad.

Bishop Scott expressed concerns that the seminarians sent to France progressed too slowly in their studies. This could be remedied by additional language tuition before the beginning of the study year. If the students were sent to Paris 'at the start of the vacation rather than at the commencement of studies',

They might have as much french during the vacation as to enable them to make more progress in their studies when the classes began. Often when they leave Blairs after two or three years studies there, the want of the knowledge of the french Language throws them often a year or two back at Vaugirard.<sup>112</sup>

It is possible that the students' relative initial isolation was both enforcing and due to a language barrier. This would have had an impact on the way in which the seminarians saw themselves.

Obituaries, too, brought up language and its importance in the priests' lives – both during their studies and priestly careers. Even if the seminarians' English and Gaelic suffered, they excelled at French. Of Joseph Holder (1845-1917) it was written that

The French language became to him familiar as his mother tongue, and his trial sermons in French marked him out in the midst of his professors as a possible 'Lacordaire D'Ecosse.'<sup>113</sup>

Andrew Smith (1822-1877) developed impressive skills in French and 'on one occasion [carried] off the French prize even from the French themselves.'<sup>114</sup> Robert Clapperton (1831-1906), too, was remembered for his linguistic talents as it was

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<sup>111</sup> SCA: OL/2/35/5, Daniel O'Neill to Bp Scott, Vaugirard 12 Jul 1838.

<sup>112</sup> SCA: DD/1/13/11, Bp Scott to Gillis, 14 Sep 1845.

<sup>113</sup> SCD 1920 (obituary).

<sup>114</sup> SCD 1878 (obituary).



remarked that ‘It goes without saying that he was an accomplished French scholar’.<sup>115</sup> James Joseph Dawson (1858-1903) had, ‘during his college years’, ‘acquired a perfect knowledge’ of not only French, but Spanish and German as well.<sup>116</sup> It was recognised that the young age of the entrant could be helpful in the acquisition of foreign languages. The seminary at Cambrai recommended that if the Scottish Mission was to send students there,

it would be much better to send them young, - because then they could learn the French much faster, and become much more easily habituated to the place.<sup>117</sup>

Although the seminarians might lose their fluency in their native language(s) temporarily, they did acquire an impressive level of fluency in the language of tuition. This was considered a perk rather than a burden of the French seminary education. Interestingly, it was precisely the English language that often defined the Scottish seminarians in the eyes of the French, both fellow students and superiors.

## Conclusion: Home and Abroad

Tom McInally has stated that in the previous centuries the Scots College seminarians still retained a Scottish identity in the eyes of their hosts.<sup>118</sup> In the nineteenth century this no longer applied to the same extent. Although the remaining Scots Colleges on the Continent may well have been different, the French case study shows that Scottishness, in the eyes of foreigners in foreign institutions on foreign soil, was relatively fragile. As the Scots were no longer studying at Scots colleges, they were more likely counted among the international students pursuing an education in France. However, their Britishness – or more (in)accurately, *Englishness* – was recognised based on the language they spoke as well as the animosities brewed by military conflict

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<sup>115</sup> SCD 1907 (obituary).

<sup>116</sup> SCD 1904 (obituary).

<sup>117</sup> SCA: OL/2/72/5, Peter Forbes to Bishop Bp Scott, [Haubaudin], France, 8 Sep 1846.

<sup>118</sup> Tom McInally, *The Sixth Scottish University: The Scots Colleges Abroad: 1575 to 1799* (Leiden, 2012), 213.

between France and the British. The Napoleonic wars could plausibly have made the distinction between the Scots and the English and the Irish even less significant in the eyes of the French.

In France, the Scottish seminarians entered a world that was both French and international, but certainly not Scottish. The students' affiliation with the Scottish Mission was intimate for reasons of patronage, but we have also found that neither Scottish ancestry nor birth on Scottish soil was a common denominator. For many of the boys, parental homes were in Scotland, and homesickness was frequently aimed at where one grew up – often a specific part of Scotland rather than all of Scotland. Local and regional identities were perhaps more important than we might expect. There is no question that the students could develop affection to their foreign seminary, their comrades, and their way of life in France. Partly for this reason, study abroad also had its risks in terms of loyalty to the Scottish Mission. Some seminarians later emigrated, and it is not unreasonable to assume that their study experience abroad might have encouraged them to travel further. They might also become more 'French' than expected, as was the case with those who were spending up to a decade abroad and forgetting their native languages.

Victoria E. Thompson has found that the cosmopolitan outlook and the experience of the French grandeur experienced by travellers could transcend national identity.<sup>119</sup> A degree of cosmopolitanism was desired as a calculated measure to increase the young priests' exceptionalism in the eyes of their congregations, but like with many other aspects of the experience, a delicate balance needed to be maintained between enrichment and alienation. These individuals may have been prepared to work for the Scottish Mission in Scotland, but as religious cosmopolitans, they were prepared to 'operate beyond the borders'.<sup>120</sup> German historian Jürgen Osterhammel has suggested that due to the transnational nature of the Roman Catholic Church, its labourers'

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<sup>119</sup> Victoria E. Thompson, 'Foreign Bodies: British Travel to Paris and the Troubled National Self, 1789-1830', 245, in *Studies in Travel Writing* 15/3 (2011).

<sup>120</sup> Jürgen Osterhammel, *Geschichtswissenschaft Jenseits des Nationalstaats: Studien zu Beziehungsgeschichte und Zivilisationsvergleich* (Bonn, 2001), 39, quoted in Helmut Walser Smith, 'For a Differently Centered Central European History: Reflections on Jürgen Osterhammel, *Geschichtswissenschaft Jenseits des Nationalstaats*', 118, in *Central European History* 37/1 (2004), 115-136.

‘loyalty does not lie in an exclusively or even predominantly territorial community’.<sup>121</sup> The study abroad could have had an even firmer impact on this. For example, Jeremiah Newman has found that the Irish graduating from Maynooth College in County Kildare could be considered more nationalistic than their cosmopolitan brethren, educated abroad.<sup>122</sup> Roman Catholicism forms a tight-knit web of connections of congregations, convents and missions around the globe. Pnina Werbner described religious identity as both ‘a discourse of boundaries, relatedness and otherness’ as well as ‘encompassment and inclusiveness’.<sup>123</sup> The paradoxical nature of religious belonging complements the paradoxical nature of seminary experience, which was designed to be at one isolated and cosmopolitan.

By mid-nineteenth century Catholicism was being incorporated into a complex concept of ‘British identity’ spiritually, economically and culturally.<sup>124</sup> What has emerged from the examination of the Scottish seminarian national belonging is an equally complex web of fragments that are difficult to make sense of. This chapter has established that being a Catholic did not make an individual unpatriotic, and that the Scottish Mission considered itself very much a part of Scotland the nation – even if its affection towards Great Britain and the British Empire was only highlighted when this was convenient for its legal aims in the two decades following the 1789 Revolution. The seminarians themselves were brought up as cosmopolitans. They were, as we have seen, a remarkably well-travelled bunch, both inside and outside of the clerical profession, and their foreign language skills could override their grasp of their native language, at least temporarily. Lamentably, any sort of feelings of nationalism or patriotism in terms of Scotland or Britain are difficult to determine based on the sources examined. However, the material is not lacking in strong underlying loyalties, at least partly national. Loyalty was mainly expressed implicitly in the career path these individuals had chosen, and affection towards the Scottish Mission and their Scottish Roman Catholic religion could not be separated from affection to one’s native

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Jeremiah Newman, *Maynooth and Georgian Ireland* (Galway, 1979), 90. Interestingly, the flipside of the coin is that those educated abroad could more readily absorb revolutionary ideas. Darren Tierney, ‘Financing the Faith: Scottish Catholicism 1772 - c. 1890’ (2014), 57.

<sup>123</sup> Pnina Werbner, ‘Religious Identity’, 233, in Margaret Wetherell and Chandra Talpade Mohanty (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Identities* (London, 2010), 233-257.

<sup>124</sup> Aspinwall, ‘The Formation of a British Identity within Scottish Catholicism’, 269.

land. The Scots vicars apostolic and the Scottish Mission were especially highlighted, with the loyalty extended to Roman Catholics in Scotland whom the priests were destined to serve. Scottish or British patriotism was simply not at the forefront of the seminarians' minds when souls were at stake.



## Conclusion: Making a Priest, the Paradox

In 1989 Ralph Gibson concluded that the academic content of clerical education ‘was not, and was not intended to be, what seminary training was essentially about’.<sup>125</sup> Although at first glance this appears a bold statement, the conclusions of this thesis support it. The education was necessary, but not alone or even predominantly because of the knowledge acquired. Theological studies filled the last three years of priestly education; academically, everything before that could be applied to any kind of professional career or life, suitable for godly gentlemen of elite status. It has been established, especially in Chapters III and IV, that the students did not go to the seminary simply to be educated, but in order to ‘assimilate the culture of an elite’.<sup>126</sup> This culture and the self-importance that came with it was essential in a successful clerical career when one’s beginnings could be comparatively humble. The end product of a seminary education was perhaps a carefully moulded, apparently fit-for-purpose clergyman the Scottish Mission wanted to create – but being a self-confident gentleman was a surprisingly important part of this. Most of the ‘seminaries’ this thesis has discussed were not exclusively so, but also accepted students not destined for priesthood.<sup>127</sup> Boys from a variety of backgrounds were first made into godly gentlemen (with the knowledge of their aim and therefore the need for particular religiosity), and only thereafter the young, godly gentlemen were made into priests.

The total society of the seminary environment enabled the surveillance and control over most aspects of the students’ lives in the nineteenth century. A foreign dimension was an integral part of the training. While potentially troublesome, as we saw in Chapter II, it was also essential in creating genteel, authoritative, cosmopolitan citizens of the world. France was an option among several study paths. Most dedicated establishments in Europe were Scottish-run, but in France the seminarians were deliberately sent from under the keen eyes of their bishops into seminaries not run by Scots. Out of necessity or not, France was deemed acceptable in the production of Scots missionary priests. Although largely confined into the educational

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<sup>125</sup> Ralph Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism, 1789-1914* (London, 1989), 87.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> See, for example, SCA: CA/2/14/7 (1), College of St Edmund the King and Martyr: Douai, France (1886), quoted in Chapter IV.

establishments, the seminarians could not avoid the political issues of their time, nor the exposure to their cultural environment inside and outside the seminary walls. The different ideas and culture that reigned in the establishments in Spain, Bavaria, Rome or Scotland produced a Scottish priest in a comparable way to the process completed by those based in France, with some nuances in details only. Although these peculiar details might have been (or might have become) significant for individual priests and their lives, all of the available options were approved by the vicars apostolic for the training of the new generation of priests for Scotland. This thesis has shown that the French education of the Scottish seminarians was a solid part of the Scottish Mission's training operations in the nineteenth century. Although it was peculiar in many ways, it was also representative of greater trends in priestly training.

The prosopographical presumption is these individuals had – or at least developed – things in common. Each of the 225 individuals examined has a story worth telling. The aggregate of these stories has helped us understand not only the paradoxical experience that was Scots Catholic seminary education in France, but the lives indisputably touched by the Scottish Mission and a very particular kind of education. All of the lives examined were shaped by the seminary experience, one way or another. One could not enter a highly-religious elite-level boarding school without an impact on the self. Total and immersive, the priestly education was designed to mould boys into men and students into professionals as well as laymen into priests. The total society of the seminary was designed to be transformative: boys as young as eight and nine were admitted to the seminary where they reached adulthood. Sons of labourers and chimney-sweepers, merchants and farmers, bakers and shoemakers were transformed into genteel professionals. Highlanders, Lowlanders, Irish and English boys were made into missionary priests who were to work in Scotland and, in theory, set aside local, regional, and ethno-national differences in favour of religion. The individuals examined became priests and bishops, but also labourers, merchants, booksellers and clerks. They became fathers to natural children, fathers to congregations, or fathers to neither. They became faithful servants, rebellious troublemakers or charismatic leaders.

This thesis has shown that both the seminary experience and the ensuing career were in many ways highly paradoxical. The seminarians were moulded into priests

who were to be frugal and have low expectations in terms of income which often needed supplementing, while also constantly reminding the priests-to-be that, whatever his background, they were becoming gentlemen and members of the elites, and were responsible for upholding a suitable façade to highlight this. The seminarians were to be leaders in their communities and fathers to their flocks, but they were also to be labourers and servants to the Church and God: what was expected from the ready article was hard work and humble submission to the authority of the Bishop and the Pope (with varying degrees of emphasis, as we have seen). The seminarians were constantly reminded of the fact that they shared a vocation and therefore were special – but that they also needed to do whatever their Bishop asked of them. Their manliness was both questionable and highlighted in their celibacy.

Aside from the roles they were to assume after their ordination, the backgrounds of these individuals reflect the paradox present in Scottish Catholic life. The seminarians were, in many cases, both ‘Scots’ and ‘non-Scots’ depending on the definition of the term. Although their shared aim brought them together (as well as the funding of their studies), they were not exclusively of Scottish parentage or born in Scotland. The antipathy towards the Irish migrants and the Irish priests seems curious after discovering that a large portion of the Scottish Mission’s seminarians were either born in Ireland or born of Irish parents. The ‘Irish Connection’ of the seminarians was not highlighted during the individuals’ time abroad: by the time they entered the French seminaries, they were all a unified group of ‘Scots’ seminarians – even though the French tended to group them under the label *Anglais*.

In addition, the study abroad was paradoxical in its organisation. The seminarians were brought up as cosmopolitans in a relatively isolated environment, in many cases in the middle of one of the great European metropolises. They were also, as we have seen, a remarkable well-travelled bunch, considering that most began their studies with the understanding that they would be serving the Scottish Mission for the rest of their lives.

Significantly, the bubble of the seminary was always eventually burst. Both those who were ordained and those who were not left the dynamic and familiar world of the seminary for something completely different; the former for missionary labour in Scotland, the latter a secular life in the world. The phase following the exit from the



seminary system was miles apart from what they had got used to at the seminary over the years. Some made the new life work for them with few hiccups, as we have seen, while others needed more time to adjust – or never did. From the point of view of the Scottish Mission, the moulding process was successful only some of the time. Of those advanced enough in their studies and confident enough in their vocation to continue abroad, only about sixty per cent were ordained. The rest had fallen into one of the traps set along the way: ill health or death, lack of studiousness, loss of vocation. The secular world called some seminarians back, and they could and did, albeit initially with difficulty, build lives for themselves.

This thesis has also concluded that although the study experience in France was in many cases a highly significant building block of an individual's life and career, it did not predetermine their political or theological stance. Bernard J. Canning has reiterated this point in his collection of biographies of Irish-born secular priests who worked in Scotland: all priests were formed 'in the model of Christ the Eternal Priest', but this did not suppress or destroy their personality and individuality: priests differed 'in traits of character and in intellectual attainments' like other men.<sup>128</sup> People's opinions and actions are affected by a plethora of things, not always determinable by the historian. Although we have been able to make conclusions about the seminarians as a group, it is clear that their political stance, for example, cannot be determined by level of exposure to certain ideas. Personality and factors beyond the scope of this study may have been far more influential than an experience of a seminary education and Revolutionary France.

The end point of this prosopographical study is 1878 when the Scottish Catholic Mission was promoted to the Scottish Catholic Church and the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy was officially re-established. It admittedly cuts the nineteenth century somewhat short. However, most of those educated in France within the timeframe in question were the ones whose lives would shape Scottish Catholicism for years to come. Many of the individuals examined lived to see the twentieth century, and some of them even lived to see the end of the training of the clergy in France. Canon John Turner (1853-1938), himself educated at Douai and St Sulpice, was appointed in 1907

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<sup>128</sup> Bernard J. Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests in Scotland 1829-1979* (Inverness, 1979), xv.

to fight for the *Fondation* properties in France, at risk of being, yet again, appropriated.<sup>129</sup>

A sample that included all of the Scottish Mission's seminarians (those who gave up their studies while still at the junior seminary and those who completed their studies in Scotland or in other foreign countries) would be statistically more indicative of trends and a fruitful avenue of future research. Although unlikely to challenge the broad conclusions of this thesis regarding the seminary experience, a similar study focused on the other Scots Colleges abroad would clarify the peculiarities of a French (and Spanish, Roman and Bavarian) education. This study has only offered a snapshot of the Scottish Catholic training operations in France and further research is required to complete the chronological 'institutional' history of the *Fondation Catholique Ecossaise* and the Scots College legacy in France. These have hitherto been examined in a rather traditional way until the French Revolution, and only by concentrating on the property and the funds a few decades beyond that. What this thesis has achieved is a look at a previously unexplored field in an innovative way, paving way for further studies of seminarians.

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<sup>129</sup> The matter is somewhat more complex. A good starting point is Aeneas Chisholm's opinion piece in *The Scotsman*: 'The Scots College in Paris – The Franco-Scottish Society and the Universities of Scotland', in *The Scotsman (1860-1920)*, 23 Apr 1908, 10. See also SCA: CA/1/49-56, files containing documents relating to yet further wrangles over the Scottish Foundation's properties in France (1907-1933). In 1928 the French Government finally decided that the Royal Ordinance of 1824 governing the Scots Foundations was still legally valid.



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## **Appendices**

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## Appendix 1: A Brief Glossary

<i>bourse</i>	Boursary or stipend to support the seminarian financially through their studies.
Gallicanism	An ecclesiastical movement emphasising the local management of each national Church.
<i>grand seminaire</i>	A seminary which concentrates on further studies (philosophy and theology).
Jansenism	A theological movement offering views of free will and divine grace that, in the eyes of the papacy, amounted to heresy.
junior seminary	A preparatory seminary, focusing on classics and rhetoric. A stepping stone for a senior seminary
major / senior seminary	See ' <i>grand seminaire</i> '.
Late vocation	This was a term for those who entered the study path in their adulthood, generally after they had already practiced another occupation. See also 'vocation'.
Mission	The 'Mission' status signified that the government of the Roman Catholics in the area was under the Vicars Apostolic (rather than a domestic hierarchy of appointed bishops and archbishops), answering directly to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in Rome.
Mission oath	An ecclesiastical oath, taken by a seminarian, in which he vows to work for a certain Mission after his ordination.
phrenology	A pseudo-science which connected the shape of the skull with likely character traits.
physiognomy	A pseudo-science which connected outward appearance with character.
<i>petit seminaire</i>	See 'junior seminary'.
Propaganda	A short version of the name of Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome (often referred to simply as 'Propaganda'). It could also refer to the prestigious College of Propaganda Fide in Rome.
prosopography	A historical research method which involves the gathering, organisation and analysis of biographical data based on a specific group of individuals.
regular priests	Priests who were part of a religious order and therefore frequently enclosed.

Scots College	A college founded by the Scottish Roman Catholic Mission in o Scots Colleges (the training institutions abroad founded to enable the education of Scottish clergy.
secular priests	Priests who were active in the day-to-day operations of the Church through work with congregations.
seminarian	A student at a Roman Catholic seminary. An individual training for a clerical career.
seminary	An educationl institution for training priests.
ultramontaniam	An ecclesiastical movement highlighting the supremacy of the Pope in all matters.
vocation	Vocation refers to the priests' sense of purpose in terms of their occupation, understood to result from a divine call.

## Appendix 2: Vicars Apostolic of the Scottish Mission, 1818-1878

<b>Highland District (1732-1827)</b>	B[isho]p John Chisholm	1791 – 1814
	Bp Aeneas Chisholm	1814 – 1818
	Bp Ranald MacDonald	1819 – 1832
<b>Lowland District (1732-1827)</b>	Bp George Hay	1778 – 1805
	Bp Alexander Cameron	1805 – 1825
	Bp Alexander Paterson	1825 – 1831

*[Redivision of the Scottish Mission into three Districts in 1827]*

<b>Western District (1827-1878)</b>	Bp Ranald MacDonald	1827 – 1832
	Bp Andrew Scott	1832 – 1845
	Bp John Murdoch	1845 – 1865
	Bp John Gray	1865 – 1869
	Bp Charles Petre Eyre	1869 – 1902
<b>Eastern District (1827-1878)</b>	Bp Alexander Paterson	1827 – 1831
	Bp Andrew Carruthers	1832 – 1852
	Bp James Gillis	1852 – 1864
	Bp John Menzies Strain	1864 – 1883
<b>Northern District (1827-1878)</b>	Bp James Kyle	1827 – 1869
	Bp John MacDonald	1869 – 1889

*[Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy and division in to Dioceses and Archdioceses in 1878]*



### Appendix 3: Introduction to the Biographical Catalogue

In the biographical catalogue that follows, the title of each profile is the full name of the individual in question, surname first, and followed by years of birth and death. The information on each individual has been divided into four categories: family and early life, studies, career and later life, and 'other'. The first section of each profile sets out, as far as possible, the family connections and early life of the individual before his entry to a seminary. This includes date and place of birth (which is frequently used interchangeably with the date of baptism), parents' names, and occupation if available, as well as other information relating to the individual's childhood or family connections.

The section describing the studies of the individual lists the institutions attended and the years of attendance (rather than exact dates, although this information was occasionally available). The short name of each institution has been used to simplify the tables; the full known details of the seminaries referred to are listed in tables 1, 2 and 3 below. Additionally, the France-based institutions have information relating to their usage by the Scottish Mission, with the total number of attendees (who have qualified for this sample), the years (and the number of years) during which at least one qualifying seminarian was attending. Seminaries which only had one qualifying attendee have not been included in this list, as the case would have been a rarity and therefore the affiliation with the institution superficial at best.



**Table 1: Seminaries in France**

<i>Short name</i>	<i>Full name and location</i>	<i>Attended</i>	<i>Years in use</i>	<i>Number of attendees</i>
Aire	Collège d'Aire, Aire-sur-la-Lys	1844-1845 1847-1850	6	7
Arras	Petit Séminaire d'Arras & Grand Séminaire d'Arras	1848-1852 1866-1870	10	4
Boulogne	L'Institution Haffreingue, Boulogne	1849-1851 1853-1854	5	2
Cambrai	Petit Séminaire de Cambrai & Grand Séminaire de Cambrai	1847-1856	10	5
Douai	St Edmund's, Douai (College of the English Benedictines)	1831-1835 1851-1878->	>33	116
Holy Spirit	Seminary of Holy Spirit, Rue des Postes, Paris	1869-1872 1874-1875	6	3
Irish College Paris	Collège des Irlandais, Paris	1822-1825 1847-1852	10	3
Montreuil-sur-Mer	L'Institution Sainte-Austreberthe, Montreuil-sur-Mer	1850-1853	4	3
Moulins	Grand Séminaire de Moulins, Moulins	1866-1867	2	2
Sééz	Petit Séminaire de Sééz & Grand Séminaire de Sééz, Séés, Orne, Normandy	1861-1863 186x-1869 1873-1874	6	5
St Nicolas	Séminaire de Saint-Nicolas du Chardonnet, Rue de Pontoise, Paris, including the castle of Conflans in Charenton-le-Pont, nr. Paris	1818-1831 1833-1836	18	30
St Riquier	Séminaire de Saint-Riquier, Amiens	1876-1877	2	4
St Sulpice	Séminaire Saint-Sulpice at 9, Place Saint-Sulpice, Paris, including Issy at Issy-les-Moulineaux, Hauts-de-Seine	1820-1822 1824-1878->	>58	137
Vaugirard	L'Institution de M. Abbé Poiloup at Vaugirard, nr. Paris	1834-1851	18	39

**Table 2: Seminaries in Scotland**

<i>Short name</i>	<i>Full name and location</i>
Aquhorties	Aquhorties Seminary, Aberdeenshire
Blairs	St Mary's College at Blairs, Aberdeenshire
Lismore	Highland Seminary at Lismore, Lismore
St Peter's College	St Peter's College, Partickhill, Glasgow

**Table 3: Seminaries Elsewhere**

<i>Short name</i>	<i>Full name and location</i>
Propaganda	College of Propaganda Fide, Rome
Rockwell	Scots College Rockwell, Co. Tipperary, Ireland
Scots College Rome	Scots College Rome, Rome
St Patrick's College	St Patrick's College, Co. Armanagh, Ireland
Ushaw	St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, England
Valladolid	Scots College Valladolid, Spain

This section also lists any interruptions to the studies for reasons of political unrest, health or dismissal as well as the date and place of ordination, if applicable. The district the entrant studied for is indicated in brackets after the heading.

'Career and later life' has been organised the same way as information on study for those who were ordained, with names of parishes the priest worked in as well as any other relevant information on their career. Frequent transfers may indicate misbehaviour, but often they are just an indication of the necessity to shuffle the parish priests around in order to accommodate a new priest or to replace a Gaelic-speaker with another. This section also lists details of their death. For those who pursued a different kind of life, details drawn from the census records have been indicated to create an image, if a vague one, on the individual's life situation, including family and occupation. If a digit in a year is replaced by an 'x', this indicates that the information has not been available. 'Circa' (c.) indicates an estimate. All information adding to the profiles, aside from study and career data, has generally been cited. Study details have not been cited in order to keep the tables

clear and concise, but they rely on the published biographical lists mentioned before (mainly based on the *Directory*), as well as the Fondation accounts. A portrait or a photograph reproduction has been included if available, and the footnote reference referring to this can be found in the title of the profile. In order to help locate a certain individual regardless of a variant spelling, individuals have been listed alphabetically.

The final category, 'Other', lists anything that might not suitably fit in any other category, often including lengthy but interesting quotations. This information may not have been essential to include for the sake of statistical analysis, but it helps to retain the humanity of these individuals by functioning as a reminder that life cannot and should not be reduced to numbers.

All of the existing biographical lists of clergymen shed light on the Scottish Mission and, additionally, provide a valuable source for genealogists and biographers. However, little of the available data has been subjected to extensive analysis. This study is not simply creating another biographical list. It offers an insight into a section formerly left relatively untouched: the seminarians. Those who did not reach ordination have previously been neglected, as the emphasis lay on priests rather than their formation. Like its predecessors, the catalogue is a list of short biographies which are meant to convey a sense of the wide variety of individuals who explored their perceived call to priesthood.

## Appendix 4: Biographical Catalogue

### A

---

#### Agnew, Patrick J. (1848-1897)

##### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 2 Nov 1848 in Dundee<sup>1</sup>
- Mother: Sara Dorothy Connor<sup>2</sup>
- Father: John Agnew,<sup>3</sup> handloom weaver<sup>4</sup>

##### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1863 – 1866
- Douai 1866 – 1870
- Studies interrupted in 1870
- Blairs 1870 – 1872
- St Sulpice 1872 – 1874
- Ordained 19 Jul 1874 at Blairs

##### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Patrick's, Edinburgh 1874 – 1875
- Broxburn 1875 – 1876
- Dumfries 1876 – 1880
- Dalbeattie 1880 – 1882
- Went to America to raise funds for the Mission<sup>5</sup>
- Returned to Scotland and received permission to emigrate to America and to affiliate himself with Chicago<sup>6</sup>
- Cathedral of Holy Name, Chicago 1882 – 1889
- St Sylvester's, Chicago 1889 – 1897
- Died 23 Jul 1897 at Chicago<sup>7</sup>

##### OTHER

- [unknown]

#### Allan, William (1825-1853)

##### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 8 Dec 1825 in Edinburgh<sup>8</sup>
- Mother: Jessie Sutherland, Protestant, daughter of Nicholas Sutherland, Esquire, formerly of the Forfar & Kincardine Shire Militia<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Dundee, RD 282-00, 068-033.

<sup>5</sup> SCD 1898 (obituary).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> SCD 1854 (obituary).

<sup>9</sup> SPC: Old Parish Registers (Births): St Cuthbert's, 685-02, 0330.

- Father: William Allan, Protestant, writer and accountant with two domestic servants<sup>10</sup> ('member of the legal profession')<sup>11</sup>
- Studied law for a while<sup>12</sup>
- Attended 'a course of lectures under Bishop Terrot. In his class he was considered a diligent and laborious student, and from the great attainments and varied information of which he gave ample proof before he became a Catholic, he evidently deserved the character. He read much, thought deeply, and digested well what he did study.'<sup>13</sup>
- Worked as an Episcopalian Deacon in Dumbarton: 'during his incumbency, he was most zealous and indefatigable in the discharge of his duties, and very popular with his flock, both rich and poor.'<sup>14</sup>
- Converted in 1848 (baptised 20 Aug 1848): 'During his stay at Dumbarton, deep reflection and the grace of God completed in him the conviction that had for some time been growing on him, that he was not in the right path. He gave up his charge, and was received into the Catholic Church.'<sup>15</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- St Sulpice 1848 – 1851
- 'His conduct was always most edifying and exemplary, and his application intense.'<sup>16</sup>
- Ordained 14 Jun 1851 in Paris
- The 'close confinement of a seminary life had enfeebled his health', so took a short break and started work only in Aug of the year of ordination<sup>17</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Andrews, Glasgow in bad health 1851 – 1852
- Retired from Glasgow due to doctor's orders<sup>18</sup>
- Dumbarton (for a few months) 1852
- At his mother's house in Edinburgh 1852-1853 with consumption<sup>19</sup>
- Died 6 Jun 1853 of consumption<sup>20</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### McAnaa, Patrick (1856-1898)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 12 May 1856 in Airdrie<sup>21</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.; Census 1841: St Cuthbert's, RD 685-02, 179-001.

<sup>11</sup> SPC: Old Parish Registers (Births): St Cuthbert's, 685-02, 0330.

<sup>12</sup> SCD 1854 (obituary).

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

- Mother: Catherine Dunyan,<sup>22</sup> born in Ireland; widowed and head of household by 1871; children working as ‘expupil teacher’ (Bernard, 19), ironstone miner (William, 17 and John, 15), monitor (Patrick, 13), scholar (Mary, 10, Anne, 8 and Bernard, 5); three younger children born in Denny, the eldest in Lanark, Clarkston; 4 rooms with windows<sup>23</sup>
- Father: William McAnaa,<sup>24</sup> labourer, born in Ireland, five lodgers<sup>25</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1874 – 1876
- St Riquier 1876 – 1877
- Scots College Rome 1877 – 1883
- Ordained 1881 in Rome

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Broxburn 1883 – 1884
- Edinburgh Cathedral 1884 – 1887
- Penicuik and Rosewell 1887 – 1889
- Haddington 1889 – 1898
- Canon
- Ill under the care of Mrs Douglas-Dick at Clerkington before his death 25 Aug 1898 at St Elizabeth’s Home in Glasgow (severe influenza and consumption)<sup>26</sup>
- Buried at Mount Vernon Cemetery, Liberton

#### OTHER

- Responsible for building of the Rosewell chapel-school<sup>27</sup>
- ‘By the general public of Haddington he was so much esteemed that though the honour was unsought, he was appointed to several of the public bodies of the town.’<sup>28</sup>
- ‘In the summer of 1897 his presbytery was burned down, and the shock and chill that resulted on that occasion seem to have undermined his health.’<sup>29</sup>

### Anderson, Alexander (1831-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 10 Apr 1831 in Edinburgh<sup>30</sup>
- Mother: Susanna Reid<sup>31</sup>
- Father: Isaac Forsyth Anderson<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> SPC: Census 1871: Denny, RD 476-00, 003-017.

<sup>24</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>25</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Bathgate, 662-00, 007-027.

<sup>26</sup> SCD 1899 (obituary).

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1844 – 1845
- Vaugirard 1845 – 1851
- Disappears from Fondation accounts after 1851<sup>33</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

## B

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### Barry, John (1825-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 25 Aug 1825<sup>34</sup>

#### STUDIES (? District)

- Vaugirard 1839

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Bennet, George (1828-1907)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Baptised 25 May 1828<sup>35</sup> in Buckie<sup>36</sup>
- Mother: Isabella Ogilvie<sup>37</sup>
- Father: Alexander Bennet,<sup>38</sup> farmer at Mill of Buckie<sup>39</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1842 – 1847
- Valladolid 1847 – 1849
- St Sulpice 1849 – 1854
- Gave up Sep 1854<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> AN: CRD1852.

<sup>34</sup> AN: F/17/2723.

<sup>35</sup> AN: CRD1851; CRD1853.

<sup>36</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

<sup>37</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Buckie, St Peter's, MP001600001-00002-00001-00021-.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Rathven, RD 164-00, 006-009.

<sup>40</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- 11 Jul 1891 (aged 63) married Mary MacKie, daughter of a postmaster, in Glasgow<sup>41</sup>
- Farmer of 230 acres arable employing five men<sup>42</sup>
- Died 12 Dec 1907 in Deskie, Glenlivet, Scotland<sup>43</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Bisset, Alexander (1849-1931)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 2 Feb 1849 in Beaully<sup>44</sup>
- Mother: Ann McLeod<sup>45</sup>
- Father: Alexander Bisset,<sup>46</sup> agricultural labourer<sup>47</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1864 – 1867
- Douai 1867 – 1871
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1871 – 1873
- St Sulpice 1873 – 1876
- Ordained 10 Jun 1876 in Paris

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Professor at Blairs 1876 – 1882
- First resident priest at Kirkwall 1882 – 1889
- Marydale, Strathglass 1889 – 1894
- Banff 1894 – 1910
- Retired to Montrose in 1910
- Relocated to Aberdeen
- Died 28 Jun 1931 in Aberdeen<sup>48</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

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<sup>41</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Marriage announcement in the *Northern Scot*, Jul 1891.

<sup>42</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1881: Glenlivet, RD 157-02, 001-010.

<sup>43</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: entry on George Bennet; source unclear.

<sup>44</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Kilmorack, RD 100-00, 002-014.

<sup>48</sup> SCD 1832 (obituary).



## Black, Andrew Joseph (1826-1867)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 10 Mar 1826<sup>49</sup> or 1825<sup>50</sup> in Glasgow<sup>51</sup>
- Mother: Cecilia McLusky,<sup>52</sup> born in Ireland<sup>53</sup>
- Father: Patrick Black,<sup>54</sup> spirit dealer; born in Ireland<sup>55</sup>
- ‘He, along with his brothers John and Bernard, was early destined for the Church, and the three became priests.’<sup>56</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1837 – 1839
- Vaugirard 1839 – 1845
- St Sulpice (incl. Issy) 1845 – 1848
- Returned to Scotland in 1848 due to revolution<sup>57</sup>
- Blairs 1848 – 1849
- Ailing health forced him to leave Blairs briefly 17 Sep 1849<sup>58</sup>
- Ordained 18 Dec 1849 in Glasgow

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Alphonsus', Glasgow 1849 – 1850
- St Mary's Glasgow 1850 – 1852
- Greenock 1852 – 1854
- Rothesay 1854 – 1867
- Died 21 Apr 1867 at Rothesay of typhus, which he caught attending to a sick parishioner<sup>59</sup>
- Remains buried at Rothesay (?) Church, ‘deposited it in the vault erected for the purpose under the Altar’<sup>60</sup>

### OTHER

- ‘Upon his arrival in the island [of Bute], and taking view of his position, the prospect before him was anything but cheering. There was, indeed, a chapel, which had been erected in 1849; but from its position it was exceedingly inconvenient, being situated at Kames Bay, fully two miles distant from Rothesay, and consequently from the people. In addition to this inconvenience, there was no Catholic school in the town, where the children of the congregation might acquire even the mere rudiments of education, or be brought under the salutary influence of moral training or religious instruction. All this was disheartening to a degree; but the young priest was not to be baffled. “We must do with the chapel,” said he, “for some time yet where it is, but a schoolroom we must have, and that too in the very midst of

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<sup>49</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>50</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

<sup>51</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 210-011.

<sup>54</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>55</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 210-011.

<sup>56</sup> *SCD* 1868 (obituary).

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

the people.” When about to purchase, with borrowed money, the ground in Columshill Street, where not only the school, but also the Presbyterium and our Church, erected in 186, now stand, being asked where he expected to get the means to build, even if he had the ground, “Let me secure the ground,” said he, “and I will trust in God for the means to build.” The ground was acquired, and the present spacious schoolroom erected in 1857, little more than three years after his arrival. It is a fact little known, that the first subscription towards the building was the sum of £40 from His Holiness Pope Pius IX. Although the erection of the school, Presbyterium and Church, together with the purchase of the ground, involved Mr Black in a considerable debt, yet his courage never deserted him. Efforts almost superhuman were made by him to clear off this burden, and at the time of his lamented death the liabilities were reduced to a comparatively small sum.’<sup>61</sup>

## Black, Bernard (1830-1854)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 1 Oct 1830 in Glasgow<sup>62</sup>
- Mother: Cecilia McLusky,<sup>63</sup> born in Ireland<sup>64</sup>
- Father: Patrick Black,<sup>65</sup> spirit dealer; born in Ireland<sup>66</sup>
- ‘[Andrew Joseph Black], along with his brothers John and Bernard, was early destined for the Church, and the three became priests.’<sup>67</sup>
- ‘Mr Black has called upon me to-day to ask if his last son will be taken into College. He declares his wish to be a priest. His father says he is willing to pay for him throughout his studies or as long as he perseveres. This is a very fair offer; but I think it would be rather hard to hold him bound to it. By the end of the first year it will be seen how the boy is likely to turn out; it will be time enough then to make some arrangement or agreement with his Father.’<sup>68</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- |                                 |             |
|---------------------------------|-------------|
| • Blairs                        | 1841 – 1844 |
| • Aire                          | 1844 – 1848 |
| • Arras                         | 1848 – 1852 |
| • Ordained 3 Oct 1853 in France |             |

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- |   |                                      |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| • St Patrick's, Glasgow months’ <sup>69</sup> | 1853 – 1854 (‘little more than three |
|---|--------------------------------------|

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>64</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 210-011.

<sup>65</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>66</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 210-011.

<sup>67</sup> SCD 1868 (obituary).

<sup>68</sup> SCA: OL/2/59/11, John Murdoch to Bp Scott, Glasgow 5 Jun 1841.

<sup>69</sup> SCD 1855 (obituary).

- Died 11 Feb 1854 of fever in the course of a few days<sup>70</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘During the brief period of his pastoral labours, which was of little more than three months, it is true to say of him that he gave early promise of being an active and zealous Missionary. But God, whose judgments are inscrutable, decreed otherwise, and called him to himself, while still, as it were, on the threshold of manhood. He was seized with fever, which, in a few days, terminated fatally. His remains were removed, on the Tuesday after his death, from the Chapel House of St. Patrick’s to St. Mary’s Church, and on Wednesday a solemn Mass of *Requiem* was celebrated for the repose of his soul by the Right Rev. Dr. Murdoch, assisted by the Rev. Messrs. Andrew Black, the brother of the deceased, and Roderick Chisholm, as Deacon and Subdeacon, in the presence of a considerable number of the Clergy of the district, and a large concourse of the Faithful. At the conclusion of the Funeral Obsequies, the coffin was lowered into the vault under the Church.’<sup>71</sup>

### Bohyme, John Ignace (1820-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 1 Oct 1820<sup>72</sup>
- ‘John Ignace Bohémé, converted Protestant Minister, who entered St Sulpice 1 Oct 1850.’<sup>73</sup>

#### STUDIES (? District)

- St Sulpice 1851 – 1852
- Ratisbon (Regensburg, Germany) 1851 – ?

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Bonnyman, James (1833-1890)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 4 Jun 1833 in the hamlet of Cloghan (in the neighbourhood of Preshome)<sup>74</sup>, Enzie, Banffshire<sup>75</sup>
- Mother: Anna Mitchell<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> *SCD* 1855 (obituary).

<sup>71</sup> *SCD* 1855 (obituary).

<sup>72</sup> AN: CRD1851.

<sup>73</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>74</sup> *SCD* 1891 (obituary).

<sup>75</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

- Father: Alexander Bonnyman,<sup>77</sup> shoemaker<sup>78</sup>
- ‘He was only eleven years of age when he left his father's house to consecrate himself to God for ever.’<sup>79</sup>
- ‘Descended from a pious race, and born of parents who had imbibed the true spirit of religion from the lips of those great confessors of the faith of whom we have spoken, it is not to be wondered at that Father Bonnyman should have inherited those virtues which during his long career in the priesthood made him so beloved by his people. From his very childhood God seemed to have had selected him to be his priest, and to have adorned his young soul with that infantile piety which so often distinguished the first years of those whose lives are to be spent in the service of the Sanctuary.’<sup>80</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1844 – 1845
- Aire 1845 – 1850
- Montreuil-sur-Mer 1850 – 1853
- Cambrai 1853 – 1854
- Blairs 1854 – 1857
- Ordained 11 Nov 1857 at Blairs

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant at St John's Glasgow 1857 – 1859
- Pollockshaws 1859 – 1861
- St Vincent's, Glasgow 1861 – 1875
- Ill for a time in 1875, and never fully recovered<sup>81</sup>
- Kirkintilloch 1875 – 1890
- Died 19 Mar 1890 at Kirkintilloch<sup>82</sup>
- ‘It was at first intended that the funeral should take place in the New Cemetery of St. Kentigern, Maryhill, but as he desired to be buried in the Old Aisle Cemetery among his own parishioners, this last desire was granted, and his mortal remains were interred in that place. Fr. Bonnyman is the first priest buried there since the Reformation.’<sup>83</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘Following the example of the Good Shepherd, he went after those poor sheep of his flock who had gone astray, nor did he give himself any rest till he found them, and brought them back to the heavenly pastures of the Sacraments they had abandoned.’<sup>84</sup>
- ‘He soon gained the hearts of all his people by his paternal kindness and his quiet and genial disposition’.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Enzie, RD 152-00, 003-013.

<sup>79</sup> SCD 1891 (obituary).

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

## McBrearty, George (1838-1918)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 14 Dec 1838 in Greenock<sup>86</sup>
- Mother: Mary James<sup>87</sup>
- Father: Dennis McBrearty,<sup>88</sup> spirit dealer,<sup>89</sup> later pawnbroker's assistant<sup>90</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- St Patrick's College 1852 – 1853
- Blairs 1853 – 1854
- Douai 1854 – 1858
- '[I]n conversation his happiest memories were of the four last years which he spent at Douai.'<sup>91</sup>
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1858 – 1859
- St Sulpice 1859 – 1862
- Ordained 14 Jun 1862 in Paris

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant priest at Wishaw 1862 – 1871
- Shettleston 1871 – 1885
- St Antony's, Govan 1885 – 1918
- Missionary rector; Canon; member of the finance board
- Died 22 Jul 1918 in Govan, Glasgow<sup>92</sup>

### OTHER

- 'He was a steadfast friend, a father to the poor, especially to children in danger, and a zealous priest in the discharge of every duty.'<sup>93</sup>
- One of the rebellious 'twenty-two' in 1864 expressing a vote of no-confidence for Bishop Murdoch.<sup>94</sup>

## Bremner, Arthur (1833-1891)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born April 1833;<sup>95</sup> baptised 1 May 1833 in Fochabers, Moray<sup>96</sup>
- Mother: Janet Gibb<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Greenock, RD 564-00, 047-010.

<sup>90</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Calton, RD 644-04, 007-009.

<sup>91</sup> SCD 1919 (obituary).

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Vincent Alan McClelland, 'Irish Clergy and Archbishop Manning's Apostolic Visitation of the Western District of Scotland, 1867 Part I: The Coming of the Irish', 11, in *The Catholic Historical Review* 53/1 (1967), 1-27. See list of names in footnote 18.

<sup>95</sup> Genealogical research on the Bremners has been completed by John A. Bremner, published on his website. URL: [www.bremner.com](http://www.bremner.com), accessed 6 Jan 2015. The profile of Arthur Bremner appears in [www.bremner.com/uploads/bre39257.pdf](http://www.bremner.com/uploads/bre39257.pdf), 1-2, accessed on the same date.

<sup>96</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

- Father: George Bremner,<sup>98</sup> mason<sup>99</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1845 – 1847
- Aire 1847 – 1848
- Gave up in Apr 1848<sup>100</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Married Jessie Taylor 16 Jan 1862 in Speymouth<sup>101</sup>
- Listed as a mason at Kiltarlity in 1871; married with children<sup>102</sup>
- Died 1891 in Kiltarlity as a master mason<sup>103</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Brenner, John (1829-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 30 Apr 1829 in Glasgow<sup>104</sup>
- Mother: Jean Brenner<sup>105</sup>
- Father: Terence Brenner<sup>106</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western? District)

- Douai 1852 – 1853

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Burgess, John William Cameron (1842-19xx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 24 Nov 1842 in Dingwall<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Bellie, RD 126-00, 001-017.

<sup>100</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

<sup>101</sup> John A. Brebner's genealogical research. URL: [www.brebner.com/uploads/bre39257.pdf](http://www.brebner.com/uploads/bre39257.pdf), 1-2, accessed 6 Jan 2015.

<sup>102</sup> SPC: Census 1871: Kiltarlity, RD 101-00, 008-116.

<sup>103</sup> John A. Brebner's genealogical research. URL: [www.brebner.com/uploads/bre39257.pdf](http://www.brebner.com/uploads/bre39257.pdf), 1-2, accessed 6 Jan 2015.

<sup>104</sup> AN: CRD1853.

<sup>105</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

- Mother: Margaret Cameron,<sup>108</sup> widow, dress-maker; living with her mother, a lodger, and three children<sup>109</sup>
- Father: Alexander Burgess<sup>110</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1856 – 1857
- Douai 1857 – 1862
- In 1859, listed with his progress as ‘satisfactory’, conduct as ‘good’, character as ‘rather giddy’ and health as ‘delicate’;<sup>111</sup> in spring 1861, listed with his progress as ‘fair’, conduct as ‘satisfactory’, character as ‘rough’ and health as ‘good’;<sup>112</sup> in autumn 1861, listed with his progress as ‘satisfactory’, conduct as ‘passable’, character as ‘rough’ and health as ‘good’<sup>113</sup>
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1862 – 1863
- Left 30 Sep 1863<sup>114</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- In 1881, ‘commercial clerk and traveller’<sup>115</sup>
- In 1891, listed as a ‘Comel Trav:& Theatried Manager’<sup>116</sup>
- By 1901 married to Margaret M. Burgess working as a ‘wallen man of traveller’<sup>117</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Butti, Peter Luigi (1847-1932)<sup>118</sup>

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 21 Feb 1847 in Edinburgh<sup>119</sup>
- Mother: Elizabeth Mitchell<sup>120</sup>
- Father: Lewis (or Ludovico) Butti,<sup>121</sup> optician,<sup>122</sup> from Italy

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1861 – 1865

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Dingwall, RD 062-00, 002-018.

<sup>110</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>111</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/10: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 24 Jan 1859.

<sup>112</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/1: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 25 Mar 1861.

<sup>113</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/2: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 4 Aug 1861.

<sup>114</sup> AN: CRD1863.

<sup>115</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1881: Inverness, RD 098-00, 022-023.

<sup>116</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1891: Inverness, RD 098-00, 004-012.

<sup>117</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1901: Inverness, RD 098-00, 002-019.

<sup>118</sup> SCA: PG/583, Photograph of Mgr Butti on the stairs [1930-1932].

<sup>119</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Leith South, RD 692-02, 005-005.

- Douai 1865 – 1868
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1868 – 1869
- Transferred to Rome on medical advice<sup>123</sup> (chest illness)<sup>124</sup>
- Scots College Rome 1869 – 1873
- Ordained 12 Apr 1873 at Rome

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Joseph's, Dundee 1873 – 1880
- Lochee 1880 – 1888
- Crieff 1888 – 1891
- St Patrick's, Dundee 1891 – 1909
- St Mary's, Dundee 1909 – 1913
- Spiritual director at Blairs 1913 – 1932
- Monsignor and Provost, but 'the high ecclesiastical honours [...] affected him not'<sup>125</sup>
- Died at Blairs 25 Nov 1932




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<sup>123</sup> *SCD* 1933 (obituary).

<sup>124</sup> *AN*: F/17/2733.

<sup>125</sup> *SCD* 1933 (obituary).



## OTHER

- ‘Besides being well equipped with philosophical, theological and archæological lore, his musical talents, natural gifts, were considerably developed, and were in requisition in concert hall and college chapel, and his fellow-students tell that his mechanical musical skill gave life and voice to the college organ from which one had thought vitality had long departed.’<sup>126</sup>
- Had some considerable architectural talent: [at St Patrick’s, Crieff] ‘plans for church and presbytery were prepared by Mr Cappon, architect, but the Canon thought it well to school the architect into a perfect knowledge of the full requirements of a Catholic church, and brought him to Catholic Belgium for a fortnight’s tour of churches and inspection of their equipment in Brussels, Bruges and Antwerp’.<sup>127</sup>
- ‘A lifelong martyr to illness, he never craved sympathy nor inflicted his ailments on others, but bore them heroically and cheerfully, working manfully to the end, adding daily to his heavenly merit.’<sup>128</sup>

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### Caldwell, Thomas H. (1859-19xx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 20 Apr 1859 in Glasgow<sup>129</sup>
- Mother: Elizabeth Woods;<sup>130</sup> born in Ireland<sup>131</sup>
- Father: James Caldwell,<sup>132</sup> general merchant and dealer of old clothes; born in Ireland<sup>133</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1873 – 1878
- Douai 1878
- Gave up<sup>134</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]
- In 1891, listed as a carter<sup>135</sup>
- By 1901, married (to Isabella) with three sons, working as a stableman at Coatbridge<sup>136</sup>

## OTHER

- [unknown]

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Calton, RD 644-04, 021-013.

<sup>132</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>133</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Calton, RD 644-04, 021-013.

<sup>134</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>135</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1901: Coatbridge, RD 652-02, 024-003.

<sup>136</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1901: Coatbridge, RD 652-02, 025-001.

## Cameron, Ewen (1839-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 20 Oct 1839 in Arisaig<sup>137</sup>
- Mother: Mary McEachern<sup>138</sup>
- Father: John Cameron,<sup>139</sup> tenant farmer of 3 acres with one household servant<sup>140</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1857 – 1860
- Douai 1860 – 1864
- In 1861, Ewen Cameron was listed with his progress as ‘slow’, conduct as ‘good’, character as ‘heavy’ and health as ‘good’<sup>141</sup>
- St Sulpice 1864
- Left 28 Apr 1864<sup>142</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

### OTHER

- [unknown]

## Campbell, Ranald (1841-18xx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 9 Jul 1841 in Arisaig, Inverness-shire<sup>143</sup>
- Mother: Grace McLeod<sup>144</sup>
- Father: Duncan Campbell,<sup>145</sup> boat builder and farmer of 12 acres<sup>146</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1855 – 1859
- Douai 1859 – 1860
- St Sulpice 1860
- Sent away Oct 1860 (‘no vocation’)<sup>147</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Married to Isobella Williamson 17 Nov 1870 at Arisaig<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Ardnamurchan and Strontian or Sunar, RD 505-00, 002-006.

<sup>141</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/1: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 25 Mar 1861.

<sup>142</sup> AN: CRD1865.

<sup>143</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Arisaig, RD 505-02, 002-002.

<sup>147</sup> SCA: ED/8/18/6, Élèves rentrés en Ecosse – District de l’Est.

<sup>148</sup> Catholic Parish Registers (Marriages): Arisaig, St Mary’s, MP004400001-00001-00001-00236-.

- In the 1871 census, listed as an engine smith in Inverness<sup>149</sup>
- Wife Isabella listed as a general merchant and a widow in 1891; sons Duncan (12) and Donald (9) living with her<sup>150</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Canning, John (1832-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 23 Apr 1832 in Glasgow<sup>151</sup>
- Mother: Mary Kearney; born in Ireland (Tyrone)<sup>152</sup>
- Father: John Canning,<sup>153</sup> furnace keeper; born in Ireland (Derry)<sup>154</sup>
- Worked as a salesman to a clothier before pursuing a clerical career<sup>155</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- |                                  |             |
|----------------------------------|-------------|
| • Blairs                         | 1851 – 1853 |
| • Boulogne                       | 1853 – 1854 |
| • Scots College Rome             | 1854 – 1858 |
| • Ordained 2 Oct 1858 in Glasgow |             |

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- |   |             |
|---|-------------|
| • Dumbarton   | 1858 – 1859 |
| • Alexandria  | 1859 – 1867 |
| • Glasgow Infirmary & Poor Houses                                       | 1867 – 1868 |
| • Stranraer   | 1868 – 1879 |
| • Disappears from clergy lists; <sup>156</sup> ‘removed’ <sup>157</sup> |             |

#### OTHER

- No obituary.

### Canty, Michael (1826-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 12 Jul 1826<sup>158</sup>

#### STUDIES (? District)

- |             |      |
|-------------|------|
| • Vaugirard | 1839 |
|-------------|------|

<sup>149</sup> SPC: Census 1871: Inverness, RD 098-00, 005-014.

<sup>150</sup> SPC: Census 1891: Arisaig, RD 505-02, 002-003.

<sup>151</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Gorbals, RD 644-02, 039-021.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Johnson, ‘The Western District’, 113.

<sup>157</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>158</sup> AN: F/17/2723.

## CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

## OTHER

- [unknown]

## Carmichael, Donald (1833-1902)<sup>159</sup>

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 15 Dec 1833 in Tomintoul<sup>160</sup>
- Mother: Christian Gordon<sup>161</sup>
- Father: Archibald Carmichael, carpenter<sup>162</sup> or stonemason<sup>163</sup>
- Eldest of nine (three brothers and five sisters)<sup>164</sup>
- One of the sisters intended for the Carmelite order<sup>165</sup>
- Younger brother William became a priest as well (trained at Scots College Rome and was later described to have had a particular ultramontane zeal)<sup>166</sup>
- Great-nephew and namesake of Donald Carmichael, convert to Catholicism<sup>167</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Vaugirard 1845 – 1851
- Douai 1851 – 1854
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1854 – 1855
- St Sulpice 1855 – 1858
- Ordained 12 Apr 1858 in Glasgow

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Andrew's, Glasgow 1858 – 1859
- St John's, Glasgow 1859 – 1869
- Kilmarnock 1869 – 1872
- Was offered St Mary's after the death of Father Forbes: 'His natural feelings led him to shrink from the burden, but with the obedience that prompted all his life he bowed to the word of his superiors.'<sup>168</sup>
- St Mary's, Glasgow 1872 – 1896
- Missionary Rector; Dean of Conference; Canon
- Rector at St Peter's College 1896 – 1902
- 'It was a severe tax on his obedience to separate himself from the people whom he had served so long, and by whom he was so loyally beloved. Men

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<sup>159</sup> Photographs of Donald Carmichael can be found in Lisa Curry, "My Dear Nephew": Letters to a Student Priest', 54-55, in *IR* 59/1 (2008), 49-76. They are part of Curry's private collection and have not been reproduced here.

<sup>160</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>161</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Tomintoul, MP003500001-00001-00002-00124-. See also Curry, "My Dear Nephew", on more of the Carmichael family.

<sup>162</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Tomintoul, MP003500001-00001-00002-00124-.

<sup>163</sup> Curry, "My Dear Nephew", 51.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>168</sup> *SCD* 1903 (obituary).

could only guess what the wrench cost him, for his self-control was carried even to reserve; and the one stipulation he made with his superiors, that his appointment [at St Peter's College] should be kept secret till he was gone – was characteristic of a soul who did his work for God's sake alone.<sup>169</sup>

- Died 16 Mar 1902 in St Peter's College, New Kilpatrick of pernicious anaemia<sup>170</sup>
- Buried at the Vaults of St Mary's<sup>171</sup>

#### OTHER

- Public duties as well, at School Board, Industrial Schools, Children's Refuge...<sup>172</sup>
- 'The levites who passed under his hands will long remember his fatherly care and guidance.'<sup>173</sup>
- *Imitation of Christ* was 'his favourite book and daily companion'<sup>174</sup>
- 'He also drew his inspirations from M. Olier, the saintly founder of St. Sulpice. His own example confirmed the lessons he taught. Punctuality, after prayer, had been the keynote of his life [...]. He was indeed a martyr to duty.'<sup>175</sup>
- Recipient of several letters from his great-uncle and namesake whilst on the Continent, as well as author to a letter from Vaugirard (15 Dec 1845) at age twelve<sup>176</sup>

### Carmichael, John (1845-1884)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 18 May 1845 in Borlands, Coupar-Angus, Perthshire<sup>177</sup>
- Mother: Elisabeth Rollo<sup>178</sup>
- Father: William Carmichael,<sup>179</sup> wood turner employing three men<sup>180</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1860 – 1863
- Douai 1863 – 1866
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1866 – 1868
- St Sulpice 1868 – 1870
- Studies interrupted due to Franco-Prussian war<sup>181</sup>
- Blairs 1870 – 1871
- Ordained 31 May 1871 at Blairs

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> For a transcription and discussion of these, see Curry, "My Dear Nephew".

<sup>177</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Scone, RD 394-A0, 001-001.

<sup>181</sup> SCD 1885 (obituary).

## CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Andrew's, Dundee 1871 – 1877
- Broxburn 1877 – 1884
- In 1881 opened Broxburn church, ‘the building of which he superintended even in the minutest detail’<sup>182</sup>
- Ill for some time in 1883<sup>183</sup>
- Died 22 Jul 1884 at Broxburn of consumption<sup>184</sup>
- Buried at Broxburn Church<sup>185</sup>

## OTHER

- A ‘pious and gentle priest’<sup>186</sup>

## Carolan, John (1825-185x)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 1 May 1825 in Clogher, Donegal, Ireland<sup>187</sup>
- Mother: Bridget Trainer,<sup>188</sup> born in Ireland<sup>189</sup>
- Father: Patrick Carolan,<sup>190</sup> broker, born in Ireland<sup>191</sup>
- Six children at home in 1841, ages 16 (John) to 1, all but John born in Scotland<sup>192</sup>
- Irish-born

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1841 – 1843
- Vaugirard 1843 – 1845
- Quit and returned to Scotland in 1845<sup>193</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Married to Mary Beattie 25 Jul 1846 at Edinburgh, St Mary’s Cathedral<sup>194</sup>
- First child, a daughter, born Nov 1846<sup>195</sup>
- In the 1851 census listed as a labourer in Edinburgh; wife Mary (born in England) listed as ‘dress maker at home’<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

<sup>189</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Edinburgh, RD 685-01, 097-005.

<sup>190</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>191</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Edinburgh, RD 685-01, 097-005.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>194</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Marriages): Edinburgh, St Mary’s Cathedral, MP007400001-00004-00002-00118-.

<sup>195</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Edinburgh, St Mary’s Cathedral, MP007400001-00002-00002-00048-.

<sup>196</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Edinburgh, RD 685-01, 104-018.

- Had at least four children, born in 1846 (Mary; not listed in 1851 census), 1850 (Catherine; not listed in 1851 census), 1853 (James) and 1855 (Ellen)<sup>197</sup>
- According to Aquhorties register, died Jan 1853<sup>198</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### McCarthy, Denis (1851-1899)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 26 Dec 1851 in Huntingdon, Peterborough, England<sup>199</sup>
- Mother: Isabella,<sup>200</sup> a Scot<sup>201</sup>
- Father: William McCarthy,<sup>202</sup> an Irishman,<sup>203</sup> father of nine in 1861; supervisor of Inland Revenue<sup>204</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- St Mungo's Academy, Glasgow
- Blairs 1869 – 1872
- ‘From the outset he had a brilliant college career. Of a studious turn he ran the course of the humanities by leaps and bounds, rapidly outstripping those of his own year and pressing hard on the classes in front of him.’<sup>205</sup>
- Douai 1872 – 1873
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1873 – 1874
- Propaganda 1874 – 1875
- Returning home in bad health (‘He had fallen a victim to the Roman fever, which left its indelible mark on a constitution never robust.’) in 1875<sup>206</sup>
- St Peter's College 1875 – 1877
- Ordained 24 Jun 1877 in Glasgow

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Mary's, Glasgow 1877 – 1881
- St Patrick's, Glasgow 1881 – 1882
- Uddingston 1882 – 1886
- Rutherglen 1886 – 1899
- ‘For a long time past he had been in very feeble health’, but he kept working ‘until he could no longer bear the strain’<sup>207</sup>
- Died 22 Apr 1899 in Rutherglen after a few days of consignment to bed<sup>208</sup>

<sup>197</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Edinburgh, St Mary's Cathedral.

<sup>198</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>199</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> SCD 1900 (obituary).

<sup>202</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>203</sup> SCD 1900 (obituary).

<sup>204</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Calton, RD 644-04, 027-009.

<sup>205</sup> SCD 1900 (obituary).

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

- Buried at Dalbeth cemetery<sup>209</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘While still comparatively a young man he was made a Dean of the Conference of St. Columba, a dignity which showed the confidence in which he was held by his superiors.’<sup>210</sup>
- ‘his gentle suavity of manner and cultured bearing’<sup>211</sup>

### McCartney, James (1836-1912)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 18 Aug 1836 in Glasgow, Lanarkshire<sup>212</sup>
- Mother: Elizabeth McConnell<sup>213</sup>
- Father: George McCartney<sup>214</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1851 – 1852
- Douai 1852 – 1858
- Returned home in bad health 1858
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1858 – 1858
- Returned home in bad health and was reported to have had ‘no vocation’<sup>215</sup>
- Blairs 1858 – 1861
- Ordained 22 Dec 1861, Blairs

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Bathgate 1861 – 1861
- St Andrew’s, Dundee 1861 – 1865
- Linlithgow 1865 – 1879
- Kelso 1879 – 1883
- Peebles 1883 – 1912
- Retired to Edinburgh in 1912<sup>216</sup>
- Canon
- Died 21 Aug 1913 in Edinburgh<sup>217</sup>
- Buried at Mt Vernon cemetery.<sup>218</sup>

#### OTHER

- Described in his obituary in very general terms as ‘a veteran priest, whose strongly marked individuality impressed and delighted all that met him, and who was profoundly esteemed and beloved by his brother clergy for the engaging simplicity of his character and his deep sterling piety.’<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

<sup>215</sup> SCA: ED/8/18/6, Élèves rentrés en Ecosse – District de l’Est.

<sup>216</sup> Johnson, ‘The Northern and Eastern Districts’, 55.

<sup>217</sup> SCD 1914 (obituary).

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid.



## Casey, James (1826-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born Aug 1826 in Ireland<sup>220</sup>
- Mother: Helen Conway<sup>221</sup>
- Father: Michael Casey,<sup>222</sup> navy<sup>223</sup>

### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1841 – 1845
- Vaugirard 1845 – 1848
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1848 – 1851
- Left the Mission March 1851<sup>224</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

### OTHER

- [unknown]

## Caven, John (1826-1914)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 7 Mar 1826 in Dalbeattie, Kirkcudbrightshire<sup>225</sup>
- Mother: Janet Caven,<sup>226</sup> a Scotswoman
- Father: John Caven,<sup>227</sup> coachman; born outwith Scotland<sup>228</sup>

### STUDIES (? District)

- Blairs [listed there 1841]<sup>229</sup>
- Scots College Rome 1843 – 1850
- His vocation was doubtful; departed with minor orders 30 Jul 1850<sup>230</sup>
- St Sulpice 1850 – 1851

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Married to Catherine with two young children in 1861, listed as teacher of elementary school<sup>231</sup>
- Died 1914<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Fordyce, RD 153-00, 001-001.

<sup>224</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

<sup>225</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Dalbeattie, St Peter's, MP005200001-00001-00001-00263-.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid.

<sup>228</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Dumfries, RD 821-00, 003-009.

<sup>229</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Maryculter, RD 264-00, 005-003.

<sup>230</sup> New Spalding Club, *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon: Registers of Students*, vol. I (Aberdeen, 1906), 157.

<sup>231</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1861: St Andrew, RD 685-002, 048-023.

<sup>232</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: [no source indicated].

## OTHER

- [unknown]

## Chisholm, Archibald (1816-1869)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 30 Apr 1816<sup>233</sup> in Lietry, Strathglass<sup>234</sup>
- Mother: Mary MacDonald<sup>235</sup>
- Father: Colin Chisholm,<sup>236</sup> farmer<sup>237</sup>
- Highlander and Gaelic-speaker

### STUDIES (Highland District; Western District)

- Lismore 182x – 1828
- Aquhorties 1828 – 1829
- Blairs 1829 – 1830
- St Nicolas 1830 – 1831
- Studies interrupted when forced to leave Paris in 1831
- Douai 1831 – 1833
- Returned home in bad health in 1833<sup>238</sup>
- Blairs 1833 – 1838
- ‘Archu Chisholm has again become an Invalid. His stomach has got into disorder. He says the Food of the House does not agree with him. He would wish to get Coffé instead of porage, Loaf bread instead of Cake, and Fresh meat on Meagre days instead of Fish. I consulted the Doctor & he tells me that any temporary Indulgence of this kind would produce no beneficial Effect whatever upon his health; & I am sure it would produce every bad effect upon the rest of the students many of whom would soon find [?] for claiming a similar privilege. Archy has taken into his head that he might be sent back to St Sulpice!! If this should not be agreed to[,] he thinks he must return home for a while.’<sup>239</sup>
- ‘Some time ago I wrote to Dr Murdoch that Archibald Chisholm has had another visitation of his old complaint and that he has been obliged to drop his studies. I called out Dr Williamson to see him. The Doctor presented a mixture for him to relieve his cough [...] but upon the whole he is not getting better. He is very anxious, as soon as the weather sets in good, to try the Highlands [his birthplace]. This trial he considers now to be his last stake & only chance of Recovery and he seems to have set his heart on making the Experiment.’<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> Johnson, ‘The Western District’, 114.

<sup>234</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

<sup>237</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Kirkhill, RD103-00, 005-009.

<sup>238</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>239</sup> SCA: OL/2/17/3, John Sharp to Bp Scott, Blairs 15 Jan 1836.

<sup>240</sup> SCA: OL/1/23/20, John Sharp to Bp Scott, Blairs 27 Mar 1838.

- ‘P.S. Archibald Chisholm’s father called here to day saying that he daily expects his son home from Blairs, in very poor health threatened he fears with a consumption.’<sup>241</sup>
- [Recovering from illness, having left Blairs] ‘I have for the last two months had recourse to no other remedy than goat milk & exercise among my native hills. It is my intention to spend this month in the neighbourhood of Inverness for the benefit of the sea air & I trust that in the course of the next I may safely return & resume my studies.’<sup>242</sup>
- Took his Mission Oath 30 Oct 1838 (ordained deacon)<sup>243</sup>
- Professor at Blairs 1838 – 1839
- ‘I have been thinking seriously since my return to [?] of setting up as a teacher of French I am told I should a considerable number of scholars who of course would be all the most respectable of our Town and would pay regularly. There is no one at Fort William that undertakes to teach the fashionable language. If this project meets with your Lordship’s approbation I shall adopt measures for carrying it into execution [...]. My Missionary functions & my studies would suffer but very little although I were to spend an hour or two on the Tuesdays Wednesdays & Thursdays of each week teaching.’<sup>244</sup>
- Ordained 1839 at Blairs

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Fort William 1839 – 1846
- St Alphonsus', Glasgow 1846 – 1850
- St Mungo's, Glasgow 1850 – 1858
- Forced to retire due to bad health for five years between 1858 and 1863
- St Mungo's, Glasgow 1863 – 1865
- Requested an easier mission and a transfer; temporarily worked for the Northern District at Beaully 1865 – 1867
- Retired at St Andrew's, Glasgow 1867 – 1868
- Chaplain and Spiritual Director at the Convent of Good Shepherd, Dalbeth, ('office for which his eminent piety and ascetic knowledge most aptly fitted him')<sup>245</sup> 1868 – 1869
- Died 11 Dec 1869 at the Convent of the Good Shepherd, Dalbeth, of 'erysipelas in the head'<sup>246</sup>

#### OTHER

- At the Parish of St Mungo, Townhead, ‘erected, in 1850-51, a Church, schools for girls, and a Convent’.<sup>247</sup>
- ‘To the last he took a deep interest in all that concerned the progress and well-being of the Church of Scotland, and was anxious to contribute to the getting up of authentic statistics of the state of religion there since the period of the Reformation.’<sup>248</sup>

<sup>241</sup> SCA: OL/1/24/2, Rev Alexander McSwein to Bp Scott, Eskdale 4 Apr 1838.

<sup>242</sup> SCA: OL/1/25/1, Archibald Chisholm to Bp Scott, Strathglass 2 Jul 1838.

<sup>243</sup> SCA: OL/1/26 Original of the Mission Oath taken by Archibald Chisholm 30 Oct 1838.

<sup>244</sup> SCA: OL/1/29/7, Archibald Chisholm to Bp Scott, Inverlochy 7 Nov 1839

<sup>245</sup> SCD 1871 (obituary).

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid.

- ‘Highlanders however who are accustomed to count their twentieth cousins, would reckon themselves near relations if no farther removed than fourth cousins. As far as I can recollect Mr Chisholm & Valentine is Spain are first & second cousins. I suspect however some bickerings had subsisted for some time between considerable parts of their families which have removed relationship at least by one degree.’<sup>249</sup>
- ‘There is Mr Arch: Chisholm, presently at Fort William, who was delicate in his health but has now become quite strong and healthy. Mr Arch: is a most pious, sober, well inclined young man, but is rather as yet deficient in his Theology on account of his not having been able to apply to his studies; but he is naturally studious and has good Books.’<sup>250</sup>
- ‘My brother’s first-name is Colin. He has been for five years nearly extra clerk in the Liverpool Custom House. When application was formerly made for his promotion he got testimonials highly flattering from the Officers of Customs in the Establishment. He at another time got a premium for regular conduct & correct discharge of the business intrusted to him in the Custom House. I may also add a circumstance which might be a recommendation to him with some people. My father voted for the liberals since the Reform Bill was passed in opposition to his proprietor & his chief the Chisholm & that too at a time when his having voted otherwise would most probably have turned the scale against Charles Grant. The majority for him was only five or six the number of the Chisholm’s Catholic voters among whom my father was the Eldest. He had at that time an offer of a situation for this same son from the Tories if he would give in, & in consequence of his refusal he has found it necessary to give up the farm which he his father & his grandfather had ever occupied. I question not but it was owing to some underhand machination of Lady Ramsay that my brother’s promotion has so long been defferred.’<sup>251</sup>
- [Asking a favour for his brother Colin, who wants to move from Liverpool to Glasgow (he is a clerk at the Custom House).]<sup>252</sup>
- [Archibald being a busy bee, establishing a choir, helping to establish a branch of the Temperance Society etc.]<sup>253</sup>
- ‘The [temperance] cause is gaining but slowly amongst us. They consider whisky as necessary for health & life as their potatoes & herring.’<sup>254</sup>

## Chisholm, Donald (1827-1846)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 5 Mar 1827 in Strathglass, Inverness<sup>255</sup>
- Mother: Isabella Chisholm <sup>256</sup>

<sup>249</sup> SCA: OL/1/30/5, Archibald Chisholm to Bp Scott, Fort William 20 Jan 1841.

<sup>250</sup> SCA: OL/1/31/9, Bp Scott to John Chisholm, Inverness 18 May 1840.

<sup>251</sup> SCA: OL/1/32/13, Archibald Chisholm to Bp Scott, Fort William 20 Oct 1840.

<sup>252</sup> SCA: OL/1/35/4, Archibald Chisholm to Bp Scott, Fort William 13 Apr 1841.

<sup>253</sup> SCA: OL/1/34/17, Archibald Chisholm to Bp Scott, Fort William 8 Mar 1841.

<sup>254</sup> SCA: OL/1/35/4, Archibald Chisholm to Bp Scott, Fort William 13 Apr 1841.

<sup>255</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>256</sup> Ibid.

- Father: Roderick Chisholm,<sup>257</sup> farmer<sup>258</sup>
- Nephew of John Chisholm<sup>259</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1841 – 1845
- Aire 1845 – 1846
- Died in France 1846<sup>260</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [n/a]

#### OTHER

- ‘Dear Uncle, To speak freely since you will not write me I will write you; perhaps it will be the last time. I was informed by my Father that you were likely to come the way of Blairs this season, but as you did not come whilst the Bishops were here I suppose I need not expect to see you now. You may be surprised at my saying this is likely to be my last letter, but it will ease when I tell you that his Lordship Bishop Scott has been pleased to send me to the College of [blank] in France. I will set out on the 23rd of August. If you wish to know what I am studying, I will tell in a few words. During the last year I read over six books of the Aenied, and two of the Georgics, also some of Livy, and Isocrates in Greek. I would conclude now but there is one thing, which considering the respect I owe you, I feel myself obliged to mention. In your letter to me you very kindly advised me to keep the Rules and obey the Superiors. I confess (without selflove) that I have endeavoured to the utmost of my power to comply with your charitable admonition. I have nothing more to say only I begg of you not to forget to pray for Donald Chisholm. I would make some requests but it is not in my nature. Give my compliments to my sister, and Mr McDonald, my kind friend. I am, Your loving Nephew, D. Chisholm’.<sup>261</sup>
- ‘From this you will learn that Donald is going to France, and as he is not to see these few lines, I may safely venture to write my opinion freely in his regard since there is no danger of hurting his modesty which I assure you is not certainly small. All therefore [torn] to tell in his regard is, that you have every reason to be proud of conduct ever since he came to college, both as scholar and a Christian, for a good deal of success always attended his endeavours and confident I am that all his superiors are particularly well pleased with him.’<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> Ibid.

<sup>258</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Kilmorack, RD 100-00, 008-011.

<sup>259</sup> SCA: OL/1/41/7, Donald Chisholm to Rev John Chisholm, his uncle, St Mary’s College, 21 Jul 1845.

<sup>260</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>261</sup> SCA: OL/1/41/7, Donald Chisholm to Rev John Chisholm, his uncle, St Mary’s College, 21 Jul 1845.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid. Note by A. Campbell to Rev John Chisholm regarding Donald Chisholm’s letter to his uncle, written on the same paper.

## Chisholm, Donald (1847-1917)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 11 Jan 1847 in Mount Lodge, Portobello, Edinburgh<sup>263</sup>
- Mother: Margaret Cuthel<sup>264</sup>
- Father: Donald Chisholm,<sup>265</sup> gardener<sup>266</sup>

### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1860 – 1863
- Douai 1863 – 1866
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1866 – 1868
- St Sulpice 1868 – 1870
- Returned to Scotland due to Franco-Prussian war<sup>267</sup>
- Blairs 1870 – 1871
- Ordained 31 May 1871 at Blairs

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant at St Mary's, Aberdeen 1871 – 1872
- Wick (incl. Thurso, Kirkwall, Lerwick) 1872 – 1874
- The challenging Wick Mission proved too hard for his constitution, so recalled in 1874<sup>268</sup>
- St Mary's, Aberdeen 1874 – 1895
- St Peter's, Aberdeen 1895 – 1899
- Dufftown 1899 – 1909
- Retired from missionary duty in 1905
- Stayed in Dufftown, then at Aberlour at Mount St Mary's 1909-1917<sup>269</sup>
- Died at Aberlour 18 Mar 1917<sup>270</sup>

### OTHER

- Editor of the Catholic Directory 1890-1898<sup>271</sup>
- Editor of *Catechism in Examples*<sup>272</sup>
- 'Father Chisholm was of a kindly and affable nature, and love for children was perhaps the predominant trait of his disposition.'<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> SCD 1920 (obituary).

<sup>264</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>266</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Dud[d]ingston, RD 684-00, 004-004.

<sup>267</sup> SCD 1920 (obituary).

<sup>268</sup> Ibid.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid.

## Chisholm, Donald A. (1860-1919)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 29 Nov 1860 in Strathglass<sup>274</sup>
- Mother: Isabella Chisholm<sup>275</sup> or Elizabeth MacDonald<sup>276</sup>
- Father: Roderick Chisholm<sup>277</sup> or Duncan Chisholm,<sup>278</sup> widower; farmer of 160 acres arable land, employing four servants<sup>279</sup>

### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1873 – 1877
- Douai 1877 – 1880
- In 1878 Donald Chisholm ‘was sent to Douai but he has not got a bourse they thought he had, so the bishops and his uncle have been paying for him’<sup>280</sup>
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1880 – 1882
- St Sulpice 1882 – 1885
- Ordained 30 May 1884 in Paris

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Glengairs 1885 – 1888
- Stratherrick 1888 – 1890
- Professor at Blairs 1890 – 1892
- Tomintoul 1892 – 1899
- Eskadale 1899 – 1918
- Canon in 1818
- Retired to Eskadale in 1918
- Died 18 Apr 1919 in Eskadale<sup>281</sup>

### OTHER

- ‘He was ever the priest wherever he went, staid in mien, dignified in bearing, unobtrusive in manner, but withal kindly and sympathetic to all.’
- ‘He had but one aim in life, to cultivate well the portion allotted to him of the vineyard of Christ and to win souls to God.’
- One of the students petitioning to return to Scotland from St Sulpice during the holidays: ‘In our other Colleges on the Continent, the students have at least a change of air; according to doctors’ and superiors’ opinions such a change is for us also most necessary, after our nine months uninterrupted study; for we have no break during all that time. Moreover we are greatly confined, and have only one walk a-week. Therefore it is that for the benefit of our health, if for no other reason, our Superiors would have us leave with our French fellow-students, not one of whom is allowed to remain in the

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<sup>274</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>276</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Fort Augustus, St Peter and St Benedict, MP002400001-00001-00001-00043-.

<sup>277</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>278</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Fort Augustus, St Peter and St Benedict, MP002400001-00001-00001-00043-.

<sup>279</sup> SPC: Census 1871: Kiltarlity, RD 101-00, 003-008.

<sup>280</sup> SCA: CA/1/46/22, J. S. Rogerson to Rector, undated, forwarding a letter of A. M. Wilson of Douai, 19 Mar 1878.

<sup>281</sup> SCD 1920 (obituary).

Seminary, unless under altogether exceptional circumstances. [...] Our superiors considering the state of the Continent-at-large, and especially of France, where dangers of all kinds threaten our Holy Faith, are of opinion that we should if possible be placed beyond the reach of temptations so perilous, and they think our return to Scotland the best means of attaining this end. It may be urged that our relations are unable to take upon themselves the charge of supporting us at home. We can however assure Your Lordship that there is none amongst us whose family could not amply provide for him while resident amongst themselves. [...] Whatever your decision, we shall cheerfully acquiesce; - it will be for us the voice of God.<sup>282</sup>

## Chisholm, John A. (1826-1855)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 8 Aug 1826 in Strathglass, Inverness<sup>283</sup>
- Mother: Isabella MacKae<sup>284</sup>
- Father: William Chisholm<sup>285</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1839 – 1845
- Aire 1845 – 1848
- Arras 1848 – 1852
- Ordained 5 Jun 1852 at Cambrai<sup>286</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Glasgow 1852
- Dumbarton 1852 – 1853
- Johnstone and Houston 1853 – 1854
- Contracted consumption in 1854
- Fort Augustus (partial recovery) 1854 – 1854
- Retired to Strathglass due to further trouble with consumption in 1854
- Died 21 Nov 1855 at Inchully, Strathglass, of consumption<sup>287</sup>
- Buried in the Catholic Cemetery of Eskaidale, Strathglass<sup>288</sup>

### OTHER

- [unkown]

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<sup>282</sup> SCA: ED/8/20/1, Petition letter of students at Grand Séminaire de St Sulpice (John Malcolm, Donald Chisholm, Lawrence Phin, Patrick McMahon, Donald McMillar, George Mullan, William McKenzie, Angus McRae, Edmund Langley, John Meany, Michael Lavelle, Charles Mann, John Cameron) to 'Your Lordship', 3 May 1882.

<sup>283</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>284</sup> Ibid.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>287</sup> SCD 1856 (obituary).

<sup>288</sup> Ibid.



## Chisholm, Thomas (1807-1872)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 6 Jan 1807 in Knockfin, Strathglass, Inverness<sup>289</sup>
- Mother: Hanna Fraser<sup>290</sup>
- Father: John Chisholm<sup>291</sup>
- Uncle to Rev Æneas Chisholm<sup>292</sup>
- ‘Mr Chisholm was born in a highly respectable family’<sup>293</sup>
- Went to Upper Canada ‘at an early age’, where studied law before commencing his ecclesiastical studies<sup>294</sup>

### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Achieved minor orders in Canada under the Sulpician Fathers in Montreal
- Blairs 1829 – 1830
- St Nicolas 1830
- Carlow College, Ireland 1830 – 1833
- Ordained 1 Apr 1833 in Preshome

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Fasnakyle in Upper Strathglass 1833 – 1848
- Became paralysed in 1848; lived with a number of priests at Fasnakyle, Inverness, Beaulie, Glengairn and Inverurie<sup>295</sup>
- Died 22 Feb 1872 in Inverurie, in the house of Rev Charles Divine<sup>296</sup>
- Buried in the old Churchyard of St Ninian’s, Fetternear<sup>297</sup>

### OTHER

- ‘Though unable to perform most of the duties of a Missionary [due to the paralysis], his was far from being a useless life. His mind continued fresh and active; and his counsel and guidance were eagerly sought. Generous, patient, and cheerful, he won as much esteem for his character as he excited sympathy for his affliction. In his latter years he was all but helpless, but was tended with the utmost care by the Priests with whom he dwelt.’<sup>298</sup>

## Clapperton, James (1813-1901)<sup>299</sup>

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 17 Sep 1813 in Fochabers, Morayshire<sup>300</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>290</sup> Ibid.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid.

<sup>292</sup> *SCD* 1873 (obituary).

<sup>293</sup> Ibid.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid.

<sup>295</sup> Johnson, ‘The Northern and Eastern Districts’, 29.

<sup>296</sup> *SCD* 1873 (obituary).

<sup>297</sup> Ibid.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid.

<sup>299</sup> SCA: MC/23/10/8 (photograph).

<sup>300</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

- Mother: Margaret Geddes,<sup>301</sup> died when her son was not yet six months old<sup>302</sup>
- Father: James Clapperton,<sup>303</sup> merchant<sup>304</sup>
- Half-brother Robert a (France-trained) priest as well [175]; sisters Margaret and Mary Ursuline nuns<sup>305</sup>

#### STUDIES (Lowland District; Eastern District)

- Aquhorties 1826 – 1829
- Blairs 1829 – 1830
- Refused entry to Issy or St Sulpice in 1830<sup>306</sup>
- St Nicolas 1830 – 1831
- Studies interrupted in 1831<sup>307</sup>
- Douai 1832 – 1833
- Blairs 1833 – 1836
- Ordained 29 Jun 1836, Edinburgh

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Professor at Blairs 1836 – 1838
- Professor at Valladolid 1838 – 1843
- Portobello 1844 – 1849
- Transferred to Western District<sup>308</sup>
- Rochsoles, near Airdrie 1849 – 1850
- Returned to Eastern District 1850
- Peebles 1850 – 1883
- Retired due to deafness in 1883 (Aberlour 1883-1893; Fochabers 1893-1901)
- Prelate
- Died 19 Jul 1901 of a heart ailment in Fochabers<sup>309</sup>
- Buried at St Ninian's cemetery, Enzie<sup>310</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> Ibid.

<sup>302</sup> A transcription of James Clapperton's gravestone in Bellie (No 387) states 'Erected by James Clapperton, merchant in Fochabers in memory of his wife Margaret Geddes who died 7 February 1814 and his children Arthur, died 1 April 1839; John, died 11 September 1839; Henry, died 18 September 1840; Barbara, died 2 November 1846. His second wife Barbara Paterson who died 13 August 1852. His son Charles, died 25 October 1872. The said James Clapperton, died at Fochabers 13 October 1875.' This is recorded on a personal family history website and has not been confirmed. URL: [www.geocities.ws/charlesmill/welg.htm](http://www.geocities.ws/charlesmill/welg.htm).

<sup>303</sup> Ibid.

<sup>304</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Fochabers, St Mary's, MP002300001-00001-00002-00008-.

<sup>305</sup> SCA: MC/23/10/8 (photograph).

<sup>306</sup> SCA: BL/6/23/6, Bp Scott to Paterson, Glasgow 12 Nov 1830.

<sup>307</sup> SCA: OL/2/6/1 (Letter from Rev Collier (Douay College) to Bp Scott, English College Doway 28 May 1831).

<sup>308</sup> Johnson, 'The Northern and Eastern Districts', 46.

<sup>309</sup> SCD 1902 (obituary).

<sup>310</sup> Ibid.



#### OTHER

- ‘He had a strong will, and was fearless in giving expression to it. He was of a quick temperament, and could say quick and sharp things. [...] He hated sham and pretence; there was not a shadow of either in his open, manly nature. If he did not always agree with the action even of his superiors, he did not hesitate to criticise them to their faces, while he yielded at the same time the submission and the obedience of a child.’<sup>311</sup>

#### Clapperton, Robert (1831-1906)<sup>312</sup>

##### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born or baptised 6 Jun 1831 in Fochabers<sup>313</sup>
- Mother: Barbara Paterson<sup>314</sup> (second wife, died in 1852 while Robert was in France)<sup>315</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> Ibid.

<sup>312</sup> SCA: MC/23/10/9 (photograph); MC/23/10/10 (photograph).

<sup>313</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

<sup>314</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Fochabers, St Mary’s, MP002300001-00001-00002-00026-.

<sup>315</sup> A transcription of James Clapperton’s gravestone in Bellie (No 387) states ‘Erected by James Clapperton, merchant in Fochabers in memory of his wife Margaret Geddes who died 7 February

- Father: James Clapperton,<sup>316</sup> merchant with seven children<sup>317</sup>
- Half-brother James Clapperon [1]

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1845
- Vaugirard 1845 – 1851
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1851 – 1853
- St Sulpice 1853 – 1856
- Ordained 17 May 1856 in Paris
- Proceeded to Edinburgh in July, 1856

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Andrew's, Dumfries 1856 – 1861
- St Mary's, Dundee 1861 – 1864
- Charge of Falkirk 1864 – 1870
- St Andrew's, Dundee 1870 – 1902
- Monsignor; Dean (1884); Vicar-General (1888), Domestic Prelate; Provost (1895)
- Relieved of duty in 1902, but continued to work as chaplain to Little Sisters of the Poor, Wellburn, Dundee 1902 – 1906
- Died 26 Sep 1906 at Wellburn, Lochee<sup>318</sup>
- Buried at Wellburn cemetery<sup>319</sup>



1814 and his children Arthur, died 1 April 1839; John, died 11 September 1839; Henry, died 18 September 1840; Barbara, died 2 November 1846. His second wife Barbara Paterson who died 13 August 1852. His son Charles, died 25 October 1872. The said James Clapperton, died at Fochabers 13 October 1875.' This is recorded on a personal family history website and has not been confirmed. URL: [www.geocities.ws/charlesmill/welg.htm](http://www.geocities.ws/charlesmill/welg.htm).

<sup>316</sup> Ibid.

<sup>317</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Bellie, RD 126-00, 001-005.

<sup>318</sup> SCD 1907 (obituary).

<sup>319</sup> Ibid.

## OTHER

- ‘Here it may be remarked that his long residence in the French capital – ten continuous years – left noticeable traces on his character all his days. [...] It goes without saying that he was an accomplished French scholar. He retained an unbounded admiration for the French ecclesiastical training, and in conversation he loved to dwell pleasantly on many an incident in his college life.’<sup>320</sup>
- ‘He was noted for his genuine kindness and hospitality. His life was a model of quiet orderliness and method.’<sup>321</sup>

## McCluskey, Robert James (1854-1922)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 10 Apr 1854 in Glasgow<sup>322</sup>
- Mother: Georgina Hay,<sup>323</sup> dressmaker; widow in 1861, living at her parents’<sup>324</sup>
- Father: Michael McCluskey<sup>325</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- St Aloysius' College, Glasgow
- Rockwell 1871 – 1876
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1876 – 1877
- Propaganda 1877 – 1882
- Ordained 4 Mar 1882 in Rome

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Peter's, Glasgow 1882 – 1886
- Duntocher 1886 – 1898
- Off work due to illness between 1898 and 1899
- Renfrew 1899 – 1905
- Carluke 1905 – 1921
- Gourrock 1921 – 1922
- Died 2 Aug 1922 in Gourrock
- Buried at St Mary's, Lanark<sup>326</sup>

## OTHER

- ‘Of his sojourn in the Eternal City he retained in after years many happy memories, and in his conversations always spoke with warmth and feeling of his Roman days.’<sup>327</sup>
- ‘A characteristic feature of Fr. M’Cluskey was his love of method in the administration of parochial affairs and in the routine of his daily life.’<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> Ibid.

<sup>321</sup> Ibid.

<sup>322</sup> *SCD* 1923 (obituary).

<sup>323</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Glasgow, St John's, MP009200001-00002-00001-00183-.

<sup>324</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Clyde, RD 644-005, 031-003.

<sup>325</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Glasgow, St John's, MP009200001-00002-00001-00183-.

<sup>326</sup> *SCD* 1923 (obituary).

<sup>327</sup> Ibid.

<sup>328</sup> Ibid.

- ‘He was a member of the Association of Pretres Adorateurs and a faithful attender at the Day of Monthly Recollection from its institution to the day of his death.’<sup>329</sup>

### O’Connel, Alexander (1830-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 12 Sep 1830<sup>330</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Vaugirard 1842 – 1847
- Returned to Scotland 1847

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### McConnel, Hugh (1858-1937)<sup>331</sup>

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 3 Oct 1858<sup>332</sup> in Co. Donegal, Ireland<sup>333</sup>
- Mother: Margaret Docherty<sup>334</sup>
- Father: Daniel McConnell,<sup>335</sup> pit sinker<sup>336</sup>

#### STUDIES (? District)

- Douai 1875

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Married Mary Ann McLeish 9 Oct 1878<sup>337</sup>
- Listed as a foundry labourer in 1881<sup>338</sup>
- General labourer in 1891 with seven children<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>329</sup> Ibid.

<sup>330</sup> AN: CRD1845.

<sup>331</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: ‘Hugh and Mary Ann McConnell’ [1930s]. Photo part of Hugh McConnell’s profile, accessed 11 Jan 2015. URL: [http://trees.ancestry.co.uk/tree/2721616/photo/FB24tQjw8uweNLkFb5vHKYetRB0IgyTSxLTDvPbHKEVfbkdjBUT1dt1UsPLOekc\\_/500](http://trees.ancestry.co.uk/tree/2721616/photo/FB24tQjw8uweNLkFb5vHKYetRB0IgyTSxLTDvPbHKEVfbkdjBUT1dt1UsPLOekc_/500).

<sup>332</sup> AN: CRD1875.

<sup>333</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1901: Hutesontown, RD 644-011, 030-021.

<sup>334</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: [no source indicated].

<sup>335</sup> Ibid.

<sup>336</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1881: Airdrie, RD 651-001, 002-006.

<sup>337</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: [no source indicated].

<sup>338</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1881: Hutesontown, RD 644-011, 020-007.

<sup>339</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1891: Hutesontown, RD 644-011, 041-006.

- In 1901 listed as a sewing machine maker with seven children at home (eldest son Hugh has left)<sup>340</sup>
- Died 24 Dec 1937 in the Gorbals, Glasgow, as a retired engineer's labourer<sup>341</sup>



#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Connor, John Joseph (1841-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 22 Mar 1841 in Paisley, Renfrewshire<sup>342</sup>
- Mother: Elizabeth McMonagal,<sup>343</sup> born in Ireland<sup>344</sup>
- Father: Francis Connor,<sup>345</sup> merchant; born in Ireland<sup>346</sup>

<sup>340</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1901: Hutchesontown, RD 644-011, 030-021.

<sup>341</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: [no source indicated].

<sup>342</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>343</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Paisley, St Mirin's, MP000800001-00001-00001-00367-.

<sup>344</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Paisley, RD 573-00, 027-025.

<sup>345</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Paisley, St Mirin's, MP000800001-00001-00001-00367-.

<sup>346</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Paisley, RD 573-00, 027-025.

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1854 – 1857
- Rome (Propaganda?) 1857 – 1861
- St Sulpice 1861
- No vocation; sent away<sup>347</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Conway, Charles (1831-19xx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 23 Dec 1831 in Greenock, Renfrewshire<sup>348</sup>
- Mother: Mary O'Neil,<sup>349</sup> from Ireland<sup>350</sup>
- Father: Francis Conway,<sup>351</sup> clothier; from Ireland with one servant<sup>352</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1843 – 1844
- Aire? 1844 – 1848
- Studies interrupted in Oct 1848<sup>353</sup>
- Blairs 1848 – 1850
- Propaganda 1850 – 1857
- Ordained 6 Jun 1857, Rome

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St John's, Glasgow 1857 – 1859
- St Mungo's, Glasgow 1859 – 1860
- Suspended in 1860; left the Mission and went to Ireland to work under the charge of Archbishop of Dublin<sup>354</sup>
- Suspended again<sup>355</sup>
- In 1891 and 1901 listed as a Roman Catholic Priest in England<sup>356</sup>

#### OTHER

- No obituary.

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<sup>347</sup> SCA: ED/8/18/6.

<sup>348</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>349</sup> Ibid.

<sup>350</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Greenock, RD 564-00, 052-009.

<sup>351</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>352</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Greenock, RD 564-00, 052-009.

<sup>353</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

<sup>354</sup> Johnson, 'The Western District', 115.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid.

<sup>356</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1891: Woking, Guildford, ED 005, piece 555, f. 107, 10; Census 1901: Woking, Guildford, ED 010, piece 597, f. 47, 17.



## Conway, James Patrick (1842-19xx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 2 Jul 1842 in Glasgow<sup>357</sup>
- Mother: Elizabeth MacConnell,<sup>358</sup> shopkeeper, head of household (but married, not widowed, and no husband mentioned)<sup>359</sup>
- Father: Patrick Conway<sup>360</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1854 – 1859
- Douai 1859 – 1861
- His progress in studies marked as ‘satisfactory’, his conduct ‘very good’, his character ‘steary’ and his health ‘good’<sup>361</sup>
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1861 – 1863
- St Sulpice 1863 – 1866
- Ordained 11 Jun 1866 in Glasgow

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Junior priest at Airdrie 1866
- Paisley 1866 – 1871
- St Patrick's, Glasgow 1871 – 1872
- St Aloysius', Glasgow 1872 – 1884
- Disappears from clergy lists 1885<sup>362</sup>
- In 1911, listed as a Catholic Priest on Isle of Wight<sup>363</sup>

### OTHER

- [unknown]

## Cowie, John (1809-1879)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 14 Feb 1809 in Fochabers<sup>364</sup>
- Mother: Ann Bennet<sup>365</sup>
- Father: Andrew Cowie, merchant<sup>366</sup>

### STUDIES (Lowland District; Western District)

- Aquhorties 1821 – 1828
- St Sulpice 1828 – 1830

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<sup>357</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>358</sup> Ibid.

<sup>359</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 309-014.

<sup>360</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>361</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/10, Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund's College Douai, 24 Jan 1859.

<sup>362</sup> Johnson, 'The Western District', 116.

<sup>363</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1911: Newport, Isle of Wight, RD 093, ED 005, piece 5702.

<sup>364</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>365</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Fochabers, St Mary's, MP002300001-00001-00002-00004-.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid.

- Forced to return home because of the Revolution of 1830
- Blairs 1830 – 1830
- St Sulpice 1830 – 1833
- Ordained 7 Sep 1833 in Edinburgh

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Charge of Dalbeattie 1833 – 1835
- Assistant rector at Scots College Rome 1835 – 1841
- Professor at Blairs 1841 – 1843
- Vice-Rector at Valladolid 1843 – 1873
- Rector at Valladolid 1873 – 1879
- 1876 gave up teaching due to ill health
- Died 25 Mar 1879 at Valladolid<sup>367</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘When the aged Abbé M’Pherson resumed the Rectorship of the Scots College, Rome, in 1835, Mr. Cowie was selected by the Vicars Apostolic to assist him in the quality of Vice-Rector. He had special charge of the landed property attached to the country-house at Marino. On one occasion, when staying there alone, robbers got access by night into the house, and entered his bed-room. He was not asleep but feigned to be so, otherwise it is likely he would have lost his life. One of them stood over him with a lantern and stiletto whilst the others ransacked the room, and took all the money they could find.’<sup>368</sup>
- ‘His amiable piety, gentleness of character, and exact attention to the discharge of every duty, had marked him out of his ecclesiastical superiors as one specially qualified for the training of those aspiring to the Priesthood’<sup>369</sup>
- Mr. Cowie’s humility and love of retirement have left but few incidents in his life to be related. For the first ten years after his appointment to the Vice-Rectorship in Valladolid, he did not visit even his native country. In the course of the year 1853 he paid a short visit to Scotland, and then returned to resume his comparatively obscure but meritorious duties.’<sup>370</sup>
- ‘In 1870 he went to Rome during the Vatican Council, and assisted at several of its sessions in quality of theologian to one of the Scotch Vicars-Apostolic.’<sup>371</sup>
- ‘From his childhood until his death, his uniformly amiable, virtuous disposition endeared him to all who were intimate with him, and everyone who even casually met him was struck by the simplicity of his character, his humility, and his disinterestedness. He was particularly noted for his scrupulous piety, and for his tender devotion to the Mother of God and to the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.’<sup>372</sup>
- ‘As Rector he was careful to exact from the students a faithful observance of the rules of the College, but this he did not so much by any system of strict supervision as by appealing to their honour and conscience. To all of them

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<sup>367</sup> *SCD* 1880 (obituary).

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>369</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>370</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>372</sup> *Ibid.*

he endeared himself to an extraordinary degree by his affability and kindness. They could not help observing that what he had most at heart was their progress in virtue and learning. In managing the temporal affairs of the College, Mr. Cowie displayed his usual care and shrewdness. His one aim was the well-being of the College, the charge of which had been entrusted to him, and this he regarded as centered in the welfare of the students. He never, therefore, allowed the strict economy which he practised to interfere with their health or comfort, of which he had always a kindly care.<sup>373</sup>

## Cronin, Michael (1825-1877)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 20 Feb 1825 in Inniscarra, Co. Cork, Ireland<sup>374</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Public examination by Rev Dr Walsh, then sent to Irish College Paris
- Irish College Paris 1847 – 1852
- Ordained 28 Apr 1853 in Glasgow

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant at St Alphonsus', Glasgow 1853 – 1854
- St Kieran's, Campbeltown 1854 – 1857
- Our Lady, Star of the Sea, Saltcoats 1857
- St Bridget's, Eaglesham 1857 – 1877
- Left the priesthood June 1877<sup>375</sup>
- Died 'unreconciled with the Church' 18 Sep 1882<sup>376</sup>
- Buried at Newton Mearns cemetery, Glasgow<sup>377</sup>

### OTHER

- [Testimonial on leaving St Alphonsus'] For short though your mission with us has been, it was your first mission [...] in you we have lost the mild, the amiable, the accomplished gentleman; the pious, the zealous, the charitable priest. Though young in years you are rich in piety, charity and goodness of heart [...] the ardour and energy with which you have always laboured in reclaiming the obstinate sinner and bringing back those who had strayed from the paths of virtue – and above all your indefatigable attendance in the confessional [...] with that dreaded epidemic, the cholera, then it was that you fully evinced your love for us by your unswerving attention to the stricken [...] as at all hours of the day and night you might be seen hurrying along the streets from one scene of misery to another<sup>378</sup>
- Had the Church of St Bridget's built in Eaglesham in 1858<sup>379</sup>

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<sup>373</sup> Ibid.

<sup>374</sup> *SCD* 1854 (note of ordination).

<sup>375</sup> Johnson, 'The Western District', 116.

<sup>376</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 63.

<sup>377</sup> Ibid.

<sup>378</sup> *Glasgow Free Press*, 19 Aug 1854, 2, quoted in Ibid.

<sup>379</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 63.

- One of the rebellious ‘twenty-two’ in 1864 expressing a vote of no-confidence for Bishop Murdoch.<sup>380</sup>
- A disastrous fire at Eaglesham in 1876 destroyed the mills and looms of the village, leaving the previous hive of industry crippled<sup>381</sup>

### Cumming, William Alexander (1831-1860)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 7 Mar 1831 in Tomintoul<sup>382</sup>
- Mother: Maria McGrigor<sup>383</sup>
- Father: William Cumming,<sup>384</sup> shoemaker<sup>385</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1845 – 1846
- Valladolid 1846 – 1848
- Gave up his studies 1848; in Scotland 1848-1849; requested to resume studies; readmitted
- Aire 1849 – 1850
- Montreuil-sur-Mer 1850 – 1853
- Cambrai 1853 – 1856
- Ordained 10 May 1856 in Glasgow

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Alphonsus', Glasgow 1856 – 1858
- Got consumption; retired at Rothesay in 1858
- Died 24 Dec 1860 at Rothesay of consumption<sup>386</sup>
- Buried at Dalbeth cemetery<sup>387</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

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### Dailly, Daniel (1856-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 16 Oct 1856 in Dundee<sup>388</sup>
- Mother: Agnes Ritchieson, born in Scotland<sup>389</sup>

<sup>380</sup> McClelland, ‘Irish Clergy and Archbishop Manning’s Apostolic Visitation’, pt. I, 11, footnote 18.

<sup>381</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 63.

<sup>382</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>383</sup> Ibid.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid.

<sup>385</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Tomintoul, MP003500001-00001-00002-00118-.

<sup>386</sup> *SCD* 1862 (obituary).

<sup>387</sup> Ibid.

<sup>388</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>389</sup> Ibid.

- Father: Daniel Daly,<sup>390</sup> draper with one servant, born in Scotland<sup>391</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1869 – 1871
- Douai 1871 – 1874
- Left ‘on his own accord’ 1874<sup>392</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- In 1881, unmarried ‘draper assistant’ living with his parents at the parish of St Mary, Dundee<sup>393</sup>
- A decade later still unmarried, living with parents (in 8-room lodgings), but now listed as a ‘spirit merchant’ and ‘employer’<sup>394</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Dawson, James Joseph (1858-1903)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born in Huntly 1858<sup>395</sup>
- Mother: Margaret Anton<sup>396</sup>
- Father: George Dawson,<sup>397</sup> head carpenter<sup>398</sup>
- Childhood spent at Applecross, Ross-shire, at Corpach, near Fort William<sup>399</sup>
- Uncle Rev. William Dawson (at Inverness) took him under his wing since age 8, and ‘Under the roof of his saintly guardian he laid the foundations of piety and learning, acquiring even some knowledge of Hebrew as well as classics.’<sup>400</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1869 – 1872
- ‘He endeared himself to his companions, who ever after spoke of him in the highest of terms; nor did his exceptional talents beget in his classmates any jealousy, such being prevented by his humble, self-sacrificing disposition, which distinguished him through life.’<sup>401</sup>
- Valladolid 1872 – 1875
- Forced to return to Scotland in 1875 after a severe illness
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1877 – 1879?
- St Sulpice 1879? – 1881
- Ordained 9 Jun 1881 in Paris

<sup>390</sup> Ibid.

<sup>391</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Dundee Second District, RD 282-02, 004-012.

<sup>392</sup> SCA: ED/8/46, Bishop Strain: Students at Various Colleges, 1872-81.

<sup>393</sup> SPC: Census 1881: St Mary, RD 282-02, 002-015.

<sup>394</sup> SPC: Census 1891: St Mary, RD 282-02, 002-015.

<sup>395</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>396</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>397</sup> Ibid.

<sup>398</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Applecross, RD 058-01, 003-014.

<sup>399</sup> SCD 1904 (obituary).

<sup>400</sup> Ibid.

<sup>401</sup> Ibid.

## CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Oban 1881
- Island of Eigg 1881 – 1882
- ‘Island of Eigg, where he charmed the simple Highlanders by his sterling piety and earnest zeal for their welfare.’ [But he was never robust, and could no longer deal with the sea journeys between Eigg and Canna, so was transferred to the mainland.]<sup>402</sup>
- Lent to Dunkeld Diocese
- Lochee, Dundee 1882 – 1885
- Returned to his own Diocese
- Rothesay 1885 – 1886
- Oban 1886
- Professor at Valladolid 1886 – 1890
- Oban 1890 – 1895
- Health gave way
- In England, Spain and Rothesay in bad health (trying to find a favourable climate) 1895-1902
- Rothesay (at his request) 1902 – 1903
- Health gave away again; the last 8 weeks of his life spent at St Margaret’s Home, Ascog (maintained by the Marchioness of Bute)<sup>403</sup>
- Died 26 Jun 1903 in Rothesay<sup>404</sup>
- Buried at Rothesay Cemetery<sup>405</sup>

## OTHER

- ‘During his college career, he acquired a perfect knowledge of Spanish, French and German’<sup>406</sup>
- Started Young Men’s Society at Oban; seat at the School Board (nominated by a deacon of the Free Church, and got 200 protestant votes); ‘idolised by the choir-boys of the Pro-Cathedral’<sup>407</sup>
- ‘high reputation as a preacher’<sup>408</sup>
- Helped found the Blairs Society in 1891, as well as the Ambrosian Society (Alumni of Valladolid).<sup>409</sup>
- End of 1894 fell dangerously ill, was taken care of in the house of Archbishop MacDonald, at Edinburgh. Recovery slow, so for next seven years tried to find favourable place for recovery: South of England, South of Spain, Rothesay, and mostly Oban.<sup>410</sup>
- ‘At Oban, a few days before Christmas, in 1901, he rescued, at the peril of his own life, one of the choir boys, who had fallen through the ice whilst skating. For this heroic deed he received the bronze medal of the Royal Humane Society, which was presented to him by the Provost of Oban at a large and enthusiastic meeting of the inhabitants.’<sup>411</sup>

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<sup>402</sup> Ibid.

<sup>403</sup> Ibid.

<sup>404</sup> Ibid.

<sup>405</sup> Ibid.

<sup>406</sup> Ibid.

<sup>407</sup> Ibid.

<sup>408</sup> Ibid.

<sup>409</sup> Ibid.

<sup>410</sup> Ibid.

<sup>411</sup> Ibid.

## Dawson, John (1802-1827)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 4 Jul 1802 in Aberdeen<sup>412</sup>

### STUDIES (Lowland District)

- Aquhorties 1812 – 1818
- St Nicolas 1818 – 1824
- St Sulpice 1824 – 1826

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Died Sep 1827<sup>413</sup>

### OTHER

- [unknown]

## Dawson, Joseph William (1820-1894)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Baptised 20 Jun 1820 in Huntly<sup>414</sup>
- Mother: Jean Watt<sup>415</sup>
- Father: Charles Dawson,<sup>416</sup> cotton weaver<sup>417</sup>

### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Vaugirard 1835 – 1840
- St Sulpice 1840 – 1845
- Ordained 17 May 1845 in Paris

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Preshome 1845 – 1846
- Banff 1846 – 1852
- Inverness 1852 – 1887
- Inverurie 1887 – 1892
- Banff 1892 – 1894
- Died 17 Jan 1894 in Banff<sup>418</sup>

### OTHER

- [unknown]

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<sup>412</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>413</sup> Ibid.

<sup>414</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Huntly, St Margaret's, MP002500001-00001-00001-000157-.

<sup>415</sup> Ibid.

<sup>416</sup> Ibid.

<sup>417</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Huntly, RD 202-00, 001-011.

<sup>418</sup> SCD 1895 (obituary).

## Dawson, Aeneas McDonnell (1810-1894)<sup>419</sup>

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 3 Jul 1810 in Reelhyth, Banff<sup>420</sup>
- Mother: Anna MacDonald<sup>421</sup>
- Father: John Dawson<sup>422</sup>

### STUDIES (Lowland District; Eastern District)

- Aquhorties 1826 – 1826
- St Nicolas 1826 – 1831
- Douai 1831 – 1832
- Left with his fellow student Grant: ‘Dawson & Grant who expressed to Mr Collier their wish of leaving Douay have executed this wish & are now in London. The mother of Grant, who is also you know the mother of C. Gordon Albyn Place came down from Keith to tell me so in great distress on the Monday. I told her that they did not belong to this District, & that therefore I could take no step concerning them. [...] I mentioned to her, likewise that I considered the step they had taken as an indication that they had become tired of their vocation, & the honest woman seemed the pretty much of the same opinion herself. [...] Ralston who was with Grant in the seminary at Paris, tells me that he did not then shew much of the ecclesiastical spirit nor give great satisfaction to his superiors. [...] But if they should apply for readmission, I do think that good example & the future peace of seminaires are great objection in this way. [...] From the letter of the students themselves it is clear that they have opportunities enough of improvement, if they choose to avail themselves of them.’<sup>423</sup>
- Readmitted in 1833
- Blairs 1833 – 1835
- Ordained 2 Apr 1835 at Blairs

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Dumfries 1835 – 1840
- Perth 1840 – 1841
- Stirling 1841 – 1841
- St Mary's, Dundee 1841 – 1842
- Arbroath 1842 – 1843
- Chaplain at St Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh 1843 – 1846
- Dunfermline 1846 – 1852
- Seriously in debt; left the Mission and went to London<sup>424</sup>
- Went to Canada in 1854 and worked as a priest there
- Died in Ottawa 29 Dec 1894

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<sup>419</sup> Photo of Father Aeneas McDonnell Dawson from the website of the parish of St Patrick's Basilica, Ottawa, Canada, accessed 12 Jan 2015. URL: <http://www.basilica.org/pages/history.php>.

<sup>420</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>421</sup> Ibid.

<sup>422</sup> Ibid.

<sup>423</sup> SCA: OL/2/9/8, Bp Kyle to Bp Scott, Preshome 3 Nov 1832.

<sup>424</sup> Johnson, 'The Northern and Eastern Districts', 48.





#### OTHER

- One of the authors of a letter from Conflans: ‘C’est pour remplir un devoir que la reconnaissance nous impose, c’est pour que vous puissiez juger de nos progrès dans la Langue Française, que nous nous permettons de vous écrire. Depuis deux ans que nous sommes en France, nous n’avons pas encore songé à nous y ennuyer, et nous avons toujours joui d’une excellente santé : en effet, pourrait-il en être autrement, établis comme nous sommes à la campagne où l’air est si frais et si pur ? Car nous ne sommes plus à Paris, nous sommes au petit séminaire à Conflans. Mr McLean jouit aussi d’une très bonne santé, il se voit à la veille d’un grand jour, il va faire demain sa première Communion. Notre maison est très belle en même temps qu’elle est agréable. Nous avons une Chapelle qui est une grande beauté, l’or y brille de toutes parts. Le séminaire est consacré à honorer l’enfance de Notre Seigneur Jesus Christ. Nous n’entreprenons pas, Monseigneur, de vous faire d’éloge des avantages inappréciables [sic] dont jouit cette maison, nous craignons d’abuser de votre attention. D’ailleurs, vous les connaissez sans doute mieux que nous, vous connaissez avec quels soins on y cultive l’esprit et le cœur de la jeunesse. Peut-être, Monseigneur, désireriez-vous connaître l’objet de nos études pendant cette année: Mr Dawson est en sixième. Pour les auteurs Latins, il a traduit Cornelius Nepos et les Fables de Phèdre, pour les auteurs Grecs, il a expliqué les Fables d’Esopé. Il a aussi vu la géographie de l’Afrique et l’histoire de l’Egypte. Mr Grant et moi, nous sommes en Septième. Nous avons expliqué une partie de Sulpice Sévère, et nous expliquons actuellement Justin, et Phèdre et Esopé. Nous avons vu en

abrégé la géographie de l'Asie moderne. Nous voyons en outre un cours de Botanique. Telles sont, Monseigneur, nos occupations pendant cette année qui ne nous empêchent pas de lire quelquefois des livres Anglais, pour ne pas oublier notre Langue. Ce n'a été qu'avec une bien vive douleur que nous avons appris la maladie de Mr Gillis. Puisse le bon Dieu le guérir au-plutôt. C'est ce que nous souhaitons de tout notre cœur.<sup>425</sup>

- 'I have heard no more from or about Dawson & Grant. I join with you in thinking that they cannot be received again. I think too that they are aware of that themselves and never had an intention of seriously applying for admission. When young men tire of their vocation, they seldom go fairly to work & openly announce it, but make use of some pretext or other to cover over this inconstancy. Macdonald who made such pressing instances to be taken back two years ago is now a cadet in the Belgian army, a post more congenial to his turn of mind than the ecclesiastical life.'<sup>426</sup>
- Dawson became a prolific writer of some fame as well as a lecturer, journalist and poet with several published works

## McDermott, Wilfrid Owen Grady (1857-19xx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 12 Oct 1857 in Dunkeld (later moved to Edinburgh)<sup>427</sup>
- Mother: Catherine McDonald,<sup>428</sup> born in Ireland<sup>429</sup>
- Father: Michael McDermott,<sup>430</sup> inspector of City Police, pensioner of the 66<sup>th</sup> regiment, born in Ireland; lodgings with 4 rooms with windows<sup>431</sup>
- Eldest siblings born in Canada<sup>432</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- |                     |             |
|---------------------|-------------|
| • Blairs            | 1873 – 1874 |
| • Douai             | 1874 – 1878 |
| • St Sulpice (Issy) | 1878 – 1881 |

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Stayed initially with his civil engineer brother Nehemiah's family in Dalkeith<sup>433</sup>
- In 1911, listed as a 'commercial traveller sanitary goods' at Poole, England; married to Elizabeth with four children<sup>434</sup>

### OTHER

- [unknown]

<sup>425</sup> SCA: CA/1/43/4: A. Grant, E. McD. Dawson and I. Malcolm to Bp Paterson, Conflans 28 Jun 1828.

<sup>426</sup> SCA: OL/2/9/11, Bp Kyle to Bp Scott, Preshome 3 Dec 1832.

<sup>427</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>428</sup> Ibid.

<sup>429</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Newington, RD 685-05, 001-011.

<sup>430</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>431</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Newington, RD 685-05, 001-011.

<sup>432</sup> Ibid.

<sup>433</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1881: Dalkeith, RD 683-00, 001-013.

<sup>434</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1911: Poole, RD 261-00, ED 011, piece 12286.

## Doherty, Daniel (1844-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 24 Apr 1844
- Mother: Elisa MacDonald<sup>435</sup>
- Father: Michael Doherty<sup>436</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Douai 1863 – 1865
- Left 1 Sep 1865<sup>437</sup>
- Moulins 1866
- Left 1866<sup>438</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

### OTHER

- [unknown]

## Doherty, John (1857-1940)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 9 Oct 1857 in Blairgowrie<sup>439</sup>
- Mother: Anna McGuire<sup>440</sup>
- Father: Hugh Doherty,<sup>441</sup> shoemaker<sup>442</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1869 – 1874
- Scots College Rome 1874 – 1877
- Returned home due to bronchitis
- Blairs 1877 – 1878
- St Sulpice 1878 – 1880
- Ordained 9 Jan 1881 at Kinnoul

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Immaculate Conception, Dundee 1881 – 1882
- Professor, Blairs 1882 – 1883
- St Mary's, Dundee 1883 – 1884
- Montrose 1884 – 1885
- Ballechin 1885 – 1891
- Professor at Valladolid 1891 – 1894
- Lent to Glasgow Archdiocese

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<sup>435</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>436</sup> Ibid.

<sup>437</sup> AN: CRD1865.

<sup>438</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>439</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>440</sup> Ibid.

<sup>441</sup> Ibid.

<sup>442</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Blairgowrie, RD 335-00, 002-029.

- Glasgow Cathedral 1894 – 1895
- Chaplain for St Joseph's Convent, Lawside 1895 – 1922
- Canon (1920)
- Doune 1922 – 1937
- Retired to Whitby in 1937
- Died 9 Jun 1940 at Whitby<sup>443</sup>

#### OTHER

- 'A kindly, genial personality, giving offence to no man, and much loved by the brethren who knew him intimately.'<sup>444</sup>

### Dolan, James (1838-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 12 May 1838 in Boyle, Co. Roscommon, Ireland<sup>445</sup>
- Mother: Mary O'Beirne<sup>446</sup>
- Father: James Dolan<sup>447</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1853 – 1857
- Douai 1857 – 1859
- In January, 1859, James Dolan was listed with his progress as 'nothing', conduct as 'very satisfactory', character as 'deceitful' and health as 'very good'<sup>448</sup>
- St Sulpice 1859
- Dismissed from St Sulpice in 5 Feb 1859<sup>449</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Married Ann Cox (born in Ireland)<sup>450</sup> 4 Jun 1860 at St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh<sup>451</sup>
- In 1861, recorded in the census at Canongate as iron foundery labourer; son Michael, born in Edinburgh, one year old; lodgings have one room with windows<sup>452</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

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<sup>443</sup> SCD 1941 (obituary).

<sup>444</sup> Ibid.

<sup>445</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>446</sup> Ibid.

<sup>447</sup> Ibid.

<sup>448</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/10, Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund's College Douai, 24 Jan 1859.

<sup>449</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register); SCA: CA/1/46/1, Letter (on the official paper of 'Administration des Fondations Catholiques Anglaises et Ecossaises en France, Rue des Sèvres, 31') by M. L'abbe Duplessy to MacPherson (Monsieur le Superieur), Paris 2 Oct 1859.

<sup>450</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Canongate, RD 685-03, 017-006.

<sup>451</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Marriages): Edinburgh, St Mary's Cathedral, MP007400001-00004-00002-00404-.

<sup>452</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Canongate, RD 685-03, 017-006.

## MacDonald, Alexander (1805-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Baptised 4 Mar 1805 in Edinburgh<sup>453</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern? District)

- St Nicolas 1824 – 1830
- St Sulpice 1830 – 1831
- Left Paris in 1831
- ‘Mr Alex[ande]r MacDonald was here some days, and went away yesterday, he has satisfied me that there is no blame to be attached to him for leaving Paris at the time he did, and being at Theology. I have in the mean time decided him to study Theology at home till further orders. You will remember he was adjudged to Bishop Kyle when we were making the Division at Blairs, but I find now that finical Gentleman will not receive him, but I will, & I wish he may not be proved to come to more moderate Terms, before all ends.’<sup>454</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- This may be him: ‘When young men tire of their vocation, they seldom go fairly to work & openly announce it, but make use of some pretext or other to cover over this inconstancy. Macdonald who made such pressing instances to be taken back two years ago is now a cadet in the Belgian army, a post more congenial to his turn of mind than the ecclesiastical life.’<sup>455</sup>
- Married Margaret?<sup>456</sup>
- Died 12 May 1893 at Inverness? (‘Pray for the soul of Alexander Macdonald, who died at Inverness, on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of May, 1893, fortified by the Rites of the Church. Aged 87 years.’);<sup>457</sup> ‘Of your charity, pray for the souls of Alexander Macdonald, and his wife, Margaret, who died at Inverness; the former on the 12<sup>th</sup> of May, 1893, aged 86 years; the latter on the 28<sup>th</sup> October, 1891, aged 77 years; fortified by the Rites of the Church.’<sup>458</sup>

### OTHER

- [unknown]

## MacDonald, Alexander (1814-1835)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 7 Aug 1814 in Fort William<sup>459</sup>
- Mother: Catherine MacDonald<sup>460</sup>

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<sup>453</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Edinburgh, St Mary’s Cathedral, MP007400001-00001-00002-00025-.

<sup>454</sup> SCA: OL/1/6/5, Bp MacDonald to Scott, Lismore 13 Apr 1831.

<sup>455</sup> SCA: OL/2/9/11, Kyle to Scott, Preshome 3 Dec 1832.

<sup>456</sup> SCD 1895 (note of death).

<sup>457</sup> Ibid.

<sup>458</sup> Ibid.

<sup>459</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>460</sup> Ibid.

- Father: Donald MacDonald<sup>461</sup>
- Highlander

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- |   |             |
|---|-------------|
| • Blairs  | 1829 – 1830 |
| • St Nicolas  | 1830 – 1831 |
| • Studies interrupted in 1831                         |             |
| • Douai   | 1831 – 1833 |
| • St Nicolas  | 1833        |
| • ‘Gave up’ <sup>462</sup> 19 Oct 1833 <sup>463</sup> |             |

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Died 1835<sup>464</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### McDonald, Alexander (1859-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 1 Jun 1859 in Strathbraan<sup>465</sup>
- Mother: Joanna Grant<sup>466</sup>
- Father: Charles McDonald<sup>467</sup>
- Brother to James, also a seminarian

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- |          |             |
|----------|-------------|
| • Blairs | 1871 – 1877 |
| • Douai  | 1877?       |

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### MacDonald, Angus (1833-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 29 Nov 1833 in Lochaber, Inverness-shire<sup>468</sup>

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<sup>461</sup> Ibid.

<sup>462</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

<sup>463</sup> AN: CRD1833.

<sup>464</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

<sup>465</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>466</sup> Ibid.

<sup>467</sup> Ibid.

<sup>468</sup> Ibid.

- Mother: Catherine McArthur<sup>469</sup>
- Father: Archibald MacDonald<sup>470</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1846 – 1847
- [France] 1847 – 1852
- Left 1852<sup>471</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### MacDonald, Angus (1859-1926)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 9 Apr 1859 in Fort William<sup>472</sup>
- Mother: Eliza McRae<sup>473</sup>
- Father: Roderick MacDonald,<sup>474</sup> flesher<sup>475</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1872 – 1877
- Douai 1877 – 1878
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1878 (one month)
- Scots College Rome 1878 – 1884
- Ordained 1 Nov 1883 at Rome

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Oban 1884 – 1888
- Charge of Castlebay 1888 – 1889
- Craigston 1889 – 1893
- Rothesay 1893 – 1895
- Arisaig 1895 – 1903
- Rothesay 1903 – 1921
- Canon in 1919
- Glenfinnan 1921 – 1922
- Dunoon 1922 – 1925
- Retired to Whitebridge in 1925<sup>476</sup>
- Died 19 Feb 1926 at Whitebridge, Stratherrick<sup>477</sup>

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<sup>469</sup> Ibid.

<sup>470</sup> Ibid.

<sup>471</sup> Ibid.

<sup>472</sup> Ibid.

<sup>473</sup> Ibid.

<sup>474</sup> Ibid.

<sup>475</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Kilmallie, RD 520-00, 004-008.

<sup>476</sup> SCD 1927 (obituary).

<sup>477</sup> Ibid.

- Buried at cemetery adjoining church of Stratherrick<sup>478</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘The record of Canon Macdonald’s career is that of a life spent in devoted service to his fellowmen.’<sup>479</sup>
- He had a ‘kindly disposition and genial, hospitable nature’<sup>480</sup>

### MacDonald, Archibald Joseph (1821-1877)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 16 Nov 1821 in Cakvan near Perth<sup>481</sup>
- Mother: Anna Cleghorn<sup>482</sup>
- Father: Allan McDonald<sup>483</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1836 – 1838
- Valladolid 1838 – 1845
- Dismissed from Valladolid in 1845<sup>484</sup>
- Vaugirard 1845
- St Sulpice 1845 – 1847
- Ordained 17 Oct 1847 at Blairs

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Junior Clergyman at St Andrew's, Dundee 1847 – 1853
- Leith 1853 – 1856
- St Mary's, Dundee 1856 – 1869
- 1864 chosen as Bishop Gillis’ Vicar-General; held this post until 1869
- Dumfries 1869 – 1877
- Died 26 Jan 1877 in Dumfries<sup>485</sup>
- Buried in the vaults of the Church<sup>486</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘From the very outset of his missionary life he distinguished himself by uncommon activity and self-sacrifice, and these qualities were conspicuous in his to the close of his career.’<sup>487</sup>
- ‘He exerted himself strenuously in the case of education; he introduced confraternities, societies, &c.; and, in a word, he adopted every means which

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<sup>478</sup> Ibid.

<sup>479</sup> Ibid.

<sup>480</sup> Ibid.

<sup>481</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>482</sup> Ibid.

<sup>483</sup> Ibid.

<sup>484</sup> ‘College Register’, 19 Dec 1838, in Maurice Taylor, *The Scots College in Spain* (Valladolid, 1971).

<sup>485</sup> *SCD* 1878 (obituary).

<sup>486</sup> Ibid.

<sup>487</sup> Ibid.



his active mind could suggest, to promote the religious and social welfare of his people.<sup>488</sup>

- ‘His priestly virtues had long secured for him the esteem of his ecclesiastical superiors; while his genial and warm-hearted disposition made him a special favourite with his clerical brethren. He was full of sympathy for the efforts of others, and took a genuine pleasure in promoting them to the best of his power.’<sup>489</sup>
- ‘The Redemptionist Fathers found in him a true friend, when they came to establish themselves in Scotland; and the Marist Brothers were deeply indebted to him, both for their well-being in Dundee, and for their introduction to Dumfries and subsequent remarkable development in that town.’<sup>490</sup>
- ‘His vigorous constitution was no shattered by thirty years of incessant toil. Towards the end of 1876 he was prostrated by sickness, and during the three months that he lingered on, his piety, patience, and resignation edified all who approached him.’<sup>491</sup>

## MacDonald, Charles Grant (1835-1894)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 30 Jun 1835 in Inverness, Inverness-shire<sup>492</sup>
- Mother: Jessey Garden<sup>493</sup>
- Father: Alexander MacDonald,<sup>494</sup> farmer<sup>495</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1847 – 1849
- Vaugirard 1849 – 1851
- Ill at home? In 1851, ‘Charles Grant’ registered in the census as a ‘scholar’. In schoolmaster brother’s household with siblings; one house servant.<sup>496</sup>
- Douai 1851 – 1855
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1855 – 1856
- St Sulpice 1856 – 1859
- Ordained 1 Aug 1859, Glasgow

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Moidart 1859 – 1863
- Mingarry, Lochshiel 1863 – 1892
- Retired to Helensburgh 1892 – 1894
- In 1881 census, marked as a late RC priest, now ‘Insane inmate’ at an institution (Old Machar)<sup>497</sup>

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<sup>488</sup> Ibid.

<sup>489</sup> Ibid.

<sup>490</sup> Ibid.

<sup>491</sup> Ibid.

<sup>492</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>493</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Inverness, St Mary’s, MP002600001-00001-00001-00007-.

<sup>494</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>495</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Inverness, RD 098-00, 019-003.

<sup>496</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Huntly, RD 202-00, 001-027.

<sup>497</sup> SPC: Census 1881: Old Machar, RD 168-02, 055-009.

- In 1891, still listed as ‘lunatic’ at Old Machar<sup>498</sup>
- Died 17 Oct 1894, Helensburgh<sup>499</sup>

#### OTHER

- His obituary note simply stated ‘Pray for the soul of the Rev. Charles Macdonald, late of Moidart, who died at Helensburgh, on the 17th October, 1894, in the 60th year of his age.’<sup>500</sup>

### McDonald, David (1857-1930)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 16 Mar 1857 in Glenmoriston<sup>501</sup>
- Mother: Eliza McDonald<sup>502</sup>
- Father: Duncan McDonald,<sup>503</sup> blacksmith<sup>504</sup>
- In 1861 one of eight children<sup>505</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1870 – 1875
- Douai 1875 – 1877
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1877 – 1879
- St Sulpice 1879 – 1880
- Valladolid 1880 – 1882
- Ordained 25 Mar 1882 at Valladolid

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Inverurie 1882 – 1883
- Peterhead 1883 – 1886
- Dornie 1886 – 1891
- Stratherrick 1891 – 1896
- Kirkwall 1896 – 1912
- A church opened in Lerwick (due to his fundraising efforts) in 1911<sup>506</sup>
- Lerwick 1912 – 1913
- St Ninian’s, Tynet 1913 – 1922
- Canon 1918
- In 1922 requested change due to ill health<sup>507</sup>
- Stonehaven 1922 – 1930
- Died 27 Sep 1930 in Stonehaven after a short illness<sup>508</sup>
- Buried at Allenvale cemetery<sup>509</sup>

<sup>498</sup> SPC: Census 1891: Aberdeen Old Machar, RD 168-02, 056-005.

<sup>499</sup> Johnson, ‘The Western District’, 127.

<sup>500</sup> SCD 1895 (obituary).

<sup>501</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>502</sup> Ibid.

<sup>503</sup> Ibid.

<sup>504</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Glenmoriston, RD 107-02, 002-006.

<sup>505</sup> Ibid.

<sup>506</sup> SCD 1932 (obituary).

<sup>507</sup> Ibid.

<sup>508</sup> Ibid.

<sup>509</sup> Ibid.

## OTHER

- ‘had, during his long life, served in every part of the Diocese, and especially in all its most remote and lonely charges.’<sup>510</sup>

## McDonald, James (1857-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 21 May 1857 in Strathbraan<sup>511</sup>
- Mother: Joanna Grant<sup>512</sup>
- Father: Charles MacDonald<sup>513</sup>
- Brother to Alexander, also a seminarian

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1869 – 1874
- Douai 1874 – 1875

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

## OTHER

- [unknown]

## MacDonald, James Alexander (1840-1918)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 29 Apr 1840 in Inverness<sup>514</sup>
- Mother: Margaret Watson,<sup>515</sup> ‘schoolmaster’s wife’; head of household (married not widowed)<sup>516</sup>
- Father: Alexander MacDonald,<sup>517</sup> schoolmaster<sup>518</sup>

### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1852 – 1857
- Douai 1857 – 1859
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1859 – 1861
- St Sulpice 1861 – 1864
- Ordained 17 Dec 1864 in Paris

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Banff 1865 – 1868

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<sup>510</sup> Ibid.

<sup>511</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>512</sup> Ibid.

<sup>513</sup> Ibid.

<sup>514</sup> Ibid.

<sup>515</sup> Ibid.

<sup>516</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Inverness, RD 098-00, 025-011

<sup>517</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>518</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Inverness, RD 098-00, 025-011

- Huntly 1868 – 1874
- St Mary's, Aberdeen 1874 – 1875
- Professor at Valladolid 1875 – 1890
- Returned to Scotland in bad health in 1890
- Transferred to Eastern District
- Innerleithen 1890 – 1898
- Chaplain to St Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh 1898 – 1918
- Canon
- Died 12 Dec 1918 at Hermitage, Whitehouse Loan, Edinburgh<sup>519</sup>
- Buried at Mount Vernon Cemetery<sup>520</sup>

#### OTHER

- 'He was the priest of the sanctuary rather than the priest who has to mingle in the affairs of the busy world. [...] Priests are not free to choose [...]. Canon Macdonald was a Priest's priest: we priests claim him as our own. He exhibited in the life of everyday that piety and devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, that dedication to the life of the sanctuary which no priest can but envy, and which everyone sighs after as the fulfilment of the aspiration of his heart at the moment he entered the priestly state.'<sup>521</sup>

### MacDonald, John (180x-18xx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born in Tracadie, Prince Edward Island, Canada<sup>522</sup>
- Father: John MacDonald of Tracadie,<sup>523</sup> 'Captain'<sup>524</sup>

#### STUDIES (Lowland District)

- Ampleforth College, England 1819 – 1820
- St Sulpice 1820 – 1822
- Vice-Rector and student at Scots College Rome 1822 – 1823
- St Sulpice 1824 – 1826
- Ordained 17 Dec 1825 in Paris

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant priest in Glasgow 1826 – 1828
- 1829 emigrated to Prince Edward Island alongside thirty Glasgow families<sup>525</sup>
- Tracadie 1829 – 1835
- King's County 1835 – 1844

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<sup>519</sup> *SCD* 1920 (obituary).

<sup>520</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>521</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>522</sup> Johnson, 'Secular Clergy of the Lowland District', 45.

<sup>523</sup> Francis W. Bolger, 'The First Bishop', 50, in Michael F. Hennessey (ed.), *The Catholic Church in Prince Edward Island, 1720-1979* (Summerside, Canada, 1979), 22-57.

<sup>524</sup> Johnson, 'Secular Clergy of the Lowland District', 45.

<sup>525</sup> *Ibid.*

- Retired for a time at Tracadie, Canada, then left the diocese<sup>526</sup>

#### OTHER

- Held property in America, mortgaged for £500; ‘he would not require scarcely any thing while serving the Mission’<sup>527</sup>
- Bishop MacEachern considered Father John MacDonald learned and qualified,<sup>528</sup> but ‘not disengaged from his family, and is so entangled with their land affairs, lawsuits in recovering rents etc., that our adversaries take an opportunity of making him odious and disrespected.’ [Father MacDonald was himself an agent and proprietor for some of his family’s lands]<sup>529</sup>
- 1844 involved in dispute about the collection of rents that resulted in summoning troops to bring order<sup>530</sup>

### MacDonald, John (1852-1940)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 12 Aug 1852 in Aberdeen<sup>531</sup>
- Mother: Elizabeth Murchant<sup>532</sup>
- Father: John MacDonald,<sup>533</sup> farmer of 57 acres<sup>534</sup>
- Family of nine; a lodger<sup>535</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Rockwell 1864 – 1874
- Holy Spirit 1874 – 1875
- Ordained 28 Oct 1875 in Aberdeen

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Lent to Western District
- St Mary's, Glasgow 1875
- St Mirren's, Paisley 1875 – 1877
- St Mary's, Paisley 1877 – 1903
- Canon
- Retired to Dublin in 1903<sup>536</sup>
- Died 24 Nov 1940 in Dublin<sup>537</sup>

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<sup>526</sup> Ibid.

<sup>527</sup> SCA: OL/1/3/17, Andrew Scott to John McDonald Esq of Glenaladale, George St, Edinburgh, 21 Aug 1826, Glasgow.

<sup>528</sup> A. B. MacEachern to Archbishop Joseph Signay, 21 Mar 1835, I. E. 1:132, quoted in Francis W. Bolger, ‘The First Bishop’, 50, in Michael F. Hennessey (ed.), *The Catholic Church in Prince Edward Island, 1720-1979* (Summerside, Canada, 1979), 22-57.

<sup>529</sup> Ibid.

<sup>530</sup> Johnson, ‘Secular Clergy of the Lowland District 1732-1829’, 45.

<sup>531</sup> SCD 1941 (obituary).

<sup>532</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Aberdeen, St Mary’s with St Peter’s, MP001000001-00002-00006-00041-.

<sup>533</sup> Ibid.

<sup>534</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Dyce, RD 190-00, 002-011.

<sup>535</sup> Ibid.

<sup>536</sup> Johnson, ‘The Western District’.

<sup>537</sup> SCD 1941 (obituary).

## OTHER

- ‘pioneer priest’, developing St Mary’s (Paisley) extensively<sup>538</sup>

## MacDonald, Neil (1858-[1876])

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 3 Nov 1858 in Badenoch<sup>539</sup>
- Mother: Maria Campbell<sup>540</sup>
- Father: Alexander MacDonald<sup>541</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- St Peter’s College 1872 – 1876
- Douai 1876
- Died at St Peter’s College [possibly in 1876]<sup>542</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

## OTHER

- [unknown]

## MacDonald, Stodart (1843-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 8 Apr 1843 in Edinburgh<sup>543</sup>
- Mother: Catherine Phisholm<sup>544</sup>
- Father: Stodart MacDonald,<sup>545</sup> solicitor, Supreme Courts, Scotland; widower in 1851<sup>546</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Ushaw 1853 – 1858
- Edinburgh University
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1861 – 1863
- Collegio Capranica, Rome 1864 – 1867
- Ordained 20 Apr 1867 in Rome

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Lochee 1867 – 1870
- Arbroath 1870 – 1872

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<sup>538</sup> Ibid.

<sup>539</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>540</sup> Ibid.

<sup>541</sup> Ibid.

<sup>542</sup> Ibid.

<sup>543</sup> *SCD* 1868 (note of ordination).

<sup>544</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Edinburgh, St Mary’s Cathedral, MP007400001-00002-00001-00205-.

<sup>545</sup> Ibid.

<sup>546</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Edinburgh, RD 685-01, 134-010.

- St Patrick's, Edinburgh 1872 – 1873
- Disappears from the clergy lists in 1874<sup>547</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Donlevy, James (1843-1903)<sup>548</sup>

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 27 Nov 1843 in Edinburgh<sup>549</sup>
- Mother: Helene Donlevy,<sup>550</sup> Irishwoman<sup>551</sup>
- Father: James Donlevy,<sup>552</sup> teacher<sup>553</sup> ('one of the most active and efficient teachers that modern Catholic Scotland has known')<sup>554</sup>
- Parents 'well known and esteemed among the Catholic population for their deep and zealous attachment to the Catholic faith'<sup>555</sup>
- 'From his early years he gave a distinct evidence of a vocation to the ecclesiastical state. To spend his time about "the chapel," as it was then called, to serve holy mass, to help, as far as a boy could, those in charge in that decoration of the sanctuary which had to be refined as well as effective to meet the taste of a Bishop Gillis – these were his chief and, it may be said, his only delights.'<sup>556</sup>
- 'Discovered' by later Bishop Macpherson, then senior priest at St Mary's, Edinburgh<sup>557</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1860 – 1863
- Douai 1863 – 1866
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1866 – 1868
- St Sulpice 1868 – 1870
- Studies interrupted due to Franco-Prussian war in 1870<sup>558</sup>
- Blairs 1870 – 1871
- Ordained 31 May 1871 at Blairs<sup>559</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Alloa 1871 – 1878
- St Mary's, Edinburgh 1878 – 1903
- Canon

<sup>547</sup> Johnson, 'The Northern and Eastern Districts', 55.

<sup>548</sup> SCA: MC/23/11/1 (photograph).

<sup>549</sup> SCD 1904 (obituary).

<sup>550</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Canongate, RD 685-03, 041-002.

<sup>551</sup> Ibid.

<sup>552</sup> Ibid.

<sup>553</sup> Ibid.

<sup>554</sup> SCD 1904 (obituary).

<sup>555</sup> Ibid.

<sup>556</sup> Ibid.

<sup>557</sup> Ibid.

<sup>558</sup> Ibid.

<sup>559</sup> Ibid.

- Died 11 Nov 1903 in Edinburgh of a ‘fainting fit and heart failure’<sup>560</sup>



#### OTHER

- Author of *Historical Account of St Mary's Cathedral* (Edinburgh, 1890).
- ‘Truly, the boy was father to the man. One who was his close companion throughout those years [at Blairs] assures us that it was at all times his greatest pleasure to be about the altar and the sacristy, and that for these he was glad to surrender the time rightly allotted and not stintingly in our Catholic Colleges to games and athletic pursuits.’<sup>561</sup>
- ‘Amongst the French students, even ecclesiastical, foreigners, and especially “Les Anglais,” as all the English-speaking students were termed, did not always escape being looked upon with distrust, but Mr. Donlevy, by his severe devotion to college discipline, by his earnest and transparent piety and by the never-failing amiability and courteousness of his disposition and manner, won for himself and always retained the respect and confidence of all. By the superiors of the college he was held in the highest esteem.’<sup>562</sup>
- ‘The 19<sup>th</sup> day of July, 1870, witnessed the declaration of war by the Government of Napoleon III. against Germany. By the nation at large this act was received with acclamations of wild and defiant delight, but within a few weeks, nearly all the fighting strength of France was surrendered at Sedan, and the enemy under the Crown Prince of Prussia was shelling the ramparts of Paris. By the 19<sup>th</sup> of September the investment of the city was

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<sup>560</sup> Ibid.

<sup>561</sup> Ibid.

<sup>562</sup> Ibid.



complete. It was the long vacation at St. Sulpice and the French students had left for their homes by the end of June. The few Scotch subdeacons who remained were smuggled out of the city a few days only before the siege began and made their way homewards. They were all received into Blairs College at the beginning of October.’<sup>563</sup>

- Member of Edinburgh School Board<sup>564</sup>
- His final letter informing of his dying wishes proclaimed: ‘I die in the religion established and maintained by Jesus Christ, that true religion, the Ark of God in the midst of the world, the Catholic Church, where alone are found infallibility and security, and of which I am an unworthy and humble priest.’<sup>565</sup>

## O’Donnell, Alexander (1817-1882)<sup>566</sup>

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 22 Sep 1817 on the Island of St Helena;<sup>567</sup> came to Edinburgh in 1831<sup>568</sup>
- ‘Born in the Island of St. Helena, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> September, 1817, he spent his early years in that solitary spot, and never afterwards forgot one incident, at least, of his childhood’s days. For, in after years he used to say, with his well-known happy smile, that he was one of the few men who had seen the Great Napoleon’s body lowered into its temporary resting place.’<sup>569</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1834 – 1834
- Vaugirard 1834 – 1840
- There he applied himself to the study of classics with an energy that seemed peculiarly his own, and which formed one of the leading traits in his character throughout his entire life.’<sup>570</sup>
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1840 – 1842
- St Sulpice 1842 – 1845
- ‘the far-famed College of St. Sulpice, Paris, where his assiduous attention to study, and to every duty, gained for him well-merited honours’<sup>571</sup>
- Ordained 17 May 1845 in Paris<sup>572</sup>
- Visited Rome after obtaining permission to do so<sup>573</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Dumfries 1845 – 1845
- St Mary’s, Edinburgh 1845 – 1849
- Chaplain to St Margaret’s Convent from 1846-1871 (overlapping)

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<sup>563</sup> Ibid.

<sup>564</sup> Ibid.

<sup>565</sup> Ibid.

<sup>566</sup> SCA: MC/23/14/1-2 (photographs).

<sup>567</sup> SCA: MC/23/14/4 (photograph).

<sup>568</sup> SCD 1883 (obituary).

<sup>569</sup> Ibid.

<sup>570</sup> Ibid.

<sup>571</sup> Ibid.

<sup>572</sup> SCA: MC/23/14/4 (photograph).

<sup>573</sup> SCD 1883 (obituary).

- St Patrick's, Edinburgh 1849 – 1869
- Falkirk 1871 – 1882
- ‘Nor did his energy and activity desert him in his new life at Falkirk. Taking a deep interest in the education of the rising generation, he built in 1880 a School equal in magnificence to any in the town, and in the following year a splendid edifice as a Catholic Institute for the young men of the parish.’<sup>574</sup>
- Made dean of Edinburgh<sup>575</sup>
- Died at Falkirk 24 Aug 1882 after contracting an illness after visiting a distant sick person on foot<sup>576</sup>
- Buried in the Grange cemetery<sup>577</sup>



#### OTHER

- ‘But the inconvenience of walking in all kinds of weather from Brown Square, where he resided from May, 1849, induced the Bishop to offer him a home in his own house at Greenhill, which he occupied from May, 1859, up to the time of its being sold, at Whitsunday, 1864. But his patron and friend was then no more, having passed to his rest on the 24<sup>th</sup> of February in that year. Yet after loving him so long in life, he did not forget him in death. As a last mark of regard for one who for many years had been his constant companion in all his ecclesiastical visitations, Bishop Gillis finally appointed Mr. O’Donnell sole executor of his temporal affairs.’<sup>578</sup>
- ‘In the year 1865, that he might be nearer his beloved children, who in return loved him well, the Dean erected a neat, modest house for himself within the Convent grounds; and is believed at the same time to have added considerably out of his own means to the Convent buildings themselves.’<sup>579</sup>

<sup>574</sup> Ibid.

<sup>575</sup> SCA: MC/23/14/4 (photograph).

<sup>576</sup> SCD 1883 (obituary).

<sup>577</sup> SCA: MC/23/14/4 (photograph).

<sup>578</sup> SCD 1883 (obituary).

<sup>579</sup> Ibid.

## Donnelly, Daniel John (1849-1897)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 24 Jun 1849 in Greenock<sup>580</sup>
- Mother: Fanny (or Frances) Gallacher;<sup>581</sup> born in Ireland<sup>582</sup>
- Father: Peter Donnelly,<sup>583</sup> clothier (employing two men and three boys); born in Ireland<sup>584</sup>  
'After a first-class preliminary education, during which he showed himself a very clever scholar, young Mr. Donnelly entered a lawyer's office in Greenock. But his leanings towards the priesthood were too strong to be resisted'<sup>585</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Rockwell 1864 – 1869
- He 'was in fact looked upon as one of the ablest students in the college'<sup>586</sup>
- Holy Spirit 1869 – 1870
- Forced to flee Paris due to Franco-Prussian War<sup>587</sup>
- Rockwell 1870 – 1871
- Holy Spirit 1871 – 1872
- Bad health forced him to return to Rockwell<sup>588</sup>
- Rockwell 1872 – 1873
- Ordained 30 Nov 1873 in Glasgow

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Johnstone 1873 – 1876
- St Patrick's, Glasgow 1876 – 1876
- Professor at Blairs 1876 – 1878
- Ratho (Easter District) 1878 – 1882
- St Mary's, Glasgow 1882 – 1890
- Strathaven 1890 – 1897
- Died at St Elizabeth's Home, Glasgow, 28 Apr 1897<sup>589</sup>
- Buried at Dalbeth cemetery<sup>590</sup>

### OTHER

- 'During his stay in Paris Mr. Donnelly was, of course, in the midst of the Franco-Prussian War, and he had several exciting experiences. On one occasion, when he was out walking with a fellow-student, he missed his way, and on inquiring was promptly arrested as a spy.'<sup>591</sup>

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<sup>580</sup> *SCD* 1875 (note of ordination).

<sup>581</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Greenock, St Mary's, MP00060000100002-00002-00138-.

<sup>582</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Greenock Old or West, RD 564-03, 029-011.

<sup>583</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Greenock, St Mary's, MP00060000100002-00002-00138-.

<sup>584</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Greenock Old or West, RD 564-03, 029-011.

<sup>585</sup> *SCD* 1898 (obituary).

<sup>586</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>587</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>588</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>589</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>590</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>591</sup> *Ibid.*

- ‘A gifted musician, he organised in Johnstone a Catholic Choral Union, which made several very fine appearances in public.’<sup>592</sup>
- ‘A man of unusual culture, Father Donnelly led a very quiet life. Modest and unassuming to the highest degree, he performed the duties of his sacred office with rigour and exactitude that could not be surpassed. A model priest, he was a living example to his people, and his death at such an early age will be deeply deplored by a wide circle of friends.’<sup>593</sup>

## MacDougall, Donald (1843-1926)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 1843 in Craigston, Barra<sup>594</sup>
- Mother: Christine MacDougall<sup>595</sup>
- Father: Alan MacDougall,<sup>596</sup> crofter and carter<sup>597</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- |                                   |             |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| • Blairs                          | 1858 – 1865 |
| • Douai                           | 1865        |
| • St Sulpice (Issy)               | 1865 – 1867 |
| • St Sulpice                      | 1867 – 1870 |
| • Ordained 15 Jan 1870 in Glasgow |             |

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- |  |             |
|--|-------------|
| • Assistant priest at Maryhill   | 1870        |
| • Bunroy, Lochaber   | 1870 – 1924 |
| • Retired at Glenfinnan  | 1924 – 1926 |
| • Monsignor; Canon; Domestic Prelate                                   |             |
| • Died 6 Oct 1926 in Glenfinnan <sup>598</sup>                         |             |
| • Buried on the Gospel side of the Church in Glenfinnan <sup>599</sup> |             |

### OTHER

- ‘He took an active interest in all that concerned the spiritual and temporal welfare of his parishioners.’<sup>600</sup>
- ‘He was proud of the traditional fidelity of his flock to the faith of their fathers, and in turn they loved the pastor who in his demeanour and work portrayed to them the ideal of the Highland priest, the man of God and the servant of men.’<sup>601</sup>

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<sup>592</sup> Ibid.

<sup>593</sup> Ibid.

<sup>594</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>595</sup> Ibid.

<sup>596</sup> Ibid.

<sup>597</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Stornoway, RD 088-00, 006-002.

<sup>598</sup> *SCD* 1927 (obituary).

<sup>599</sup> Ibid.

<sup>600</sup> Ibid.

<sup>601</sup> Ibid.

## Dowling, James (1855-1923)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 14 Jan 1855<sup>602</sup> in Dundee<sup>603</sup>
- Mother: Bridget Donohy,<sup>604</sup> from Ireland<sup>605</sup>
- Father: John Dowling,<sup>606</sup> cloth lapper, from Ireland<sup>607</sup>
- Sister Ellen a factory worker at age 16<sup>608</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1869 – 1874
- Douai 1874 – 1876
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1876 – 1877
- Had a serious accident in 1877 ('the fracture of a limb and a painful injury to an eye')<sup>609</sup> and had his studies interrupted 'for a considerable time'<sup>610</sup>
- Joined French Society of Missionaries for West Africa
- Training College of Lyon 1878? – 1881
- Ordained for the Congregation of the Holy Spirit (Congregatio Sancti Spiritus)<sup>611</sup> at Lyon in 1881<sup>612</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Professor at a secular college in Egypt
- A holiday in Palestine; 'As a pilgrim he visited Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and other places sacred to Christian memory, and was familiar with Syria, with the islands of the Mediterranean, and Athens, the capital of Greece.'<sup>613</sup>
- Political unrest, followed by commercial and financial troubles in Egypt forced his superiors to seek external aid: 'With the consent of the Catholic Bishops of Australia, the French Superior deputed Father Dowling to undertake the arduous and trying work of gathering funds among the Catholics of that Continent.'
- Returned to Egypt 1893; granted a holiday in Scotland
- 'During his stay in Dundee the aspirations of his youth to missionary life in Scotland were naturally reawakened, and the idea of working in the Diocese of Dunkeld seized hold of his being. His religious superiors, when petitioned by him for leave to remain in Scotland, admitted the reasonableness of his request, and, acknowledging that he had already done much good work for their Society, readily dispensed him from his missionary vows.'<sup>614</sup>
- Immaculate Conception, Dundee 1893 – 1899
- Mission of Monifieth 1899 – 1900
- Crieff 1900 – 1902

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<sup>602</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Dundee, St Andrew's, MP003900001-00002-00001-00115-.

<sup>603</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>604</sup> Ibid.

<sup>605</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Dundee Second District, RD 282-02, 041-006.

<sup>606</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>607</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Dundee Second District, RD 282-02, 041-006.

<sup>608</sup> Ibid.

<sup>609</sup> *SCD* 1924 (obituary).

<sup>610</sup> Ibid.

<sup>611</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>612</sup> Johnson, *Scottish Catholic Secular Clergy*, 148.

<sup>613</sup> *SCD* 1924 (obituary).

<sup>614</sup> Ibid.

- Doune 1902 – 1922
- Forced to retire in 1922 due to illness: ‘A sickness, treacherous in its stealthy advance, seized him over a year ago, and suddenly and alarmingly developed. He sought strength and help in prayer and Holy Communion. For a considerable time of his sickness he resided in the Presbytery at Doune, but, through the gracious generosity of a truly Catholic gentleman – General Stirling of Keir – who was devoted to Canon Dowling, a cottage situated amid the quiet, sylvan beauty of the Keir estate was allotted to him, free of rent for the rest of his natural life.’
- Died at Doune 27 Feb 1923
- Buried at Balgay cemetery, Dundee

#### OTHER

- [At Blairs] ‘He displayed also a talent for the arts of music and painting, which he so cultivated as to become no mean musician and painter. Throughout his stay at Blairs he won and retained the goodwill and affection of his fellow-students by the natural, unaffected gaiety and cheerfulness of his disposition – qualities ever conspicuous in him throughout his subsequent career.’<sup>615</sup>
- ‘By nature Canon Dowling was of a retiring, unassuming disposition, and loathed what is called the limelight. He laboured, as he could, in the conscientious though obscure discharge of his priestly duties, buoyed up and contented with the feeling, the conviction, that he was doing work for God’s glory and for his neighbour’s good.’<sup>616</sup>

### Drysdale, John Romeo (1835-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 2 Sep 1835 in Glasgow, Lanarkshire<sup>617</sup>
- Mother: Ann Donnelly,<sup>618</sup> born in Ireland<sup>619</sup>
- Father: Jarvis Drysdale,<sup>620</sup> painter<sup>621</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1851 – 1852
- Douai 1852 – 1857
- St Sulpice 1857 – 1859
- ‘Dismissed’<sup>622</sup> from St Sulpice with ‘no vocation’ in 1859<sup>623</sup>

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<sup>615</sup> Ibid.

<sup>616</sup> Ibid.

<sup>617</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Glasgow, St Andrew’s, MP006200001-00002-00004-00046-.

<sup>618</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>619</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Marriages): Glasgow, St Andrew’s, MP006200001-00004-00001-00242-.

<sup>620</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>621</sup> SPC: Old Parish Registers (Marriages): Glasgow, RD 644-01, 0410.

<sup>622</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>623</sup> SCA: ED/8/18/6, Élèves rentrés en Ecosse – District de l’Est.

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- In 1861, 'light porter' in Glasgow<sup>624</sup>
- In 1881, married to Sarah (power loom cotton weaver), working as a labourer, with five children<sup>625</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Dundas, William (1809-1838)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 23 Sep 1808 in Newmill near Keith, Banffshire<sup>626</sup>
- Mother: Joanna Young<sup>627</sup>
- Father: James Dundas<sup>628</sup>

#### STUDIES (Lowland District; Northern District)

- Aquhorties 1822 – 1828
- St Nicolas 1828
- St Sulpice 1828 – 1830
- Forced to flee France due to Revolution
- Blairs 1830 – 1832
- Ordained 3 Jul 1832 at Blairs<sup>629</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Preshome 1832 – 1834
- Chapeltown, Glenlivet 1834 – 1838
- Died 9 Dec 1838 in Chapeltown, Glenlivet<sup>630</sup>

#### OTHER

- No obituary (due to a gap in the SCD publication).

## E

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### MacEachron, John (1818-1898)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 18 May 1818 in Macduff, Banff<sup>631</sup>
- Mother: Christina Strand<sup>632</sup>

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<sup>624</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Calton, RD 644-04, 093-005.

<sup>625</sup> SPC: Census 1881: Camlachie, RD 644-02, 026-001.

<sup>626</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>627</sup> Ibid.

<sup>628</sup> Ibid.

<sup>629</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>630</sup> Johnson, 'The Northern and Eastern Districts', 31.

<sup>631</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>632</sup> Ibid.

- Father: Lachlan MacEachron<sup>633</sup>
- ‘of a family of good repute in that thriving burgh’<sup>634</sup>
- Convert from Calvinism: ‘At an early age he came under Catholic influences. Soon after being received into the Church, he put himself into the hands of Bishop Kyle, who seeing in him promising signs of a vocation to the priesthood, sent him to college.’<sup>635</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1840 – 1845
- Scots College Rome 1845 – 1848
- ‘I have often heard his fellow-students speak of him. Being older than his class mates, and somewhat sedate in manner, he had not much of the boy in him. Although he did not join in the rougher games of the students, he was always cheerful and kindly towards his companions, with whom he was a great favourite. He was hard student, and took every advantage of the tuition he received from the highly cultured professors of the Gregorian University.’<sup>636</sup>
- Ordained 21 May 1848 at Rome
- St Sulpice (as his special request) 1848 – 1850

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Preshome 1849 – 1852
- Portsoy 1852 – 1873
- Chapelton, Glenlivet 1873 – 1892
- Dufftown 1892 – 1898
- Died 7 Jul 1898 in Dufftown<sup>637</sup>
- Buried in the old churchyard at Mortlach<sup>638</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘There was one outstanding feature of Fr. M’Eachron, and that was his oratorical power. I have no hesitation in saying that he was one of the most powerful orators. He was *facile princeps* the first and foremost among us. I ought, perhaps, to hesitate to say in public what I had often heard said in private, that his powers in this respect were, if not wasted, at least not made available as they might have been – not because they were not appreciated, but because, doubtless, the circumstances and the restricted sphere of our diocese did not permit otherwise. His own shrinking and retiring modesty was also a great factor in keeping him in the background. Given the opportunity, given a larger sphere, his name and his fame would have spread throughout the land. But name and fame were the last things in the thoughts and wishes of the good priest. I remember on one occasion he was doing duty for neighbouring priest. When it became known that Fr. M’Eachron was to preach, large numbers came to hear him, and the church was literally crammed with an expectant congregation. They went away greatly disappointed. He did not preach, but contented himself with remarking that they had no doubt not exhausted the excellent sermon they had heard last

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<sup>633</sup> Ibid.

<sup>634</sup> *SCD* 1899 (obituary).

<sup>635</sup> Ibid.

<sup>636</sup> Ibid.

<sup>637</sup> Ibid.

<sup>638</sup> Ibid.



Sunday, and could profitably take another week to digest it thoroughly. I happened to say something to him about it. Looking at me with his large expressive eyes, he said – “Well, perhaps I was wrong, but I did not like the idea of making an exhibition, and I thought that many had come rather from idle curiosity than a higher motive. Besides I wished them to see that I took for granted they always came in such numbers.”<sup>639</sup>

- ‘A striking characteristic of Fr. M’Eachron’s life was his large-hearted sympathy and tolerance of others. There was nothing mean about him; he was singularly outspoken, but ever ready to make an allowance for other people, and to give them credit for good faith and honest intention when he could not approve of their actions. How much of the ill-will and misunderstandings of life are due to the non-observance of this virtue. Fr. M’Eachron was a humble as well as a retiring man, and was not much known beyond the limits of his own and neighbouring missions, but by every one within these limits he was respected, admired, revered and loved. He had a singular fascination of manner, which caused him to be much sought after, but nothing delighted him more than friendly intercourse with his brother priests. He read a great deal and was gifted with a most retentive memory, which enabled him to embellish and cap the most ordinary conversation with apt sayings and quotations from the great authors of the past. When he spoke, not only the tongue but the whole man spoke – the kindling eye, the easy moving hands, the mobile and facile face.’<sup>640</sup>

## Egan, Peter C. (1855-19xx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 27 May 1855 in Dundee<sup>641</sup>
- Mother: Bridget Gannan,<sup>642</sup> general broker, widow and head of family in 1861; from Ireland<sup>643</sup>
- Father: John Egan<sup>644</sup>
- One servant and five lodgers in 1861; two rooms with windows<sup>645</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1870 – 1874
- Douai 1874 – 1876
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1876 – 1877
- Left May 1877<sup>646</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Unmarried ‘law-clerk’ in 1881, living with mother in her household<sup>647</sup>

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<sup>639</sup> Ibid.

<sup>640</sup> Ibid.

<sup>641</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>642</sup> Ibid.

<sup>643</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Dundee First District, RD 282-01, 007-006.

<sup>644</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>645</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Dundee First District, RD 282-01, 007-006.

<sup>646</sup> SCA: ED/8/46 (Bishop Strain: Students at Various Colleges, 1872-81).

<sup>647</sup> SPC: Census 1881: St Andrew, RD 282-04, 002-030.

- In 1891 married to Alice, and Irish dressmaker, with four children; profession still ‘law-clerk’<sup>648</sup>
- By 1901 six children, the eldest of which an apprentice ship clerk<sup>649</sup>
- In the 1911 census, listed as marine engineer; six surviving children of seven born alive<sup>650</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

## F

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### Farquharson, John James (1839-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 24 Jun 1839 in Glasgow<sup>651</sup>
- Mother: Jean McCorrell<sup>652</sup>
- Father: John Farquharson,<sup>653</sup> agricultural labourer<sup>654</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- |         |             |
|---------|-------------|
| • Douai | 1852 – 1853 |
| • Douai | 1856 – 1857 |

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Farrell, William (1839-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 4 May 1839 in Creetown<sup>655</sup>
- Mother: Agnes Gillespie<sup>656</sup>
- Father: James Farrell,<sup>657</sup> chimney-sweeper<sup>658</sup>
- Parents born in Ireland<sup>659</sup>

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<sup>648</sup> SPC: Census 1891: St Peter, RD 282-01, 032-018.

<sup>649</sup> SPC: Census 1901: St Peter, RD 282-01, 030-017.

<sup>650</sup> SPC: Census 1911: St Andrew, RD 282-04, 008-004.

<sup>651</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>652</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Duthil, RD 096-B1, 001-013.

<sup>653</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Glasgow, St Andrew’s, MP006200001-00002-00004-00271-.

<sup>654</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Duthil, RD 096-B1, 001-013.

<sup>655</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>656</sup> Ibid.

<sup>657</sup> Ibid.

<sup>658</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Kirkcudbright, RD 871-00, 003-010.

<sup>659</sup> Ibid.

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1853 – 1857
- Douai 1857 – 1859
- In January, 1859, Farrell was listed with his progress as ‘satisfactory’, conduct as ‘very good’, character as ‘very quiet’ and health as ‘good’<sup>660</sup>
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1859 – 1861
- St Sulpice 1861 – 1864
- Farrell ‘is [...] a pious pupil, steady, but with a great weakness of constitution.’<sup>661</sup>
- Ordained 12 Jul 1864, Glasgow

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Kirkcudbright 1864
- St Mary’s, Edinburgh 1864 – 1865
- Lennoxtown 1865
- Crofthead by Bathgate 1865 – 1867
- St Mary’s, Dundee 1868
- In 1868 dismissed from the Mission for drinking<sup>662</sup>

#### OTHER

- No obituary.

### Fletcher, Alexander (1808-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 11 Aug 1808 in Glasgow; baptised by Andrew Scott<sup>663</sup>
- Mother: Margaret McNab<sup>664</sup>
- Father: John Fletcher, Esquire<sup>665</sup>
- ‘I had just finished this letter when Alex: Fletcher came in. Mr Scott wrote to me 30 of July last that this young man wished very much to be admitted here on our funds for the Scotch Mission. As there was plenty of Room vacant & as I had no time to write to Y[ou]r Lordship as Mr Scott informed me that if I did not answer by return of post by the 1<sup>st</sup> of August the young man would return to Usha anxious to admit him for the English Mission I answered that he would be received.’<sup>666</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Ushaw<sup>667</sup>
- St Nicolas 1824 – 1829
- St Sulpice 1829 – 1830

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<sup>660</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/10, Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 24 Jan 1859.

<sup>661</sup> ‘[Il] est [...] un élève pieux, régulier, mais d’une grande faiblesse de constitution.’ SCA: ED/8/18/6, Duplessy’s notes on students, Paris, 22 Aug 1863.

<sup>662</sup> Johnson, ‘The Northern and Eastern Districts’, 49.

<sup>663</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Glasgow, St Andrew’s, MP006200001-00001-00002-00009-.

<sup>664</sup> Ibid.

<sup>665</sup> Ibid.

<sup>666</sup> SCA: BL/5/156/7, Paterson to Cameron, 18 Sep 1824.

<sup>667</sup> Ibid.

- Returned to Scotland due to revolutionary unrest in 1830

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Forbes, Alexander (1843-1919)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 16 Jun 1843 in Fuaranbuie, Beaully<sup>668</sup>
- Mother: Grace McKay,<sup>669</sup> bobbin yarn winder; widow<sup>670</sup>
- Father: Donald Forbes<sup>671</sup>
- In the 1851 census, the young Alexander is listed as a cotton mill worker, like his two sisters; older brother 'coal miner'<sup>672</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1860 – 1863
- Douai 1863 – 1866
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1866 – 1868
- St Sulpice 1868 – 1870
- Returned to Scotland due to Franco-Prussian war<sup>673</sup>
- Blairs 1870 – 1871
- Ordained 31 May 1871 at Blairs

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Charge of Dornie in Kintail 1871 – 1873
- Nairn 1873 – 1874
- Transferred to the Western District
- Bornish, South Uist 1874 – 1877
- Daliborg, South Uist 1877 – 1879
- Retired in 1879 due to ill health<sup>674</sup>
- In Germany for a short time before returning to Scotland<sup>675</sup>
- Died 13 Jun 1919 in Eskadale, Beaully<sup>676</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

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<sup>668</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Eskadale, St Mary's, MP002100001-00002-00001-00075-

<sup>669</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>670</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Abbey, RD 559-00, 015-004.

<sup>671</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>672</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Abbey, RD 559-00, 015-004.

<sup>673</sup> *SCD* 1920 (obituary).

<sup>674</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>675</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>676</sup> *Ibid.*

## Forbes, George Gordon (1831-1869)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 30 Mar 1831 in Dufftown, Banffshire<sup>677</sup>
- Mother: Helen Ferguson<sup>678</sup>
- Father: James Forbes,<sup>679</sup> baker<sup>680</sup>
- Brother to James Joseph Forbes [138]

### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1845 – 1847
- Valladolid 1847 – 1853
- St Sulpice 1853 – 1855
- Ordained 25 Jul 1855 at Preshome

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Elgin 1855
- Glengairn 1855 – 1866
- Fell ill during a fundraising trip in 1864; spent some time at Preshome
- Placed in Aberdeen Lunatic Asylum in 1866, and then in asylum in Bruges:<sup>681</sup> ‘In April 1866 he again fell into bad health; but after passing some time on the Continent he recovered’<sup>682</sup>
- Chaplain in a convent in the South of England in 1867<sup>683</sup>
- Returned to Aberdeen in 1867
- Transferred to Eastern District
- St Patrick's, Edinburgh 1867 – 1868
- Requested a transfer
- Alloa 1868 – 1869
- Died 17 Jun 1869 in Alloa of an ‘affection of the lungs’<sup>684</sup>
- Buried at the New Cemetery<sup>685</sup>

### OTHER

- [unknown]

## Forbes, James Joseph (1822-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 10 Dec 1822 in Aberdeen<sup>686</sup>
- Mother: Helen Ferguson<sup>687</sup>

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<sup>677</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>678</sup> Ibid.

<sup>679</sup> Ibid.

<sup>680</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Pittenweem, RD 452-00, 002-033.

<sup>681</sup> Johnson, ‘The Northern and Eastern Districts’, 31.

<sup>682</sup> SCD 1870 (obituary).

<sup>683</sup> Ibid.

<sup>684</sup> Ibid.

<sup>685</sup> Ibid.

<sup>686</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>687</sup> Ibid.

- Father: James Forbes,<sup>688</sup> baker<sup>689</sup>
- Brother to George Gordon Forbes [169]

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Vaugirard 1838 – 1841
- St Sulpice 1841 – 1848
- Returned to Scotland because of the Revolution
- Blairs 1848
- Ordained 3 May 1848 at Blairs

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Glengairn 1848 – 1850
- Transferred to Western District
- St Mary's, Glasgow 1850
- St John's, Glasgow 1850 – 1851
- Cumnock (sickness cover) 1851
- Chaplain to Infirmary and Poorhouses in Glasgow 1851 – 1852
- Disappeared from the Mission 1852<sup>690</sup>
- Joined the Free Kirk for a time<sup>691</sup>
- Was with the Trappists in Ireland<sup>692</sup>
- Believed to have gone subsequently to France and then to Nova Scotia<sup>693</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Forbes, Peter (1800-1872)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Baptised 7 Aug 1800 in Tomintoul<sup>694</sup>
- Mother: Helen Stuart<sup>695</sup>
- Father: Alexander Forbes,<sup>696</sup> tenant farmer; rented the farm of Tullich from the Duke of Gordon<sup>697</sup>

#### STUDIES (Lowland District; Western District)

- Aquhorties 1822 – 1828
- St Sulpice 1828 – 1830
- ‘Seminary of St Sulpice, Paris [...] is well-known over the world for the great number of learned and zealous priests educated within its hallowed precincts. Mr Forbes’ subsequent career as a missionary proved

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<sup>688</sup> Ibid.

<sup>689</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Pittenweem, RD 452-00, 002-033.

<sup>690</sup> Johnson, ‘The Northern and Eastern Districts’, 31.

<sup>691</sup> Ibid.

<sup>692</sup> Ibid.

<sup>693</sup> Ibid.

<sup>694</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Tomintoul, MP003500001-00001-00001-00028-.

<sup>695</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>696</sup> Ibid.

<sup>697</sup> SCD 1873 (obituary).

unmistakeably how well he profited by the lessons of piety and learning he received in that celebrated house.’<sup>698</sup>

- Forced to flee France due to revolution: ‘During his residence in France occurred one of those political tempests that so frequently sweep over the face of that country. The Revolution of the “Three Glorious Days” dethroned Charles X, inaugurated an ephemeral Republic hostile to religion, and forced Mr. Forbes, much to his regret, to quit a sanctuary that had had so many charms for him.’<sup>699</sup>
- Blairs 1830 – 1832
- ‘His fellow-students are unanimous in asserting that when at college he applied himself diligently to his studies, and was a conscientious observer of the rules of the house. He always showed an ardent desire to advance in Christian and sacerdotal virtues, and especially in studying theology he manifested that fervent zeal for the salvation of souls that shone so conspicuously in him throughout the whole course of his missionary career.’<sup>700</sup>
- Ordained 3 Jul 1832 at Blairs

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Andrew's, Glasgow 1832 – 1833
- Dalbeattie 1833
- St Andrew's, Glasgow 1833 – 1839
- Collecting money and recruiting priests for the Scottish Mission 1839-1842, mostly in Ireland: ‘On his return to Scotland he had realised the sum of about £3,000, and he was accompanied by four Irish Priests, on whom he had prevailed to come and labour among their fellow-countrymen in the west of Scotland. He shortly afterwards went back again to endeavour to procure a new supply of Priests for this country, and with the consent of Dr Scott he remained for a considerable time in the Seminary of Youghal, as a professor, teaching the clerical students who had agreed to give their services to the Scotch mission.’<sup>701</sup>
- St Mary's, Glasgow 1842 – 1872
- 1846 fundraising trips to North of France and Ireland in order to invite Religious communities to Glasgow<sup>702</sup>
- ‘A serious illness’; 1871 went to Culdaff, Northern Ireland, in hopes of recovery, but upon return had a stroke<sup>703</sup>
- Died 24 Aug 1872 at St Mary’s, Glasgow, after partial paralysis<sup>704</sup>
- Buried in a vault at St Mary’s, Glasgow<sup>705</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘I had a long conversation with Dr Conolly about the state of Religion in Scotland &c. and he says that it is a pity there is not a better understanding, and a more regular communication between the Bishops of the three Kingdoms. He says he considers that at every general meeting of Irish Bps

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<sup>698</sup> Ibid.

<sup>699</sup> Ibid.

<sup>700</sup> Ibid.

<sup>701</sup> Ibid.

<sup>702</sup> Ibid.

<sup>703</sup> Ibid.

<sup>704</sup> Ibid.

<sup>705</sup> Ibid.

there should always be one of the Bps of Scotland and one from England present and on the other hand that to every special meeting of English or Scotch Bps one Irish Bp should be deputed.’<sup>706</sup>

- ‘In course of a year or two I hope we will not be in such need for Priests. We have a few here already studying Theology, and after Christmas we will have Please Providence I suppose eight or nine more. But do you know what I conceive would be the best and most effectual way to get Priests and good Priests, It is here – So take for instance a few of those young men – of these for substance – ready to begin Philosophy or Rhetoric at any rate and bring them over to Scotland to our own College or to send them to some of our own colleges abroad and let them finish there. After taking first the Mission Oath. Too when left here to the end they have such an attachment to Rome, and besides there are so many Bishops looking forth good ones at any rate that there can never be any very great security. Whereas were they in our own colleges they would be bound, their needs would be made up and they would be secure. Then what a difference between letting one of them as a mere child in. What a deal of time and expense lev[i]ed and at the same time excellent subjects secured for the Mission.’<sup>707</sup>
- ‘In every large town there are found many hardened sinners who conceal themselves in the crown, and thus elude the vigilance of their pastors. Mr Forbes seemed to have a special aptitude in detecting, converting, and making them good members of Society and the Church. He was accustomed to keep a register in which their names and places of abode were marked down, that no one might be lost sight of. He had scouts out in every quarter to discover for him those strayed sheep; and no one could do him greater service than by putting him in communication with some notorious sinner who had hitherto eluded his vigilance. His zeal and charity were such that he never despaired of the most abandoned; and although sulkiness and disrespect were generally the first reward of his solicitude, those whom he thus gained, so to speak, in spite of themselves, generally ended by becoming his warmest friends and admirers. His thirst for the salvation of sinners was never satiated, and although he was often ridiculed, and frequently met with opposition well calculated to damp his ardour, he persevered to the end in his incessant activity. He had but one passion, a very strong one, – and that was to save souls; and he evinced as much zeal for the non-catholic as for those who had always belonged to the household of the faith.’<sup>708</sup>
- Had an eye for property (purchasing of land and buildings; maintenance);<sup>709</sup> got into some trouble with his Bishop for attempting to make a deal with two Irish Jesuits.
- <sup>710</sup>‘He was a very effective and earnest preacher.’<sup>711</sup>

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<sup>706</sup> SCA: OL/2/39/7, Peter Forbes to Bp Scott, Dublin 29 Apr 1839.

<sup>707</sup> SCA: OL/2/62/6, Forbes to a Bishop, Youghal 24 Oct 1841.

<sup>708</sup> SCD 1873 (obituary).

<sup>709</sup> Ibid.

<sup>710</sup> Bernard Aspinwall, ‘The Formation of a British Identity within Scottish Catholicism, 1830-1914’, 276-277, in Robert Pope (ed.), *Religion and National Identity: Wales and Scotland c. 1700-2000* (Cardiff, 2001), 268-306.

<sup>711</sup> Ibid.



- Temperance pledge: ‘He did not ask of others to do what he himself did not practice; for he was a rigid abstainer during the who course of his sacerdotal career.’<sup>712</sup>
- [Cambrai discussions facilitated by P. Forbes on his fundraising trip; Archbishop agreed to have ‘deux ou trois elevés ecossais’]: ‘Cambrai is abraded especially for its Theology’ [...] In the beginning of this week I was at Aire. Poor Chisholm was dead and buried before I reached – the others are all well, and seem happy enough. Their superiors also are well pleased with them. [...] Also one of the professors told me that he thought it would be much better to send them young, - because then they could learn the French much faster, and become much more easily habituated to the place.’ [earlier rather than just for Philosophy]<sup>713</sup>

## Fox, Thomas (1839-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 14 Mar 1839 in Folkestone, Kent, England<sup>714</sup>
- Mother: Elizabeth Fitzgerald,<sup>715</sup> born in Ireland<sup>716</sup>
- Father: John Fox,<sup>717</sup> coast guard, born in England<sup>718</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1851 – 1852
- Douai 1852 – 1855
- ‘Gave up’ in June 1855<sup>719</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- In 1871, the census lists his profession as ‘cork cutter’, although at the time he was a patient at an Arbroath infirmary<sup>720</sup>

### OTHER

- [unknown]

## Fraser, Francis C. (1858-1880)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 29 Apr 1858 in Applecross, Ross-shire<sup>721</sup>
- Mother: Maria Grant<sup>722</sup>

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<sup>712</sup> Ibid.

<sup>713</sup> SCA: OL/2/72/5, Peter Forbes to Bp Scott, [Haubaudin], France, 8 Sep 1846.

<sup>714</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>715</sup> Ibid.

<sup>716</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Peterhead, RD 232-00, 001-013.

<sup>717</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>718</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Peterhead, RD 232-00, 001-013.

<sup>719</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

<sup>720</sup> SPC: Census 1871: Arbroath, RD 272-00, 029-011.

<sup>721</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>722</sup> Ibid.

- Father: Charles Fraser,<sup>723</sup> gamekeeper<sup>724</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1870 – 1876
- Douai 1876 – 1877
- Rome (Propaganda?)<sup>725</sup> 1877 – 1880
- Died in Rome 1 Aug 1880

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [n/a]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Fraser, Robert (1858-1914)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 10 Aug 1858 in Wardhouse, Kennethmont, Aberdeenshire<sup>726</sup>
- Mother: Joanna Anna Gordon<sup>727</sup>
- Father: Robert Fraser,<sup>728</sup> railway station agent,<sup>729</sup> died when Robert was still young<sup>730</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Designed initially for commercial education, so studied under Dr Rennet, ‘a famous teacher of mathematics’<sup>731</sup>
- Blairs 1872 – 1875
- ‘During his stay at Blairs he enjoyed in a high degree the esteem of the bishops, and often work of a very confidential character was placed in his hands.’<sup>732</sup>
- Douai 1875 – 1877
- Scots College Rome 1877 – 1880
- Continued his studies further to achieve a degree of Doctor in sacred theology (LL.D.)<sup>733</sup>
- Ordained 13 Aug 1882 in Rome

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Professor at Blairs 1883 – 1897
- Rector at Scots College Rome 1897 – 1913

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<sup>723</sup> Ibid.

<sup>724</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Kilmallie, RD 520-00, 003-015.

<sup>725</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>726</sup> Ibid.

<sup>727</sup> Ibid.

<sup>728</sup> Ibid.

<sup>729</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Kinnethmoth, RD 212-00, 009-002.

<sup>730</sup> *SCD* 1915 (obituary).

<sup>731</sup> Ibid.

<sup>732</sup> Ibid.

<sup>733</sup> Ibid.

- ‘While at Rome he acted as agent and representative of the Scottish bishops with the Holy See’; also a *persona grata* at the Vatican<sup>734</sup>
- Received honorary degrees from Universities of Aberdeen and St Andrews<sup>735</sup>
- Ordained Bishop of Dunkeld 25 May 1913 at Rome; enthroned at Dundee in June 1913<sup>736</sup>
- Died 10 months into his episcopate 28 Mar 1914 in Dundee of an ‘internal sore’ and surgery, from which did not recover<sup>737</sup>
- Buried at Balgay Cemetery<sup>738</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘After his long connection with Rome, he had naturally a paternal interest in what is often a “no man’s land” – the Italian community in our midst. He was the means of bringing an Italian Sister of Charity to Dundee for purposes of visitation among her compatriots, and he gathered the Italians of the city for regular monthly services in their own language.’<sup>739</sup>
- ‘He was business-like to the finger tips. He loved work simply for its own sake.’<sup>740</sup>
- He had ‘a certain impulsiveness of mind, impatience of delay’, careless of details at times as well as minor graces of style in speech and writing, brusqueness of manner which sometimes offended.’<sup>741</sup>

### French, James (1823-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 16 Feb 1823 in Glasgow<sup>742</sup>
- Mother: Anna Davies<sup>743</sup>
- Father: James French,<sup>744</sup> paper-maker,<sup>745</sup> widower in 1841<sup>746</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1834 – 1835
- Vaugirard 1835 – 1838
- Left Vaugirard in 1838<sup>747</sup>

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<sup>734</sup> Ibid.

<sup>735</sup> Ibid.

<sup>736</sup> Ibid.

<sup>737</sup> Ibid.

<sup>738</sup> Ibid.

<sup>739</sup> Ibid.

<sup>740</sup> Ibid.

<sup>741</sup> Ibid.

<sup>742</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>743</sup> Ibid.

<sup>744</sup> Ibid.

<sup>745</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Barony, RD 622-00, 067-017.

<sup>746</sup> Ibid.

<sup>747</sup> SCA: OL/2/36/8, Daniel O’Neill to Scott, Vaugirard 8 Aug 1838 (letter carried by James French). O’Neill explained that he had no idea French was either unwell or unhappy as he reported everything was well in his previous letter.

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- 'Millwright A.P.' in the 1841 census, living alone with elderly father<sup>748</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

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### Gall, John (1822-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 7 Oct 1822 in Aberdeen<sup>749</sup>
- Mother: Barbara Canickshanks<sup>750</sup>
- Father: John Gall<sup>751</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1835 – 1837
- Vaugirard 1837 – 1842
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1842 – 1845?
- St Sulpice 1845? – 1847
- Ordained Jul 1847 in Preshome

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Portsoy 1848 – 1852
- Banff 1852 – 1862
- Transferred to Western District in 1862<sup>752</sup>
- St John's, Glasgow 1862 – 1865
- Left the Scottish Mission in 1865<sup>753</sup>
- In an Asylum at Bruges 1865 – 1866
- In Ireland 1866 – 1868
- Returned to Bruges 1868<sup>754</sup>
- No further record<sup>755</sup>

#### OTHER

- No obituary.

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<sup>748</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Barony, RD 622-00, 067-017.

<sup>749</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>750</sup> Ibid.

<sup>751</sup> Ibid.

<sup>752</sup> Johnson, 'The Northern and Eastern Districts', 32.

<sup>753</sup> Ibid.

<sup>754</sup> Ibid.

<sup>755</sup> Ibid.

## Gartly, George (1818-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 25 Mar 1818<sup>756</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Vaugirard 1834 – 1840
- Rome?

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

### OTHER

- ‘I forgot last week when speaking of our French students to request you to write to Monsieur Fery relative to one of mine there. I propose to send Gartly to propaganda to fill the place of Gillis who comes home this year, because Gartly has been always wishing to get to Rome, and because all my Subjects at Blairs are yet young and I am afraid they would not keep their health at Propaganda during all the years they would have to remain there to finish their studies. Of course I will send one from Blairs to Paris to fill Gartly’s place there. I wish Gartly to set out from Paris to Rome when the vacation begins in August. But how will that time tally with the time of Mr Sharp’s getting the semestre for our students? Gartly has money of his own to pay his expenses to Rome, and it matters little with regard to his payment, farther than if he removed in the midst of a semestre, perhaps Monsieur Fery would not recover the half semestre to pay his board due at Vaugirard.’<sup>757</sup>
- ‘As I gave notice already to two of my students at Blairs to prepare for going to Paris about the end of this month, I hope you will prevail on Monsieur Fery to Receive them, in the places of O’Neil, deceased, and of Gartly who starts for Rome this month. Should the funds not continue to be able to maintain the present number, I will have one [von] Dr Keenan, coming home next year, and another [Wm] Gordon the year following and I shall not think of filling up their places unless Monsieur Fery thinks there could be funds to maintain them.’<sup>758</sup>
- ‘I mentioned to the Cardinal, that Gartley from Paris was to be sent to Propaganda. His eminence positively declared that he would not receive him [...]. I presume what he alluded to, was an established rule, in all the Colleges in Rome, not to receive any one that has been before in a College on the continent, & especially from Paris. [...] I learn that Gartly whom, you propose sending here, is now about 30 years of age; that he has been for five years at Paris. I cannot understand what induces you to send him here. Why not allow him to finish his studies where he is? I sincerely wish & hope this letter will reach you in time enough to stop him. Considering his age & the length of time he has been at Paris, where as I learn, discipline is not very exact, I fear much, he would not give satisfaction here.’<sup>759</sup>

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<sup>756</sup> AN: CRD1838.

<sup>757</sup> SCA: DD/1/9/10, Bp Scott to Gillis, Greenock 13 Jun 1839.

<sup>758</sup> SCA: DD/1/9/16, Bp Scott to Gillis, Greenock, 15 Aug 1839.

<sup>759</sup> SCA: OL/2/42/15, Abbé MacPherson to Bp Scott, Rome 21 Aug 1839.

## Geddes, Adam (1830-1856)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 21 Sep 1830<sup>760</sup> in Cuffurragh, Enzie, Banffshire<sup>761</sup>
- Mother: Margaret Green<sup>762</sup>
- Father: Alexander Geddes,<sup>763</sup> agricultural labourer<sup>764</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1843 – 1844
- Aire 1844 – 1847
- Cambrai 1847 – 1854
- Ordained 10 Jun 1854 in Glasgow

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Andrew's, Glasgow 1854
- Pollokshaws 1854 – 1856
- Died 5 Nov 1856 at Pollockshaws of typhus fever.<sup>765</sup> His death, like his life, was most edifying. In the beginning of his illness, he had received the last Sacraments, and, though he suffered severely from the fever, he became perfectly conscious in his last moments, blessed his sorrowing attendants, and calmly expired with the crucifix pressed to his lips.<sup>766</sup>
- Buried in the Catholic Cemetery of Dalbeth, next to Rev. Russell<sup>767</sup>

### OTHER

- ‘a most exemplary and laborious pastor [...] Mr. Geddes was beloved by every one, both priests and people, and his late congregation will long mourn his loss. So mild and amiable was his disposition that, while in the Seminary, he had endeared himself not only to his fellow-students, but also to a large number of priests in the diocese. His whole heart was in the work of his mission and in the spiritual improvement of his people.’<sup>768</sup>

## Geddes, Bruce (1851-1906)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 20 Feb 1851 in Hanagalla, Ceylon, India<sup>769</sup>
- Mother: Bathurst Geddes, from Leith, farmer's wife, widow by 1861<sup>770</sup>
- Father: Alexander Geddes, farmer employing agricultural labourers<sup>771</sup>

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<sup>760</sup> *SCD* 1857 (obituary).

<sup>761</sup> *SCA*: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>762</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>763</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>764</sup> *SPC*: Census 1841: Enzie, RD 152-00, 002-011.

<sup>765</sup> *SCD* 1857 (obituary).

<sup>766</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>767</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>768</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>769</sup> *SCA*: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>770</sup> *SPC*: Census 1861: Longside, RD 218-00, 001-001.

<sup>771</sup> *SPC*: Census 1841: Crimond, RD 184-00, 001-001.

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1865 – 1871
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1871 – 1873
- St Sulpice 1873 – 1876
- Ordained 10 Jun 1876 at Paris

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Patrick's, Edinburgh 1876
- St Mary's, Dundee 1876 – 1879
- Cupar, Fife 1879 – 1885
- Dunblane 1885 – 1889
- Montrose 1889 – 1893
- Left for the Canary Isles due to lung trouble ('It was during his incumbency at Montrose that he was attacked with a serious pulmonary trouble which necessitated him wintering in a warmer climate, and since 1892 he had resided almost continuously in the Canary Islands.'<sup>772</sup>)  
1892 – 1906
- Returned to Scotland feeling recovered in 1906
- Died 25 Nov 1906 at Myres Castle, Auchtermuchty, Fife, of a paralytic stroke<sup>773</sup>
- Buried at St John's, Perth<sup>774</sup>

#### OTHER

- 'The deceased gentleman was of a very scholarly cast of mind, and was an accomplished linguist, more particularly in the classical languages.'<sup>775</sup>

### Gerry, Alexander Joseph (1855-1936)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 2 Mar 1855 in Buckie<sup>776</sup>
- Mother: Grace Fernside<sup>777</sup>
- Father: William Gerry,<sup>778</sup> fish curer<sup>779</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1867 – 1872
- Douai 1872 – 1873
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1873 – 1875
- St Sulpice 1875 – 1878
- Ordained 15 Jun 1878 in Paris

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Curate at St Mary's, Aberdeen 1878 – 1880

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<sup>772</sup> SCD 1907 (obituary).

<sup>773</sup> Ibid.

<sup>774</sup> Ibid.

<sup>775</sup> Ibid.

<sup>776</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>777</sup> Ibid.

<sup>778</sup> Ibid.

<sup>779</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Rathven, RD164-00, 006-004.

- Woodside, Aberdeen 1880 – 1890
- Strichen 1890 – 1894
- Inverurie 1894 – 1895
- Dufftown 1895 – 1899
- Portsoy 1899 – 1900
- Retired in bad health for eight years
- Ballater 1908 – 1919
- Retired again in bad health at Aberdeen, 1919-1936
- Died 7 Jun 1936 in Aberdeen

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Gibbons, James (180x-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born in Ireland

#### STUDIES (Lowland District)

- Irish College Paris 1825
- Acquired for the Scottish Mission by Bishop Paterson<sup>780</sup>
- Arrived in Scotland 1826<sup>781</sup>
- Professor at Aquhorties 1826 – 1827
- Ordained Feb 1827 at Lismore

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Huntly 1827 – 1828
- Tombae with James Gordon 1828 – 1829
- Scandal over his drinking<sup>782</sup>
- Ballogie 1829
- Was 'objected to by Mr Innes' and removed<sup>783</sup>
- Moved between Aberdeen, Blairs, Edinburgh and Glasgow
- '[Gibbons] denies everything laid to his charge, declares that he is sent away by a combination among the Scotch Bishops and Priests, merely because he is an Irishman. He says that the Irish Catholics, being the most numerous body of Catholics in all the South of Scotland, have a right to be served by Irish priests and governed by Irish bishops'<sup>784</sup> [campaigner for separatism and for establishing an Irish Catholic Church in Scotland]
- Dismissed at the end of 1829 for drinking
- In Glasgow, inflamed the relationship between Scottish priests and bishops and their Irish congregations<sup>785</sup>

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<sup>780</sup> Johnson, 'Secular Clergy of the Lowland District', 71.

<sup>781</sup> Ibid.

<sup>782</sup> Ibid., 139.

<sup>783</sup> Ibid., 71.

<sup>784</sup> SCA: BL, Andrew Scott to James Kyle, 15 Oct 1829, quoted in Christine Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland 1789-1829* (Edinburgh, 1983), 137.

<sup>785</sup> Martin J. Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland 1797-1848: Trade Unions, Strikes and Political Movements* (Edinburgh, 1998), 241.



- Returned to Ireland<sup>786</sup>

#### OTHER

- Regarding Mr Gibbons: ‘I proposed that you should take him to Lismore chiefly because he is a good Greek scholar & because for several very good reasons I wish your young fathers to be as well grounded in the Greek language as [...] the youngest of ours are. Greek is now the order of the day in protestant colleges & we must endeavour to compete with them.’<sup>787</sup>
- ‘I am quite happy with at your division of the students, but I am more than surprised at the conduct of Mr Gibbons, I can assure your Lordship that I know nothing about him, we are not in the habit of corresponding. I am much afraid, inter nos, that he will not answer either Perth or Stirling or any other Mission, except he first serve his time under some old and experienced Clergyman, I need not tell your Lordship that Stirling etc etc require all the exertions of the most prudent pious and zealous Clergymen, as they have in a great measure to struggle against the tide of popular prejudices, and one imprudent or improper action on the part of the Priest would seriously injure, if not entirely extinguish, the small spark of religion that exists in these places’<sup>788</sup>

### Gillis, Duncan (1838-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 3 Dec 1838 in North Morar, Inverness-shire<sup>789</sup>
- Mother: Catherine MacDonald<sup>790</sup>
- Father: John Gillis,<sup>791</sup> cotter<sup>792</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1857 – 1861
- Douai 1861 – 1862
- In 1861, listed with his progress as ‘very satisfactory’, conduct as ‘very good’, character as ‘very good’ and health as ‘good’<sup>793</sup>
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1862 – 1865?
- Gillis ‘lacks aptitude but works hard’<sup>794</sup>
- St Sulpice 1865? – 1867
- Ordained 6 Apr 1867 in Paris

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Strathaven, Lanarkshire 1867 – 1872
- Larkhall 1872 – 1875

<sup>786</sup> Johnson, ‘Secular Clergy of the Lowland District’, 71.

<sup>787</sup> SCA: OL/1/4/7, Alexander Paterson to Ranald MacDonald, Blairs Aberdeen 7 Mar 1828.

<sup>788</sup> SCA: BL/5/243/12, Constantine Lee to a Bishop, Dundee 13 Aug 1829.

<sup>789</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>790</sup> Ibid.

<sup>791</sup> Ibid.

<sup>792</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Kilmuir, RD 112-00, 010-005.

<sup>793</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/2: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 4 Aug 1861.

<sup>794</sup> Gillis ‘n’a pas beaucoup des moyens, mais il travaille’. SCA: ED/8/18/6, Duplessy’s notes on students, Paris, 22 Aug 1863.

- Ardkenneth, South Uist 1875 – 1876
- Dismissed for drinking in 1876<sup>795</sup>
- Went to Canada 1877<sup>796</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Gillis, James (1802-1864)<sup>797</sup>

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 7 Apr 1802 in Canada<sup>798</sup>
- Mother: Elizabeth Langley, Protestant, converted to Catholicism not long before death<sup>799</sup>
- Father: Alexander Gillis, 'self-made businessman';<sup>800</sup> 'maître au pension' in Montreal; from Bellie, Banffshire, from where emigrated to Canada as a young man; married there; returned to Fochabers with family in summer 1817 after having disposed of successful business in Montreal<sup>801</sup>
- 'in his early years his delight was to erect and decorate miniature altars, and to get his young companions to join with him in religious functions and exercises of piety'<sup>802</sup>

#### STUDIES (Lowland District; Western District)

- Sulpician Boarding College in Montreal, Canada 1812 – 1817
- Aquhorties 1817 – 1818
- St Nicolas 1818 – 1824
- St Sulpice 1824 – 1826
- Left France in poor health in 1826
- 'Soon after his return, he was sent by Bishop Paterson to Aquhorties, and, though not yet in Holy Orders, he undertook to introduce some changes into the rules, discipline, and studies of that Institution, which he thought open to improvement, so as to assimilate it to those he had seen in France. These changes were, however, soon afterwards, in a great measure, set aside as being unsuitable in the circumstances of the house and country, and the rules laid down by Bishop Hay, the founder of the College, were resumed.'<sup>803</sup>
- Theology under Alexander Scott in Glasgow in 1826
- Aquhorties 1827
- Ordained 9 Aug 1827 at Aquhorties

<sup>795</sup> Johnson, 'The Western District', 121-122.

<sup>796</sup> Ibid.

<sup>797</sup> Bishop James Gillis, accessed online 22 Feb 2015. URL: <http://www.scalan.co.uk/Ratisbon.htm>.

<sup>798</sup> *SCD* 1865 (obituary).

<sup>799</sup> SCA: B/6/1/3/1, Extract from the Register of Baptisms (Gillis).

<sup>800</sup> *SCD* 1865 (obituary).

<sup>801</sup> SCA: B/6/1/3/1, Extract from the Register of Baptisms (Gillis).

<sup>802</sup> Ibid.

<sup>803</sup> *SCD* 1865 (obituary).

## CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Initially unwell after his ordination, so spent time with his parents at Fochabers as well as ‘at Blairs, then the country residence of Mr Menzies of Pitfodels, with whom he had become acquainted with while in Paris, occupying himself in revising his studies and attending the small congregation in the neighbourhood.’<sup>804</sup>
- Edinburgh 1828 – 1838
- Fundraising expedition to France in 1829 for Edinburgh Chapel repairs: ‘he raised a considerable sum in Paris and other towns by charity sermons, for preaching which he was eminently qualified.’<sup>805</sup>
- ‘While he was in France, the Revolution of 1830 broke out, which event compelled him to return home, and it was not without some difficulty, and even danger, that he effected his escape.’<sup>806</sup>
- In 1831 as Bishop Paterson’s secretary in Edinburgh, residing at the Chapel-House with the Bishop and Mr Menzies (‘Mr Gillis had known this gentleman for some years previously, - had often an opportunity of being in his society, and it is believed that at this period sprang up that esteem and close friendship between them which never varied in after-life, and which were subsequently productive of such important results to religion in Scotland.’)<sup>807</sup>
- In summer 1831, fundraising expedition to France, Spain and Italy for founding a Convent in Edinburgh (‘In this undertaking his success was not altogether commensurate with his expectations. The state of France was at that period so disturbed and unsettled, that he had much difficulty in enlisting public sympathy in favour of his mission. In Spain it had not hitherto been the custom to go about raising contributions for such objects, and the Dignitaries of the Church gave him but little countenance. In Italy the same causes militated against him. Still he succeeded in realising a certain amount of funds.’)<sup>808</sup>
- 22 July 1838 was consecrated Bishop of Limyra and vicar apostolic of the Eastern District at Edinburgh
- ‘Soon after his consecration, Dr Gillis paid a visit to Paris, and appeared several times in the pulpits of that capital, where he was much admired and sought after as a preacher. But his chief object in that journey was to endeavour to procure funds for the Scottish Mission from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, which had been established in Lyons in 1822, and of which one of the directing Councils was fixed in Paris. This Society having refused to grant aid to Scotland on the plea that the object of its institution was to afford assistance to the Missions beyond the limits of Europe, he exerted himself to get another charitable Society founded on the same footing for European Missionary countries. In these efforts he was eminently successful; several religiously-inclined and influential persons supported his views, and the new Society, under the name of “L’ouvre du Catholicisme en Europe,” was established in Paris. In a short time so promising were the prospects of this undertaking that the Councils of the parent Society, fearing lest its prosperity might be endangered by that of its younger rival, referred the whole case to the Pope, who decided that, rather

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<sup>804</sup> Ibid.

<sup>805</sup> Ibid.

<sup>806</sup> Ibid.

<sup>807</sup> Ibid.

<sup>808</sup> Ibid.

than have two Societies, whose interests might clash with and injure each other, it was more prudent that the Missions of all countries, whether European or otherwise, should in future receive aid from the original Society in proportion to their respective necessities, and to its means of granting aid. Thus the good work set on foot with such happy prospects was given up; but soon after the case of Scotland was entertained by the Council, and ever since it has shared largely in the distributions of the Society. During his stay in Paris, he also obtained the sanction of the French Government to have what still remained of the library of the Scots College there sent home to that of Blairs. He returned in May 1839.<sup>809</sup>

- Edinburgh and various travels<sup>810</sup>
- Died suddenly 24 Feb 1864 in Greenhill, Edinburgh<sup>811</sup>
- Buried at the Convent of St Margaret



#### OTHER

- Fluent in French
- His education was paid for by his parents rather than the Scottish Mission<sup>812</sup>
- A 'taste for arranging with effect religious functions which he had partly imbibed in France, and for which he was so distinguished in after-life'.

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<sup>809</sup> Ibid.

<sup>810</sup> Ibid.

<sup>811</sup> Ibid.

<sup>812</sup> Johnson, *Developments*, 185.

- His ‘talent for pulpit eloquence began to attract considerable notice.’
- ‘He also evinced great zeal for the improvement of the young, and for training them to habits of piety and virtue.’<sup>813</sup>
- Founded a Catholic Society titled ‘The Holy Gild of St Joseph’ (expenses for sickness, old age and funeral costs)<sup>814</sup>
- An essay of James Gillis’ at St Nicolas, titled ‘A un jeune frère, quelques jours avant sa première communion’ is reproduced in Abbé Daix, *Monsieur Frère et Félix Dupanloup, ou Quelques Années au Petit Séminaire de Paris* (1885).<sup>815</sup>
- Completed a number of trips on the continent, including visits to Rome, Ratisbon, Munich, Vienna and Venice as well as France<sup>816</sup>
- 1845 established an Edinburgh the first Conference of the Brotherhood of St Vincent of Paul
- Authored numerous public refutations and pamphlets<sup>817</sup>

## Gilmore, James (1846-1877)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 17 Feb 1846 in Glasgow<sup>818</sup>
- Mother: Maria Rice,<sup>819</sup> from Ireland<sup>820</sup>
- Father: Hugh Gilmour,<sup>821</sup> shoemaker, from Ireland<sup>822</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1860 – 1865
- Valladolid 1865 – 1866
- Returned home in bad health; returned to France six months later
- Arras 1866 – 1870
- Ordained 3 Aug 1870 in Glasgow

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Ayr 1870 – 1871
- Wishaw 1871 – 1875
- Motherwell 1875 – 1877
- Died 12 Oct 1877 in Motherwell after not fully recovering from typhoid fever<sup>823</sup>

### OTHER

- [unknown]

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<sup>813</sup> SCD 1865 (obituary).

<sup>814</sup> Ibid.

<sup>815</sup> Abbé Daix, *Monsieur Frère et Félix Dupanloup, ou Quelques Années au Petit Séminaire de Paris* (Paris, 1885), 237-240.

<sup>816</sup> SCD 1865 (obituary).

<sup>817</sup> Ibid.

<sup>818</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>819</sup> Ibid.

<sup>820</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 278-004.

<sup>821</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>822</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 278-004.

<sup>823</sup> SCD 1878 (obituary).

## MacGinnes, James (1840-1909)<sup>824</sup>

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 7 May 1840 in Dundee<sup>825</sup>
- Mother: Helen Trainor,<sup>826</sup> from Ireland
- Father: Peter MacGinnes,<sup>827</sup> broker from Ireland<sup>828</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1851 – 1853
- Valladolid 1853 – 1862
- St Sulpice 1862 – 1863
- ‘His time at St. Sulpice, short as it necessarily was, left a very definite mark on his mind, and he ever afterwards thought and spoke highly of the Sulpician system.’<sup>829</sup>
- Blairs 1863 – 1864
- Ordained 7 May 1864 in Glasgow

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Mary's, Dundee 1864
- Haddington 1864 – 1865
- Was briefly ill with typhus fever<sup>830</sup>
- Jedburgh 1865 – 1867
- St Andrew's, Dundee 1867 – 1868
- St Joseph's, Dundee 1868 – 1878
- St Mary's, Dundee 1878 – 1880
- Alloa 1880 – 1889
- Professor at Valladolid 1889 – 1894
- ‘His influence on the students was most marked. With all his spirit of fun and easy pleasantry one was not slow to recognise his strong will and the intense earnestness of his character. His ideal of a student's life was a high one. Aimless or slovenly work was his *bête noire*. The single task he set himself as a professor was to send out young priests thoroughly trained and equipped in mind and body for the work of the mission. His own bent of mind was of the very practical kind; of studies that were merely ornamental he was largely sceptical; and in his class-work, he always tried to make his students realise the practical bearing of what they learned on their future career.’<sup>831</sup>
- St Patrick's, Edinburgh 1894 – 1897
- Girvan 1897 – 1898
- Linlithgow 1898
- Innerleithen 1898 – 1909
- Canon
- Died 18 Apr 1909 in Innerleithen<sup>832</sup>

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<sup>824</sup> SCA: MC/23/13/7 (photograph).

<sup>825</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>826</sup> Ibid.

<sup>827</sup> Ibid.

<sup>828</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Dundee, RD 282-00, 061-009.

<sup>829</sup> SCD 1910 (obituary).

<sup>830</sup> Ibid.

<sup>831</sup> Ibid.

<sup>832</sup> Ibid.

- Buried at Mount Vernon cemetery<sup>833</sup>



#### OTHER

- Wrote a manual of pastoral preaching, *Ministry of the Word*; he was also ‘in much request as a preacher on great occasions’<sup>834</sup>
- ‘Over the health and general well-being of the students he watched unceasingly – he used humorously to remark that the Church in Scotland had no use for Dead priests.’<sup>835</sup>
- ‘He was an accomplished musician and several compositions from his pen, both sacred and secular, have been much admired.’ (Convener of the Commission on Church Music)<sup>836</sup>
- ‘He was a fine man, and a very model of a priest. From a genuine true-hearted parentage he inherited both the never-varying, large-minded and

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<sup>833</sup> Ibid.

<sup>834</sup> Ibid.

<sup>835</sup> Ibid.

<sup>836</sup> Ibid.

generous courtesy that stamped him a gentleman, and the warm, devoted faith that made him an ornament in the sanctuary.<sup>837</sup>

- ‘it was a leading characteristic of his life, that what he thought that he said, and what he said that he did’<sup>838</sup>
- ‘He was passionately fond of reading, but he loved most of all the study of his own profession, the study of the grand theology of the Church, almost to the exclusion of all else.’<sup>839</sup>

## Glancy, James (1846-1898)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 14 Dec 1846 in Drumholme, Co. Donegal, Ireland<sup>840</sup>
- Mother: Marguerite O’Flaherty<sup>841</sup>
- Father: James Glancy,<sup>842</sup> shoemaker<sup>843</sup>
- Came to Scotland in childhood

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Studied in Glasgow under Jesuits at St Aloysius, Charlotte Street
- Séez 186x – 1869
- St Sulpice 1869 – 1870
- Ordained 11 Jun 1870 in Paris

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant at St Andrew's Cathedral, Glasgow 1870 – 1875
- Professor at St Peter's College 1875 – 1876
- Further studies in Rome resulting in Doctor of Divinity<sup>844</sup> 1876 – 1877
- Our Lady of Good Aid, Motherwell 1877 – 1888
- Left Scotland in 1888 for England, serving in Jersey and Yorkshire<sup>845</sup>
- St Augustine’s, Beaconsfield, England 1888 – 1896
- Went to South Africa<sup>846</sup>
- Died late December 1897 or early January 1898 at Kimberley, South Africa<sup>847</sup>
- Buried in West End Cemetery, Kimberley, South Africa<sup>848</sup>

### OTHER

- Familiarly known as ‘the Doctor’ due to his D.D.<sup>849</sup>

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<sup>837</sup> Ibid.

<sup>838</sup> Ibid.

<sup>839</sup> Ibid.

<sup>840</sup> SCD 1871 (note of ordination).

<sup>841</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>842</sup> Ibid.

<sup>843</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Calton, RD 644-04, 003-011.

<sup>844</sup> Johnson, ‘The Western District’, 122.

<sup>845</sup> Ibid.

<sup>846</sup> Ibid.

<sup>847</sup> *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, 4 Jan 1898, quoted in Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 123.

<sup>848</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 121.

<sup>849</sup> *Cathedral of Our Lady of Good Aid, Motherwell 1900-1950*, 11, quoted in Ibid.



- Had the Church of Our Lady of Good Aid built in Motherwell<sup>850</sup>
- ‘renowned as a controversialist and esteemed alike for his piety and patriotism [...]. He went to the Cape and there became connected with Catholic journalism’<sup>851</sup>

## Goldie, Anthony (1840-1890)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 27 Dec 1840 in Kilmacteigue, Achonry, Ireland<sup>852</sup>
- Mother: Brigitta McAmilty<sup>853</sup>
- Father: John Goldie<sup>854</sup>
- Came to Scotland ‘at an early age’<sup>855</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1859 – 1862
- ‘Beginning his studies at a comparatively advanced age, he was rather at a disadvantage. But what might have been lacking in brilliancy was fully made up by the better gift of solidity. This gift was soon recognised by his superiors, who promoted him step by step to various positions of authority in the college. By his humble, unassuming manner, he made discipline respected, and himself beloved.’<sup>856</sup>
- Scots College Rome 1862 – 1867
- Returned to Scotland in bad health in 1867; later sent to France
- St Sulpice 1867 – 1868
- Ordained 22 Sep 1868 at Dundee

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant at St Mary's, Dundee 1868 – 1869
- St Joseph's, Dundee 1869 – 1873
- Immaculate Conception, Jedburgh 1873 – 1874
- Our Lady and St Bridget, West Calder 1874 – 1890
- Canon (1885); Missionary Rector
- Died 28 Feb 1890 at West Calder of apoplexy<sup>857</sup>
- Buried in a vault of the Church of Our Lady and St Bridget, West Calder<sup>858</sup>

### OTHER

- ‘during the course of his life, he was much subject to headache, which generally relieved itself by bleeding from the nostrils’<sup>859</sup>

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<sup>850</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 121.

<sup>851</sup> *The Glasgow Observer*, 25 Nov 1905, 6, quoted in *ibid.*, 121-122.

<sup>852</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>853</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>854</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>855</sup> *SCD* 1891 (obituary).

<sup>856</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>857</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>858</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 125.

<sup>859</sup> *SCD* 1891 (obituary).

- ‘Humble, unassuming, retiring, attentive to his own duties, and ever ready to assist any of his clerical brethren, Canon Goldie pursued the even tenor of his way.’<sup>860</sup>
- Had the Church of Our Lady and St Bridget built in West Calder<sup>861</sup>

## Gordon, Alexander (1806-1887)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 25 Aug 1806<sup>862</sup> in Inchnacape, Glenlivet<sup>863</sup>
- Mother: Janet Shaw<sup>864</sup>
- Father: John Gordon<sup>865</sup>

### STUDIES (Lowland District; Eastern District)

- Aquhorties 1819 – 1822
- Scots College Rome 1822 – 1826
- St Sulpice 1826 – 1830
- Ordained 14 Sep 1830 in Glasgow

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Mary's, Edinburgh 1830
- Professor at Blairs 1830 – 1835
- St Mary's, Edinburgh 1835 – 1840
- Arbroath 1840 – 1857
- Dalbeattie 1857 – 1880
- Retired in 1880 and visited Rome<sup>866</sup>
- Chaplain to Little Sisters of the Poor, Edinburgh 1881 – 1887
- Died in Edinburgh 7 Nov 1887<sup>867</sup>

### OTHER

- ‘Both Keith and Braes of Glenlivet are vacant at present. And how Dr Carruthers does not embrace such a good opportunity of getting rid of Mr Alexander Gordon, I know not. I should not be surprised if he positively refused to leave the District. I heard a surmise, via Glasgow, that Mr Keenan had flatly refused to leave the Eastern District: That he had privately written to McPherson in Dundee to take him as his coadjutor, and that McPherson had consented to do so. If that be the case, McPherson will repent it, For his nervous [caprising] disposition will never put up with the fiery temper of Mr Keenan. If Dr Carruthers has consented to that arrangement, I should not be surprised if Keenan persuaded Mr A. Gordon to be obstinate like himself, assuring him that if he be so, Dr Carruthers will yield. However as to Mr Gordon’s ideas I have only a suspicion grounded on his still remaining in

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<sup>860</sup> Ibid.

<sup>861</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 125.

<sup>862</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>863</sup> SCD 1889 (note of death).

<sup>864</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Tomintoul, MP003500001-00001-00001-00039-.

<sup>865</sup> Ibid.

<sup>866</sup> Johnson, ‘The Northern and Eastern Districts’, 50-51.

<sup>867</sup> Ibid.

Edinburgh while Dr Kyle had two Missions vacant. But I heard it positively asserted that Mr Keenan had refused to leave the Eastern District, that he was to go to Dundee and that Dr Carruthers had consented to the arrangement.<sup>868</sup>

- ‘Bishop Paterson is dictatorial in his behaviour regarding Blairs – appointing staff there on his own initiative; and men who are quite unsuitable. [...] Mr. Alex. Gordon has been appointed, who was found troublesome in parish work’<sup>869</sup>
- ‘He [Paterson] praised up Alexander Gordon to the skies, and chose him to himself. Gordon has acted a most foolish and improper part in returning from France and since his arrival in Scotland Bp Paterson now finds that he will neither answer at Blairs or at Edinburgh, and has kindly made an offer of his services to Bp Kyle and to me, which we have positively declined to accept of.’<sup>870</sup>
- ‘Mr Alexander Gordon, whom you turned out of the college of Rome, was found by Bp Paterson to be unmanageable at Edinburgh. After nearly two week’s trial of him at Edinburgh, Bp Paterson by his own sole authority, in direct violation of the rules of the Seminary, ordered Mr John McPherson to leave his place of professor at Blairs and sent in his place Mr Alexander Gordon who is also said to be strongly [hin]ged with French revolutionary principles.’<sup>871</sup>

## Gordon, John (1817-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 7 May 1817 in Carnousie, Donside, Banffshire<sup>872</sup>
- Mother: Anna Davidson<sup>873</sup>
- Father: Alexander Gordon,<sup>874</sup> merchant at Boghead<sup>875</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1829 – 1830
- St Nicolas 1830 – 1831
- Studies interrupted in 1831
- Douai 1831 – 1834
- St Nicolas 1834 – 1836
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1836 – 1839
- St Sulpice 1839 – 1841
- Ordained 5 Jun 1841 in Paris

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

<sup>868</sup> SCA: DD/1/9/2, Bp Scott to Gillis (to Paris), Greenock 15 Jan 1839.

<sup>869</sup> SCA: OL/1/6/2, Bp Scott to Abbe MacPherson, 4 Feb 1831 [this is a partial transcription and description of the contents of OL/2/5/6].

<sup>870</sup> SCA: OL/2/4/15, Scott to Abbé McPherson, Glasgow 2 Nov 1830 [see also OL/1/5/9, which is this letter partially transcribed].

<sup>871</sup> SCA: OL/2/5/6, Bp Scott to Paul MacPherson at Rome, Glasgow 4 Feb 1831.

<sup>872</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>873</sup> Ibid.

<sup>874</sup> Ibid.

<sup>875</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Banff, RD 147-00, 010-003.

- Professor at Blairs 1841 – 1845
- Greenock 1845 – 1846
- Began to show signs of ‘insanity’. First in France, then at home with parents in 1846
- In asylum near Glasgow between 1846 and 1850
- Went to asylum near Dublin in 1850

#### OTHER

- ‘My Lord, I hitherto have avoided importuning you by my letters; nor should I now take the liberty of writing, did I not think it a precaution which, I hope, will not be offensive to you and which may be of some use to myself. I perceive my course of studies has already been pretty long; and, if you judge of my progress by the time I have spent at College, I am afraid you may believe me farther advanced and nearer the priesthood than I really am. Yes I am only going through my second year of theology; the next year would be to me in every respect the most important of all. I know I could possibly finish my studies elsewhere; but I doubt much if I could do it with the same leisure, with the same succours, with the same utility as here. My lord, I can never be sufficiently grateful for your goodness in allowing me a complete course of humanity, how much I ever it may have been interrupted by frequent changes from one seminary to another, by bad health during four or five years, so ill own too, by negligence on my part. Now that my health is greatly improve, I feel encouraged by your former bounty to hope for a complete course of studies far more important, and from which I could deride much greater benefit. I will add that here at last, after so many changes, I have met with peace, happiness, and every assistance that piety could wish; if I am not mistaken, God gives me some desire of profiting by so great advantages. Are three, years, then, too long, to make up for lost time, and to prepare more immediately for a ministry, to which I shall always be but too unequal? Would you, my Lord, before they are over, remove me from this excellent seminary, the fruits of which I have scarcely begun to reap? But this I leave to your judgement and equity. You know better than I what the needs of your diocese and the glory of God require; what seems most useful, if not necessary for me, I have exposed candidly, and presuming much on your indulgence, the fear of losing too soon advantages, which I can never expect to enjoy afterwards, will, I hope, be an excuse for any impropriety in my thus writing to you, how ever groundless that fear may be. I should soon conjure you to grant me one year more after this one, did I not choose rather to place myself entirely at your discretion, and testify already the obedience which some months hence I may promise you more solemnly, as also the profound respect with which I have the honour of being, my Lord, your devoted and humble servant, J Gordon.’<sup>876</sup>
- ‘In the last letter which you you [sic] did me the honour of writing to me, it was your desire that I should be ordained priest if possible and return home by Easter. I was made deacon at Christmas, and could be promoted to the priesthood at the next general ordination soon after Pentecost, but not well beforehand at least in France. However I easily persuade myself that you will consent to that delay, and that, after allowing me to carry on my theological studies sofar, you will not refuse me permission to complete them entirely. It is true that after Easter little is done at St Sulpice by some who bad health obliges to interrupt their studies, though that be not generally

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<sup>876</sup> SCA: OL/2/46/12, J. Gordon to Scott, St Sulpice-Seminary Paris 28 Feb 1840.

the case with me, and anording [sic] to all appearances will not be so this year; summer is usually the season I can study best. Class goes on after Easter as before; it is taught with the same care; the matters to be seen are as important, and at least as difficult as any we have hitherto studied; I need only mention the treatises on grace and contracts, which are almost entirely taught after Easter. To comply with your desire as much as possible, I could start for Scotland five or six weeks before the end of the scholastic year, about the beginning of the month of July, when the students of this house revise their triaters[?] for the examination; when Mr Keenan said that little was done at St Sulpice after Easter, he perhaps meant to speak of these latter weeks. At the beginning of July anew trimester commences. I should have the summer months of July and August to spend in the country, as you had the great kindness to provide me two months of country air for the purpose of recruiting my strength. But however useful that relocation might be, were I put to the alternatives which I must fear from you, I would rather choose to go on the mission immediately than to leave my theological course incomplete.<sup>877</sup>

- ‘Mr. J. Gordon called at the Chapel House Edin Sunday the 2<sup>nd</sup> August without shirt or coat with only an outter French ecclesiastic Covering; and that he slipt off from the Chapel, without giving any intimation, where he was proceeding; or any opportunity of supplying him with necessary habiliments, becoming his Character. May I presume to suggest to your Lordship what, I think, Christian Charity, as well as respect for our own Body requires viz. That he should be immediately sought out, and not allowed to wander the Country, and when found, put into some asylum suiting his deplorable Condition. This, besides his own comfort, would give him a chance of recovery, of which I entertain great hopes, if proper care was taken of him in time, before his malady is confined. Not only your humble servant, but I expect every one of his Brethren, would willingly contribute their part of the Charges.’<sup>878</sup>

## Gordon, William (1823-1895?)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 28 Jun 1823<sup>879</sup> in Huntly
- Mother: Jean Runcie<sup>880</sup>
- Father: William Gordon,<sup>881</sup> straw thatcher<sup>882</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Vaugirard 1835 – 1838
- Dismissed 30 Jun 1838<sup>883</sup>

<sup>877</sup> SCA: OL/2/53/4, John Gordon to Scott, St Sulpice 12 Jan 1841.

<sup>878</sup> SCA: OL/2/71/14, Donald Carmichael to Bishop Scott, Blairs 10 Aug 1846.

<sup>879</sup> AN: CRD1838.

<sup>880</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Huntly, St Margaret’s, MP002500001-00001-00001-00174-.

<sup>881</sup> Ibid.

<sup>882</sup> SPC: Census 1841: St Andrews Llanbryd, RD 142-00, 005-005.

<sup>883</sup> AN: CRD1838.

- Attempted to re-enter Blairs: ‘One of my Parisian students William Gordon from Huntly has just returned [...]. He was dismissed with a very bad character from Abbé Poiloup. Dr Carruthers sent me a copy of the Abbé’s letter & also of one of Fery on the same subject. [...] Gordon presented himself here wishing to be admitted to Blairs, & without mentioning that he had been dismissed, gave some frivolous reason or other for leaving Paris. I was already in possession of Poiloup’s dismissal, but said nothing to Gordon or his mother of their contents, only declined receiving him into Blairs, & advised him to look for some way of making his bread in the world.’<sup>884</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Worked as an agricultural labourer in 1841<sup>885</sup>
- He may be the person who warranted a note of his and his wife’s death in the Directory: ‘Pray for the soul of William Gordon, Chemist, 80 King Street, Aberdeen, who died on 30<sup>th</sup> April, 1895, aged 71 years, and his wife Margaret Ramsay, who died on 22<sup>nd</sup> September, 1896, aged 70 years. On whose souls, sweet Jesus, have mercy, and grant them everlasting rest.’<sup>886</sup>

#### OTHER

- Initially was considered for Rome: ‘I will have no objection to either Mr Bremner or Mr Wm Gordon going to Rome. Either of them would answer much better than the present one [...]. I must say that I think Mr B the preferable of the two. He has more age & experience of men, & his appearance & physical weight recommend him more. It is not Mr Wm Gordon’s age but his boyish appearance that make a prima facie though unjust prejudice against him. Offer him my congratulations on the recovery of his health along with my condolences on the loss of his beauty by the malady from which he has escaped.’<sup>887</sup>

### O’Gorman, Patrick Thomas (1826-1889)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born Nov 1826 in Fermoy, Co. Cork, Ireland<sup>888</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Carlow College, Ireland 1844 – 1848
- St Sulpice 1848 – 1855
- Ordained 11 Feb 1855 in Glasgow

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Curate at St Andrew’s Cathedral, Glasgow 1855 – 1856
- Our Lady and St Ninian’s, Newton Stewart 1856 – 1873
- St Aloysius’, Chapelhall 1873 – 1875

<sup>884</sup> SCA: OL/2/34/13, James Kyle to Scott, Preshome 25 Jun 1838.

<sup>885</sup> SPC: Census 1841: St Andrews Llanbryd, RD 142-00, 005-005.

<sup>886</sup> SCD 1897 (note of death).

<sup>887</sup> SCA: OL/2/9/11, Kyle to Scott, Preshome 3 Dec 1832.

<sup>888</sup> SCD 1890 (obituary).

- St Ignatius', Wishaw 1875 – 1878
- St Mary's, Larkhall 1878
- St Patrick's, Strathaven 1878 – 1880
- Retired in 1880; resided mainly in Ireland<sup>889</sup>
- Died 8 Jan 1889 at Shangarry, Co. Cork, Ireland<sup>890</sup>
- Buried in Cloyne<sup>891</sup>

#### OTHER

- [In 1856 on his leaving St Andrew's Cathedral, Glasgow, for Newton Stewart]: 'You came to our parish a young missionary fresh from the halls of the college'<sup>892</sup>

### Grady, William (1835-1912)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 29 Dec 1835 in Edinburgh<sup>893</sup>
- Mother: Eleonora McElmail; Scotswoman<sup>894</sup>
- Father: John Grady,<sup>895</sup> Sheriff's officer, born in Ireland<sup>896</sup>
- In 1851, had nine siblings; household had one servant<sup>897</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1851 – 1852
- Douai 1852 – 1856
- Scots College Rome 1856 – 1861
- Ordained 21 Apr 1861 in Rome

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Scots College Rome 1861 – 1862
- Assistant at St Andrew's, Dundee 1862 – 1863
- Crieff 1863 – 1864
- Cupar 1864 – 1869
- Haddington 1869 – 1882
- Falkirk 1882 – 1891
- St Patrick's, Edinburgh 1891 – 1912
- Monsignor; Canon (1885); Domestic Prelate (1895); Provost (1902); Vicar General; Vicar Capitular ('Short of Episcopal rank he held all the Ecclesiastical honours that can usually fall to the priest.'<sup>898</sup>)
- Died 16 May 1912 in Edinburgh after a week's illness<sup>899</sup>
- Buried in Mount Vernon cemetery, Liberton<sup>900</sup>

<sup>889</sup> Johnson, 'The Western District', 134.

<sup>890</sup> *SCD* 1890 (obituary).

<sup>891</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 302.

<sup>892</sup> *Glasgow Free Press*, 18 Oct 1856, 2, quoted in *Ibid.*

<sup>893</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>894</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>895</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>896</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Edinburgh, RD 685-01, 183-006.

<sup>897</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>898</sup> *SCD* 1913 (obituary).

<sup>899</sup> Johnson, 'The Northern and Eastern Districts', 51.

<sup>900</sup> *SCD* 1913 (obituary).

## OTHER

- ‘zealous and energetic character’ with ‘superabundant energies’<sup>901</sup>
- Busied himself building schools and chapels within his charges
- He ‘gave special attention to the education and instruction of the young, between whom and himself there was established a deep mutual affection’<sup>902</sup>
- ‘His last words were “God bless the children.”’<sup>903</sup>
- Had composed a last letter that was read at his funeral, ‘containing a frank acknowledgement of his own shortcomings and an earnest plea for forgiveness and prayers’<sup>904</sup>

## Grant, Alexander (1804-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 1 May 1804 in (Glenlivat)<sup>905</sup> Banff<sup>906</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- St Nicolas 1826 – 1831
- Douai 1831 – 1832
- Left with his fellow student Dawson: ‘Dawson & Grant who expressed to Mr Collier their wish of leaving Douay have executed this wish & are now in London. The mother of Grant, who is also you know the mother of C. Gordon Albyn Place came down from Keith to tell me so in great distress on the Monday. I told her that they did not belong to this District, & that therefore I could take no step concerning them. [...] I mentioned to her, likewise that I considered the step they had taken as an indication that they had become tired of their vocation, & the honest woman seemed the pretty much of the same opinion herself. [...] Ralston who was with Grant in the seminary at Paris, tells me that he did not then shew much of the ecclesiastical spirit nor give great satisfaction to his superiors. [...] But if they should apply for readmission, I do think that good example & the future peace of seminaires are great objection in this way. [...] From the letter of the students themselves it is clear that they have opportunities enough of improvement, if they choose to avail themselves of them.’<sup>907</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

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<sup>901</sup> Ibid.

<sup>902</sup> Ibid.

<sup>903</sup> Ibid.

<sup>904</sup> Ibid.

<sup>905</sup> See ‘Appendix 3: List of Pupils in the School run by the Community’: ‘Pupils of the School at Douai and Woolhampton’, in Geoffrey Scott (ed.), *The English Benedictine Community of St. Edmund, King and Martyr, Paris 1615, Douai 1818, Woolhampton, 1903-2003: A Centenary History* (Worcester, 2003).

<sup>906</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>907</sup> SCA: OL/2/9/8, Bp Kyle to Bp Scott, Preshome 3 Nov 1832.



## OTHER

- ‘I have heard no more from or about Dawson & Grant. I join with you in thinking that they cannot be received again. I think too that they are aware of that themselves and never had an intention of seriously applying for admission. When young men tire of their vocation, they seldom go fairly to work & openly announce it, but make use of some pretext or other to cover over this inconstancy.’<sup>908</sup>
- ‘I should not however be surprised if he [KYLE] applied to you for consent to take away Mr Alexander Grant from the Seminary. He cannot take him away without your consent or mine, and he knows well that he will never get my consent, because I feel conscientiously convinced that were it not for Mr Grant’s prudence and exertions the Seminary would have been ruined, and in a state of utter insubordination before now’<sup>909</sup>
- One of the authors of a letter from Confans: ‘C’est pour remplir un devoir que la reconnaissance nous impose, c’est pour que vous puissiez juger de nos progrès dans la Langue Française, que nous nous permettons de vous écrire. Depuis deux ans que nous sommes en France, nous n’avons pas encore songé à nous y ennuyer, et nous avons toujours joui d’une excellente santé : en effet, pourrait-il en être autrement, établis comme nous sommes à la campagne où l’air est si frais et si pur? Car nous ne sommes plus à Paris, nous sommes au petit séminaire à Conflans. Mr McLean jouit aussi d’une très bonne santé, il se voit à la veille d’un grand jour, il va faire demain sa première Communion. Notre maison est très belle en même temps qu’elle est agréable. Nous avons une Chapelle qui est une grande beauté, l’or y brille de toutes parts. Le séminaire est consacré à honorer l’enfance de Notre Seigneur Jesus Christ. Nous n’entreprenons pas, Monseigneur, de vous faire d’éloge des avantages inappréciables [sic] dont jouit cette maison, nous craignons d’abuser de votre attention. D’ailleurs, vous les connaissez sans doute mieux que nous, vous connaissez avec quels soins on y cultive l’esprit et le cœur de la jeunesse. Peut-être, Monseigneur, désireriez-vous connaître l’objet de nos études pendant cette année: Mr Dawson est en sixième. Pour les auteurs Latins, il a traduit Cornelius Nepos et les Fables de Phèdre, pour les auteurs Grecs, il a expliqué les Fables d’Esopé. Il a aussi vu la géographie de l’Afrique et l’histoire de l’Egypte. Mr Grant et moi, nous sommes en Septième. Nous avons expliqué une partie de Sulpice Sévère, et nous expliquons actuellement Justin, et Phèdre et Esopé. Nous avons vu en abrégé la géographie de l’Asie moderne. Nous voyons en outre un cours de Botanique. Telles sont, Monseigneur, nos occupations pendant cette année qui ne nous empêchent pas de lire quelquefois des livres Anglais, pour ne pas oublier notre Langue. Ce n’a été qu’avec une bien vive douleur que nous avons appris la maladie de Mr Gillis. Puisse le bon Dieu le guérir au-plutôt. C’est ce que nous souhaitons de tout notre cœur.’<sup>910</sup>

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<sup>908</sup> SCA: OL/2/9/11, Bp Kyle to Bp Scott, Preshome 3 Dec 1832.

<sup>909</sup> SCA: DD/1/8/12, Bp Scott to Carruthers, Greenock 19 Dec 1838.

<sup>910</sup> SCA: CA/1/43/4: A. Grant, E. McD. Dawson and I. Malcolm to Bp Paterson, Conflans 28 Jun 1828.

## Grant, Walter (1844-1919)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 13 Jan 1844 in Braemar<sup>911</sup>
- Mother: Joanna Grant<sup>912</sup>
- Father: John Grant,<sup>913</sup> cattle dealer,<sup>914</sup> ‘grazier of 5000 acres’ with three servants (two shepherds and a housemaid)<sup>915</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1856 – 1859
- Douai 1859 – 1861
- In spring 1861, listed with his progress as ‘satisfactory’, conduct as ‘passable’, character as ‘not open’ and health as ‘good’, with additional comment: ‘Does not give us much hope of his perseverance. There is a want of piety sincerity & earnestness which makes me fear he has no vocation’;<sup>916</sup> in autumn 1861, listed with his progress as ‘slow’, conduct as ‘satisfactory’, character as ‘thoughtless’ and health as ‘good’, with additional note: ‘No vocation, himself anxious to give up. To be sent home?’<sup>917</sup>
- Left 1 Oct 1861;<sup>918</sup> ‘not suitable for the ecclesiastical state’<sup>919</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- In Jun 1866 married Ann Louisa Casey in Walsall, England<sup>920</sup>
- In 1871 listed as a ‘draper’ in Staffordshire<sup>921</sup>
- Died 9 Nov 1919 in Grandtully House, Kettlebrook, Bolehall and Glascote, England<sup>922</sup>
- Probate 10 Feb 1920: ‘4,339 pounds 13 shillings 7 pence’; executors: Anne Louisa Grant, widow and William Donald Grant, Gamekeeper<sup>923</sup>

### OTHER

- [unknown]

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<sup>911</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/1: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 25 Mar 1861.

<sup>912</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>913</sup> Ibid.

<sup>914</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Little Dunkeld, RD 373-00, 001-010.

<sup>915</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Aberfeldy, RD 324-00, 007-002.

<sup>916</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/1: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 25 Mar 1861.

<sup>917</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/2, Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 4 Aug 1861.

<sup>918</sup> AN: CRD1861.

<sup>919</sup> ‘[II] n’a pas été jugé propre à l’état ecclésiastique’. AN: F/17/2733, Duplessy to Ministre de l’Instruction Publique, Paris, 21 Sep 1861.

<sup>920</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Marriage Register, Walsall, Apr-May-Jun 1866.

<sup>921</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1871: Fazeley, Tamworth, ED 001, piece 2911, f. 10, 10.

<sup>922</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Death Index for England and Wales: Tamworth, Dec 1919.

<sup>923</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: [no source indicated].

## Green, Charles (1806-1845)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 8 Jun 1806, in Glasgow, Lanarkshire<sup>924</sup>
- Mother: Brigit McKenny,<sup>925</sup> born in Ireland
- Father: John Green,<sup>926</sup> cotton hand loom weaver from Ireland<sup>927</sup>

### STUDIES (Lowland District; Eastern District)

- Aquhorties 1819 – 1822
- St Nicolas 1822 – 1825
- Returned to Scotland in 1825 due to misbehaviour<sup>928</sup>
- Propaganda 1825 – 1833
- Ordained 9 Jun 1833, Rome<sup>929</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Temporary charge of Keith in the Northern District 1833 – 1834
- St Mary's, Edinburgh 1834 – 1836
- Campsie 1836 – 1837
- St Mary's, Edinburgh 1834 – 1836
- Stirling 1839 – 1839
- Perth 1839 – 1839
- Campsie 1840 – 1844
- St Mary's, Edinburgh 1844 – 1845
- Died 25 Dec 1845 of erysipelas in Edinburgh<sup>930</sup>

### OTHER

- 'Two students from St Nicolas (Paris) have been sent home [...]. The Superior of the Seminary says in his letter to me, that McSwin had purloined from two of his fellow students, by the means of false keys, the sums of 195 francs & that McSwin stated, that he had been advised & assisted by Green; but that, afterwards, he had acknowledged that Green had had no hand in the fraudulent transaction. However this may be, the Superior adds that he had thought proper so send both home to their parents, "persuade que c'est rendre service a la Religion, que de saisir cette occasion d'éloigner de l'état Ecclesiastique deux jeunes gens, qui ne montrent, depuis si longtemps, ni piele [sic], ni talens [sic], ni aptitude, ni moyens suffisants pour faire croire qu'ils pourraient ma jour rendre des services proportionnés aux sacrifice, qu'on fait pour eux; et comme Mr Green a contre lui d'autres notes, nous avons [?] devoir le comprendre dans l'expulsion."<sup>931</sup>

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<sup>924</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>925</sup> Ibid.

<sup>926</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Glasgow, St Andrew's, MP006200001-00001-00001-00023-.

<sup>927</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Barony, RD 622-00, 090-019.

<sup>928</sup> SCA: BL/5/175/5: Bp Paterson to Bp Cameron, London 16 South Molton Street, 22 June 1825.

<sup>929</sup> SCD 1847 (obituary).

<sup>930</sup> Ibid.

<sup>931</sup> SCA: BL/5/175/5: Paterson to Cameron, London 22 June 1825.

## MacGuire, Terence (1799-1869)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 14 Apr 1799 in Co. Cavan, Ireland<sup>932</sup>

### STUDIES (Highland District)

- Séminaire de St Esprit, Paris 1820 – 1822
- Irish College Paris 1822 – 1824
- Attached himself to the Highland Mission of Scotland
- Ordained 1825 at Lismore

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Professor at Lismore 1825 – 1827
- Charge of St Mary's, Inverness 1827 – 1837
- Collected money in Ireland and Scotland 1834-1835 in order to have a chapel built in Inverness<sup>933</sup>
- St Ninian's, Keith 1837 – 1838
- St Margaret's, Huntly 1838 – 1862
- 'He there erected a school in 1848.'<sup>934</sup>
- 'In 1862 he fell into an infirm state of health, and these infirmities had so far gained on his constitution that, in the early part of 1868, he was no longer able to discharge his missionary duties.'<sup>935</sup>
- In 1862 retired to Fochabers<sup>936</sup>
- Died 30 Oct 1869 in Fochabers<sup>937</sup>

### OTHER

- First modern Irish-born secular priest ordained in Scotland<sup>938</sup>
- 'encouraged in his work; men of influence, ably seconded by others who were not quite so wealthy, stood by him in dark days and fair, and St Mary's eventually became a *fait accompli*'<sup>939</sup>

## McGuire, Patrick (1859-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 28 Oct 1859 in Blairgowrie, Perthshire<sup>940</sup>
- Mother: Helen Gaffney,<sup>941</sup> from Ireland<sup>942</sup>
- Father: Martin McGuire,<sup>943</sup> labourer from Ireland<sup>944</sup>

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<sup>932</sup> SCD 1870 (obituary).

<sup>933</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 257.

<sup>934</sup> SCD 1870 (obituary).

<sup>935</sup> Ibid.

<sup>936</sup> Ibid.

<sup>937</sup> Ibid.

<sup>938</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 257.

<sup>939</sup> *Glasgow Observer*, 1 May 1937, 6, quoted in Ibid.

<sup>940</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>941</sup> Ibid.

<sup>942</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Rattray, RD 389-00, 002-034.

<sup>943</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>944</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Rattray, RD 389-00, 002-034.

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1873 – 1878
- Douai 1878 –
- Expelled?<sup>945</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- In 1881, still listed as a ‘student’ in the census, living with his parents<sup>946</sup>
- In 1891 no longer listed with parents<sup>947</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

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### Haggarty, John Patrick (1830-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 27 Sep 1830 in Glasgow<sup>948</sup>
- Mother: Mary Hagan,<sup>949</sup> from Ireland<sup>950</sup>
- Father: Patrick Haggarty, porter, from Ireland<sup>951</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1847 – 1848
- Vaugirard 1848 – 1851
- Douai 1851
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1851 – 1852

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Harris, James (1851-1924)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 11 Nov 1851 in Brechin<sup>952</sup>
- Mother: Jane Dunn,<sup>953</sup> from Ireland<sup>954</sup>

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<sup>945</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>946</sup> SPC: Census 1881: Rattray, RD 389-00, 003-003.

<sup>947</sup> SPC: Census 1891: Rattray, RD 389-00, 003-003.

<sup>948</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>949</sup> Ibid.

<sup>950</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Greenock, RD 564-00, 046-007.

<sup>951</sup> Ibid.

<sup>952</sup> SCD 1925 (obituary).

<sup>953</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Arbroath, St Thomas’, MP009000001-00001-00001-00035-.

<sup>954</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Dundee First District, RD 282-01, 022-037.

- Father: William Harris,<sup>955</sup> road labourer; from Ireland<sup>956</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Rockwell 1864 – 1869
- Holy Spirit 1869 – 1870
- Left France due to Franco-Prussian war
- Rockwell 1870 – 1871
- Holy Spirit 1871 – 187?
- Rockwell 187? – 1874
- Ordained 13 Dec 1874 at Lochee

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Lochee 1874
- Haddington 1875 – 1876
- Lochee 1876 – 1881
- Arbroath 1881 – 1885
- St Andrew's, Dundee 1885 – 1889
- Newport 1889 – 1891
- Ballechin, Perthshire 1891 – 1895
- St Joseph's, Dundee 1895 – 1896
- Transferred to Archdiocese of Glasgow<sup>957</sup>
- Coatbridge 1896 – 1898
- St Alphonsus', Glasgow 1898 – 1900
- Retired in 1900 and went to the continent<sup>958</sup>
- During the war in Scotland 1914-1921: Innerleithen, Dundee and Brechin<sup>959</sup>
- Returned to the continent 1921<sup>960</sup>
- Died 28 Jan 1924 in Ghent, Belgium, following bronchial and cardiac troubles<sup>961</sup>

#### OTHER

- 'In the various missions where Father Harris served, he is remembered for the eloquence of his preaching. In Dundee the memory is still fresh of his powerful lectures, particularly those he delivered on the occasion of the annual Catholic demonstrations held on the feast of St Patrick. He was also a good conversationalist – sharp-witted and keen in good-natured repartee – and was ever ready to entertain the company of his brethren and friends with samples of eloquent recitations. Of a warm-hearted and generous nature, he made many friends and will long be remembered for his kindly deed in the various missions in which he served.'<sup>962</sup>
- 'By 1900 his health had become impaired and through a complication of bronchial and cardiac troubles he was rendered unfit for active service. He then obtained leave of absence and went to live on the Continent. During the War he came to Scotland and resided for a time at Innerleithen, St Patrick's,

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<sup>955</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Arbroath, St Thomas', MP009000001-00001-00001-00035-.

<sup>956</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Dundee First District, RD 282-01, 022-036.

<sup>957</sup> Johnson, 'The Northern and Eastern Districts', 52-53.

<sup>958</sup> Ibid.

<sup>959</sup> Ibid.

<sup>960</sup> Ibid.

<sup>961</sup> SCD 1925 (obituary).

<sup>962</sup> Ibid.

Dundee, and Brechin. In 1821 he returned to Belgium where his death occurred somewhat suddenly on the 28th January 1924 in the home of the Brothers of St John of God at Ghent Belgium.<sup>963</sup>

## Hegarty, James (1840-1921)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 31 Jan 1840 in Glasgow<sup>964</sup>
- Mother: Helen Keenan,<sup>965</sup> born in Ireland<sup>966</sup>
- Father: James Hegarty,<sup>967</sup> teacher; born in Ireland<sup>968</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1853 – 1854
- Scots College Rome 1854 – 1862
- St Sulpice 1862 – 1863
- No vocation;<sup>969</sup> ‘Gave up’<sup>970</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Married Mary Ann Kooney McKernan in Liverpool, 27 Dec 1865<sup>971</sup>
- Died 26 Jan 1921 in Alberdi, Argentina<sup>972</sup>

### OTHER

- [unknown]

## Holder, Joseph (1845-1917)<sup>973</sup>

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 20 Aug 1845 in Edinburgh<sup>974</sup>
- Mother: Frances ‘Fanny’ Bock,<sup>975</sup> ‘of ancient Catholic lineage, well known to the great Bishop Milner’<sup>976</sup>

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<sup>963</sup> Ibid.

<sup>964</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>965</sup> Ibid.

<sup>966</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Barony, RD 622-00, 027-013.

<sup>967</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>968</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Barony, RD 622-00, 027-013.

<sup>969</sup> ‘Hégarty ‘a été jugé sans vocation, comme j’ai eu l’honneur de vous le dire ; M. le supérieur m’a réposé qu’on l’aurait prié de ses [pes] revenir s’il n’avait pas mis le parti de s’éloigner avant la fin de l’année. [...]’. SCA: ED/8/18/6, Duplessy’s notes on students, Paris, 22 Aug 1863.

<sup>970</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

<sup>971</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: [no source indicated].

<sup>972</sup> Ibid.

<sup>973</sup> Charles Gustav Louis Phillips, ‘The Right Reverend Monsignor Provost Holder (1845–1917)’ (1993), oil on canvas. Part of Dundee Art Galleries and Museums Collection (Dundee City Council). Accessed online 10 November 2014. URL: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/the-right-reverend-monsignor-provost-holder-18451917-92805>.

<sup>974</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>975</sup> Ibid.

<sup>976</sup> SCD 1920 (obituary).

- Father: John Holder,<sup>977</sup> collar maker,<sup>978</sup> convert<sup>979</sup>
- ‘The family came from Walsall, Staffordshire, in the early forties.’<sup>980</sup>
- ‘his vocation being due, after God, to his truly Christian parents, a pious mother and a grateful convert father, who generously offered his boy to God as a thank-offering for the gift of Catholic faith.’<sup>981</sup>
- ‘It has been said, and I think with truth, that a truly Christian home, with its characteristics of peace, love, simple unaffected piety and holiness, is a fair reflex of Eden before the Fall. Such was the family of the Holders of Broughton Street.’<sup>982</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Holy Cross School and Royal High School, Edinburgh: ‘He was a bright and brilliant pupil, and gave early promise of a glorious future, and received favourable notice from his examiners.’<sup>983</sup>
- Blairs 1861 – 1863
- ‘The Blairs of his time was the “good old Blairs” with its old buildings, old chapel, and somewhat Spartan regime, and yet to him there was something about it “beyond compare”; and it was to this Blairs that as a young levite, just ordained in 1871, he lovingly referred when speaking in the name of his Rev. confrères: “Soon we will leave these rude walls, which heard our boyish prayers and saw those prayers fulfilled.”’<sup>984</sup>
- Douai 1863 – 1866
- ‘His higher humanities were studied under the Benedictine Fathers at Douai, in the north of France, and here had full scope for his histrionic abilities in the Shakespearean plays in this famous educational centre – The Collège Aglais, Rue St Vaast. Vimy Ridge, Bailleul, Montigny, and the country along the sluggish Scarp were well known to him, places to which he often referred in his last illness, where our brave lads were then fighting “for God, King, and Country.”’<sup>985</sup>
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1866 – 1868
- St Sulpice 1868 – 1870
- ‘His philosophical and theological studies were passed in the Séminaire d’Issy and the Grand Séminaire St Sulpice, under the Sulpician Fathers, professors, several of them, of European fame. He entered into the genius of the place, and France became to him like an adopted country, and he retained a life-long friendship with fellow-students and professors, among whom I might mention the Père D’Alaine, Vicaire-Général D’Orléans, and the Père Vigouroux, Professor of Sacred Scripture, the renowned Hebrew scholar of Paris and Rome. The French language became to him familiar as his mother tongue, and his trial sermons in French marked him out in the midst of his professors as a possible “Lacordaire D’Ecosse.”’<sup>986</sup>

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<sup>977</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>978</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Leith South, RD 692-02, 054-017.

<sup>979</sup> SCD 1920 (obituary).

<sup>980</sup> Ibid.

<sup>981</sup> Ibid.

<sup>982</sup> Ibid.

<sup>983</sup> Ibid.

<sup>984</sup> Ibid.

<sup>985</sup> Ibid.

<sup>986</sup> Ibid.



- Franco-Prussian War: ‘The war of 1870 found our student a sub-deacon, and a willing volunteer for ambulance work among the French wounded.’ [before being forced to return to Scotland]<sup>987</sup>
- Blairs 1870 – 1871
- Ordained 21 May 1871 at Blairs

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Mary's, Dundee 1871 – 1877
- ‘Epidemics, more common in those days, visited the city, but always found the zealous young priest ready night and day to attend the sick and the dying, and to comfort the bereaved. His simple story of his arrival in Dundee in 1871 when the city was under the shadow of an epidemic of smallpox and fever, and of the work he had to tackle, was impressive and suggestive. Within an hour of his arrival the young priest, [not] without experience of sickness and death, was in the crowded wards of the Royal Infirmary, where the sufferers were packed two in a bed. As he remarked, it was a rude apprenticeship.’<sup>988</sup>
- Perth 1877 – 1878
- St Mary's, Dundee (for a month) in 1878
- St Joseph's, Dundee 1878 – 1917
- ‘Honours fell thick and fast upon him’: Monsignor; Canon; Provost; Vicar-Genral; Vicar-Capitular; Prelate; Protonotary-Apostolic<sup>989</sup>
- Died 20 Jun 1917 at Birchwood, Birnham, after an operation necessitated by a serious illness; his last words before chloroform: ‘In manus tuas domine commendo spiritum meum.’ ‘Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.’<sup>990</sup>
- Buried at Balgay cemetery, Dundee<sup>991</sup>



<sup>987</sup> Ibid.

<sup>988</sup> Ibid.

<sup>989</sup> Ibid.

<sup>990</sup> Ibid.

<sup>991</sup> Ibid.

## OTHER

- Was very successful at converting people<sup>992</sup>
- ‘most assiduous in every branch of missionary work’<sup>993</sup>
- ‘The children had his constant and tender fostering care. He loved to prepare the little ones, every year of his life, for their first communion and confirmation’<sup>994</sup>
- ‘celebrity as a pulpit orator and platform lecturer’<sup>995</sup>
- ‘As a controversialist he was a fearless defender of the faith’<sup>996</sup>
- ‘His hobbies were manly and health-giving. Aquatic feats, graceful figures on the keen ice, or outings on loch and river brought him renewed vigour for his mission work in the dingy lanes and crowded alleys of the city.’<sup>997</sup>
- ‘He was particularly anxious to help young levites to fit themselves for the work of harvesting souls.’<sup>998</sup>
- ‘Mgr. Holder took an active interest in the civic affairs of the City of Dundee.’ (Boards, committees, societies...) <sup>999</sup>

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## MacInnes, Donald A. (1838-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 14 Aug 1838 in Catlodge, Badenoch, Laggan, Inverness-shire<sup>1000</sup>
- Mother: Anna MacDonald<sup>1001</sup>
- Father: Alexander MacInnes,<sup>1002</sup> assessed servant<sup>1003</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1853 – 1854
- Valladolid 1854 – 1859
- Dismissed from Valladolid 2 Jan 1859<sup>1004</sup>
- St Sulpice 1862 – 1864
- Ordained 29 Dec 1864 in Glasgow

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Port Glasgow 1865
- St Patrick's, Glasgow 1865 – 1871
- Bracara, North Morar 1871 – 1874

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<sup>992</sup> Ibid.

<sup>993</sup> Ibid.

<sup>994</sup> Ibid.

<sup>995</sup> Ibid.

<sup>996</sup> Ibid.

<sup>997</sup> Ibid.

<sup>998</sup> Ibid.

<sup>999</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1000</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1001</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1002</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1003</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Laggan, 104-00, 004-009.

<sup>1004</sup> ‘College Register’, 28 Jul 1854, in Maurice Taylor, *The Scots College in Spain* (Valladolid, 1971).

- Disappears from clergy lists 1875<sup>1005</sup>
- Went to Harbour Grace, Newfoundland 1876<sup>1006</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Innes, William (1813-1835)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 17 Feb 1813 in Fochabers, Moray<sup>1007</sup>
- Mother: Elizabeth Laing<sup>1008</sup>
- Father: George Innes<sup>1009</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1829 – 1830
- St Nicolas 1830 – 1831
- Douai 1831 – 1833<sup>1010</sup>
- St Nicolas 1833 – 1834
- Returned from France in bad health in 1834<sup>1011</sup>
- Died 7 Jan 1835<sup>1012</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [n/a]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### McIntosh, James (1831-1893)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 10 June 1831 in Glengairn, Aberdeenshire<sup>1013</sup>
- Mother: Elizabeth MacKenzie<sup>1014</sup>
- Father: Donald McIntosh<sup>1015</sup>
- Nephew of William McIntosh (1794-1877)<sup>1016</sup>

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<sup>1005</sup> Johnson, 'The Western District', 129.

<sup>1006</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1007</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1008</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1009</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1010</sup> Erroneously listed as at Douai until 1836 in 'Appendix 3: List of Pupils in the School run by the Community': 'Pupils of the School at Douai and Woolhampton', in Scott (ed.), *A Centenary History*.

<sup>1011</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorthies Student Register).

<sup>1012</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1013</sup> *SCD* 1894 (obituary).

<sup>1014</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1015</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1016</sup> 'Notes on Glengairn' manuscript transcription by Mark Dilworth in his 'Catholic Glengairn in the Early Nineteenth Century: Part One', 14, in *Innes Review* 7/1 (1956), 11-23.

- ‘This lad’s mother seemed to have a presentiment of her son’s future; for she remarked, when once her boy returned by coach from Arisaig [...]: “The folks on the coach kent fine that my Jimmie was nae common laddie.”’<sup>1017</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1845 – 1847
- Aire 1847 – 1850
- Montreuil-sur-Mer 1850 – 1853
- Cambrai 1853 – 1856
- Ordained 10 May 1856 in Glasgow

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Alphonsus’, Glasgow 1856 – 1857
- St Andrew’s, Glasgow 1857 – 1867
- Maryhill 1867 – 1867
- Airdrie 1867
- Canon; Missionary Rector
- Died 18 Oct 1893 in Airdrie<sup>1018</sup>
- Buried at St Joseph’s cemetery<sup>1019</sup>

#### OTHER

- A good dancer as a young lad: ‘the best dancer amongst the lads was Jas. McIntosh’<sup>1020</sup>
- ‘If I were to point out to you any special point of his character it would be his great sense of dignity of the Priesthood. This was really his guiding star through life. He always displayed a wonderful reverence in the presence of the altar. He always saw with the eye of faith the Great Creator present.’<sup>1021</sup>
- ‘Another beautiful trait in his character was his care for the children. It was what you would expect from the disciple whose Master had said, “Suffer the little children to come unto Me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.” The schools which he erected would stand as an enduring monument to Christian education.’<sup>1022</sup>
- ‘Amongst his other traits you must not forget the heroic patience and fortitude that he displayed under his long trial here. For well-nigh 15 years he had been more or less a sufferer, and those who had come in daily contact with him bore testimony that a more amiable, a more patient man they never saw. Never once even was he known to have allowed a frown to pass over him in the midst of his most excruciating pain. Never had he said an unkind word to his attendants; he was always cheerful and always patient.’<sup>1023</sup>

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<sup>1017</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1018</sup> *SCD* 1894 (obituary).

<sup>1019</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1020</sup> ‘Notes on Glengairn’ manuscript transcription by Mark Dilworth in his ‘Catholic Glengairn in the Early Nineteenth Century: Part One’, 14.

<sup>1021</sup> Johnson, ‘The Western District’, 129.

<sup>1022</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1023</sup> Ibid.

## McIntosh, James (1850-1903)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 11 Aug 1850 in Bunroy, Lochaber<sup>1024</sup>
- Mother: Catherine McDonald<sup>1025</sup>
- Father: Donald McIntosh<sup>1026</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1867 – 1872
- Douai 1872 – 1873
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1873 – 1874
- St Peter's College 1874 – 1877
- Ordained 24 Jun 1877 in Glasgow

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Dumbarton 1877 – 1878
- Chaplain for the Convent of Good Shepherd, Dalbeth 1878 – 1880
- Pollokshaws 1880 – 1884
- Saltcoats 1884 – 1893
- St Andrew's, Glasgow 1893 – 1900
- Retired 1901
- Died in Auckland, New Zealand, 31 Jan 1903<sup>1027</sup>

### OTHER

- [unknown]

## McIntosh, William (1794-1877)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 20 Apr 1794 in Braechly, Glenmuick, Aberdeenshire<sup>1028</sup>
- Highlander
- Uncle of James McIntosh (1831-1893)<sup>1029</sup>
- 'In his youth he was renowned for his great physical power and intrepidity, no less than for his manly straightforward disposition; and many anecdotes are still preserved as illustrations of these characteristics.'<sup>1030</sup>
- Escaped the Excisemen while smuggling whisky

### STUDIES (Highland District; Northern District)

- Lismore 1821 – 1826 (at the age of 27)
- St Sulpice 1826 – 1830

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<sup>1024</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1025</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1026</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1027</sup> *SCD* 1904 (obituary).

<sup>1028</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1029</sup> 'Notes on Glengairn' manuscript transcription by Mark Dilworth in his 'Catholic Glengairn in the Early Nineteenth Century: Part One', 14.

<sup>1030</sup> Ibid.

- Returned to Scotland due to the Revolution: ‘McIntosh from Paris has also returned a subdeacon, and although still declared an outlaw by the sentence of the Justiciary Court, is also to be ordained forthwith.’<sup>1031</sup>
- Charges of outlawry dropped late 1830: ‘I have the pleasure of informing you that I have now forwarded to Bishop Macdonald a regular extract of the Recal of the sentence of outlawry against Mr. McIntosh. There is now happily an end to that uncomfortable business – which has been got very quietly over.’<sup>1032</sup>
- ‘The sentence of outlawry was pronounced against McIntosh by the Justiciary court at Aberdeen in one of the circuits held there. That sentence universally known about Aberdeen. That sentence of outlawry, by means of interest, has been reversed some weeks ago [...] In spite of this stigma, however, Bp. Paterson has insisted on his appointment to Blairs.’<sup>1033</sup>
- Ordained May 1831 in Edinburgh

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Professor at Blairs 1831 – 1835
- He ‘began his classes too late and hurried them over; and he himself told me at Paris when I spoke to him about going to Ratisbonne that both his superior and confessor told him that he was not capable of teaching or of taking the management of young boys. He is a good well intentioned lad, but far from being a genius. His being placed at Blairs so near the Aberdeen where the Outlawry was pronounced, and that too immediately after it is revoked, will certainly bring Scandal on Religion and on the Seminary.’<sup>1034</sup>
- MacIntosh: ‘I have little to do here now except hear the boys’ lessons, Mr Morgan and Mr Sharp have relieved me of many charge I took in the discipline of the boys and their conduct out of class. I made an attempt, after your departure from Blairs, after consulting Bp. Murdoch, to re[new] and maintain my rights, but I found that after much brawling and squabbling and some[shock shooting] it tended only to make bad worse, and that Mr Sharp either did not see the impropriety of his conduct, however plainly I told it to him, or that he had not nerve and energy to check one who had got sent an ascendancy over him; nor he seemed to me to act as if he considered Morgan as persecuted by [us] out of jealousy, I say no, because Mr Gordon felt and feels as I do our humiliation but I hope we bear it as Christians. Since that time I see Morgan do us wrong.’<sup>1035</sup>
- Barra 1835 – 1837
- ‘He was frequently exposed to great danger while passing, in the performance of his duty, to one or other of the two smaller islands over which his flock was scattered; but no perils could daunt him, and his powerful physique, and the manly exercises to which he had been inured in his youth, often stood him in good stead.’<sup>1036</sup>
- Arisaig 1837 – 1876

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<sup>1031</sup> SCA: OL/1/5/7, Typed transcript of letter from Bp Scott to Abbé McPherson, 16 Sep 1830 (transcription of OL/2/4/13).

<sup>1032</sup> SCA: OL/1/5/11, Typed letter from Mr Charles Gordon, W.S. to Bp Scott, 27 Dec 1830.

<sup>1033</sup> SCA: OL/1/6/2, Typed up transcription. From Scott to Abbe MacPherson, 4 Feb 1831 [this is a partial transcription and description of the contents of OL/2/5/6.

<sup>1034</sup> SCA: Scott to Kyle, Glasgow 9 Dec 1830, including a Copy letter of Paterson to Scott, 21 Nov 1830.

<sup>1035</sup> SCA: OL/1/9/17, Revd William McIntosh at Blairs to A Scott, 22 Dec 1834.

<sup>1036</sup> SCD 1878 (obituary).

- ‘He travelled through various parts of Great Britain and Ireland in the course of 1845, and with the funds which he collected he was enabled to build a large and handsome Church, which was solemnly opened by Bishop Murdoch on the 19<sup>th</sup> August, 1849. Later on he built a school-house and a teacher’s residence; and about four years ago a modest chapel in the Braes of Arisaig.’<sup>1037</sup>
- Vicar-General of the West Highlands
- Requested permission to retire due to ailing health in 1876
- Died 6 Jan 1877 in Arisaig; buried there<sup>1038</sup>

#### OTHER

- His obituary makes no mention of his smuggling past<sup>1039</sup>
- ‘He was a man of apostolic simplicity of habits, living upon the plainest fare; and whilst he was hospitable in the extreme, he spent very little upon his own comforts. His charity to the poor was tender and constant. Such was the reliance placed upon his judgment and prudence, that he was frequently consulted by the various Bishops who successively ruled the Western District of Scotland on matters appertaining to the Highlands; and for sometime held the position of Vicar-General of the West Highlands.’<sup>1040</sup>

## J

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### Joss, Adam (1838-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 10 Mar 1838 in Aberdeen<sup>1041</sup>
- Mother: Margaret Grant<sup>1042</sup>
- Father: Adam Joss,<sup>1043</sup> baker<sup>1044</sup>
- ‘Orphan scholar’ in 1851<sup>1045</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1853 – 1857
- Douai 1857 – 1860
- Expelled from Douai 14 Feb 1860<sup>1046</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Listed as clerk in 1861<sup>1047</sup>

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<sup>1037</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1038</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1039</sup> Ibid. See also Alasdair Roberts, ‘William McIntosh: An Untypical Link between East and West Highland Catholicism’, in *Innes Review* 42/2 (1991), 137-142; Alasdair Roberts, ‘William McIntosh in the West Highlands: Changing the Practice of Religion’, in *Innes Review* 54/2 (2003), 111-141.

<sup>1040</sup> SCD 1878 (obituary).

<sup>1041</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1042</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1043</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1044</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Fordyce, RD 153-00, 007-031.

<sup>1045</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Aberdeen, RD 168-A0, 009-031.

<sup>1046</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

<sup>1047</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1861: St Nicholas, RD 168-0A, 048-023.

## OTHER

- [unknown]

## K

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### MacKae, William (1846-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 29 Sep 1846<sup>1048</sup>
- Mother: Christine MacDonald<sup>1049</sup>
- Father: Theodore MacRae<sup>1050</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Douai 1863 – 1867
- Left 27 Jun 1867<sup>1051</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

## OTHER

- [unknown]

### MacKay, John (1841-1926)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 28 May 1841 in Kirktown of Mortlach, Banffshire<sup>1052</sup>
- Mother: Isabella Hepburn<sup>1053</sup>
- Father: William MacKay,<sup>1054</sup> mason<sup>1055</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1856 – 1857
- Douai 1857 – 1862
- In 1859, listed with his progress as ‘satisfactory’, conduct as ‘good’, character as ‘steady’ and health as ‘good’;<sup>1056</sup> in spring 1861, listed with his progress as ‘slow’, conduct as ‘very good’, character as ‘quiet’ and health as

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<sup>1048</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>1049</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1050</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1051</sup> AN: CRD1867.

<sup>1052</sup> SCD 1927 (obituary).

<sup>1053</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1054</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1055</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Mortlach, RD 162-00, 002-007.

<sup>1056</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/10: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 24 Jan 1859.



‘good’,<sup>1057</sup> in autumn 1861, listed with his progress as ‘fair’, conduct as ‘very good’, character as ‘very good’ and health as ‘good’<sup>1058</sup>

- St Sulpice (Issy) 1862 – 1862
- Douai 1862 – 1863
- [Moved around between Douai, Issy and Scotland due to some unfortunate administrative confusion]<sup>1059</sup>
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1863 – 1865
- St Sulpice 1865 – 1868
- Ordained 6 Jun 1868 in Paris

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Banff 1868 – 1872
- In 1872 became ill; went to New Zealand in search of healthier climate<sup>1060</sup>
- Diocese of Dunedin, New Zealand 1872 – 1926
- Monsignor
- Died 18 Aug 1926 in Dunedin, New Zealand<sup>1061</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Keenan, Peter (1811-1843)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 1811 in Enniskilled, Co. Fermanagh, Ireland<sup>1062</sup>
- Qualified and practised as a surgeon in Glasgow<sup>1063</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1835 – 1837
- Ordained 30 Nov 1837 in Edinburgh, but continued education
- St Sulpice 1838 – 1840
- Was forced to return to Scotland in bad health in 1840<sup>1064</sup>
- ‘My Brother [Peter] arrived here on Friday last in a very delicate state of health, evidently arising from very ignorant treatment on the part of his superiors there, he was almost reduced to a skeleton and that too all on a sudden, by fasting, severe mental application, want of sleep, and encouraged scrupulousness. [...] My Brothers malady is more of the mind than of the body, and as the DRs observe is more to be attributed to the sudden reduction of his body by the above causes than any thing else.’<sup>1065</sup>

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<sup>1057</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/1: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 25 Mar 1861.

<sup>1058</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/2: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 4 Aug 1861.

<sup>1059</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>1060</sup> SCD 1927 (obituary).

<sup>1061</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1062</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1063</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 168.

<sup>1064</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1065</sup> SCA: OL/2/49/9, Stephen Keenan to Bp Scott, Dundee 23 Jul 1840.

## CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant at St Mary's, Greenock 1840 – 1843
- Died 8 Aug 1843 at Greenock<sup>1066</sup> of typhus<sup>1067</sup>
- Buried in the old graveyard attached to St Mary's Church, Calton, Glasgow<sup>1068</sup>

## OTHER

- 'It is now several weeks I might almost say months since you intimated to me your desire that I should return to Scotland at the end of this year's course of studies. [...] At that time I thought that you were only terrifying me into a proper sense of doing my duty here: and that considering your wanton kindness my sojourn in Paris might notwithstanding be possibly prolonged. I regret however to learn from my friend Mr Gordon that you were not only serious, but that your sentiments in that respect are unchanged. I have many reasons to desire to prolong my stay in Paris for another year, but these I need not enforce to your Lordship; they are based upon general grounds and may be easily conceived upon a consideration of my circumstances; besides I now begin to fear, that you might not consider them of sufficient importance. Would it then be too much, after so many favours already granted, to request at least a part of the ensuing year: our studies are taken up at three different periods at Christmas, Easter, and the 15<sup>th</sup> of August, at each of these periods departures take place and the studies are more profitable during the winter than during the summer season. Were I then so fortunate as to be permitted to remain here until Easter next I should not much regret the remaining months of the scholastic general course of studies here. I took three classes of Theology, during a part of this year besides my subjects, fearing that I might not be allowed to remain the full time, but notwithstanding all my endeavours there is still much to do. Failing however in my request to remain till Easter; I should then request to till Christmas, and should neither the one nor the other meet your Lordships views, you will not deny me at least a few weeks of the vacation for what with the heat and the preparations for our public examinations. there is not one in the house however strong who does not require at that period a certain time for repose; besides, I shall have some little affairs to attend to, such as the purchasing of books &c. which I find it impossible to do at present. The americans also finish their studies this year are determined to remain during the vacation, & I doubt much whether they have permission from their Bishops. This is also a very general custom among the French themselves. I have already however troubled your Lordship too much; indeed I am almost ashamed to add the present to former applications, in which I consider myself very generously dealt with; but should you find it convenient to grant me permission to remain even till Christmas I shall not only be entirely thankful but you may rest assured that this shall be the last attempt at playing the truant which I will ever meditate or make. – I must now beg our Lordship's attention to another subject which however little it may amuse me is perhaps of importance in itself and not at all likely to be made known to you from any other quarter. – All does not go well with the Scotch and the English students at Vaugirard: of late particularly ever since Dr. Kyle was here, they have become extremely discontented in

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<sup>1066</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1067</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 168.

<sup>1068</sup> *Ibid.*

consequence of a rupture with some of their Professors, whom they accuse of ignorance, inexperience and above all of prejudice; as to the truth of these counts I am not prepared to offer an opinion. It seems that some of the Professors are young men who have just finished their studies in the same house and for whom the English (for they all go under the name of English) of course will not have sufficient respect. One of them some time ago, in a moment of excitement I suppose, was so imprudent as to exclaim publicly in class that he had been led to believe that the English were a sacred band but that for his part he had found them to be a set of Hypocrites – nothing farther was necessary. – since that moment there has been no peace, but on the contrary open war and it has been said that within the last few days four even of the Scotch boys are upon a list to be dismissed. – wither this be strictly true I cannot ascertain. From all I can learn I think there are faults upon both sides some of the little English and Scotch boys it seems have determined not to do their duty, and their faults they say are laid to the charge of the whole – the English are perhaps rather proud, and I doubt not that the French in these circumstances are prejudiced. The English instead of laying their prejudices before their superior enter into cabals which it seems are not less violent in their way than those of the French Republicans; some of the French boys understand a little English they report prayers and this goes on most unfortunately for the pauvres Anglais who are at length accused of un mauvais esprit. – This is not an affair of late date it had its beginning even before Dr Gillis came here last year but in regard to the Bishops they act as they do in regard to the superior: they are prepared to make a full exposure when they hear of an opportunity – the moment one arrived – they either lose courage or put it one upon another until the opportunity no longer exists: and thus the evil has continued all along so that at present it has become rather formidable, and an advanced English student assures me that it is likely to end in the loss of several of his companions, and this includes the Scotch as well as the English. I suspect that the Scotch gain nothing by their association with the English in that house there are some customs among their which I think could only have their origin among the English. I am told by a young man from Dr. Baine's district who was for some time at Vaugirard and who is now advancing in holy orders here that they are or at least have been in the habit of visiting the Palais-Royal (one of the worst places in Paris) upon recreation days &c and they not only call for Dinner &c but drink wine to the utmost excess and this they technically term a "brush" a word the etymology of which I am altogether ignorant. This practice I think must have arisen among the English and is the more likely to continue as they and the Scotch are permitted sometime to go out alone under the care of some of the more advanced among themselves and these are the very persons I am told who take the lead in the evil. I have already however My Lord taken up too much of your time. I hope you will not think worse of the Scotch Students here from any thing which I have said. you are aware that things of this kind look worse upon paper than they are in reality and I think that the peculiarity of their circumstances is sufficient to amount to for every thing that has occurred. Perhaps I ought to have confined myself to my own affairs and so I certainly would had I even a conjecture that you could come to the knowledge of the above circumstances from others. I have no desire to interfere especially in any thing that is disagreeable relative to young men who from all that I ever saw appear to be both amiable and very

promising. I am my Lord, Your Lordships Most Obedient & very Humble Servant, P: Keenan.<sup>1069</sup>

- ‘My Lord, I received your letter in due time and ascending to your desires I went out to Vaugirard for the purpose of making your Lordships wishes known to M. Poiloup. At the time I called he had an engagement upon hands which would detain him for a considerable time so that he directed me to his substitute who transacts a great part of his business and who has all his confidence; to him I explained your Lordships sentiments which happen to be entirely conformable to their wishes and to which he promised the most punctual attention should be paid. They have already dismissed one of the English students, from the London District, but he did not say decidedly whether they had any real intention of dismissing any of the Scotch Students of course now there will be no longer any question of that until they hear from Dr. Gillis. The Scotch he says are most pious and excellent students [but?] extremely irritable and difficult to please at [????] for some time past. – As to their present [studies? ???] does not know any other cause than that [t????? ???] always together; they very seldom join the French [????] and the conversation naturally turns upon [??] grievances whether apparent or real. – As to the truth of all this I cannot even offer an opinion. the reports are so various that it is almost impossible to come to any conclusion. The students who have finished their studies at Vaugirard and are now at Issy and St. Sulpice think that they ought to be contented and that with the exception of some trifling things they have no grievance whatever. – On the other hand it is said that the house has been changed of late so that those who left it some time ago cannot be proper judges of its present state. [...] P.S. It may not be improper to say that I saw most of the Scotch students a few days ago at Vaugirard: they seemed to be dull and dispirited and their sentiments as to the house are very different. There is only one thing evident viz that they are not satisfied. I still think that the English are most to blame in the matter.’<sup>1070</sup>
- ‘I am considerably better as well in my health as in every other respect since my arrival to this this [sic] country; so that I hope to be able in the course of a very short time to wait upon your Lordships orders as to my future destination. Mr McPhearson and My brother have dissuaded me from going along with them to Glasgow as they think that I will be better here for a short time longer. Were I to enter at length upon the subject of my return home this sheet would be too small for my relation and I am sure that your Lordship would not have patience to read it nor would I find my health bettered by the writing, besides I suppose this to be unnecessary as I understood from my Director that the superior of St Sulpice would write to your Lordship at the time I left the Seminary and this was the reason why I did not write myself. I had various reasons for coming to Dundee rather than to Greenock or to Glasgow but perhaps one of the strongest was that I had already give too much trouble both to your Lordship and Dr Murdoch. My sense of gratitude for former condescension and Kindness instead of emboldening me to presume upon the future had a contriving effect so that I determined to come to Dundee. Besides my Brother had desired me to do a few weeks before when I made him aware of my circumstances. I came to Perth upon Thursday with Mr McPhearson and my brother and Mr Dawson who supplies the plan of Mr McKay invited me to stay with him for a few

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<sup>1069</sup> SCA: OL/2/47/11, Keenan to Bp Scott, Paris 3 May 1840.

<sup>1070</sup> SCA: OL/2/47/19, Keenan to Bp Scott, Paris 27 May 1840 [letter torn in the corner].

days as we had formerly been acquaintances at Blairs. Whatever explanations your Lordship may think necessary I shall be most happy to make when I shall have the pleasure of seeing your Lordship.’<sup>1071</sup>

- ‘I came down here yesterday (Tuesday) intending to set out for Greenock as soon as possible when both Mr McPhearson and my Brother told me that I was not to leave this until next week. The Doctor it seems has told them that it would be imprudent in me to do so, his reasons for this opinion I cannot well understand for I consider myself now to be in a tolerably good state of health and therefore that there is no reason whatever for the delay. [...] I desired them to read your Lordships letter and explained also that I would not have a very great deal of labour for some time &c. but all this would not do [...]. I propose then my Lord should I not hear from your Lordship in the mean time to leave this upon Thursday the 27<sup>th</sup> so as to be able to reach Greenock before the following Sunday’.<sup>1072</sup>

### Kelly, Peter (1829-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 3 Nov 1829<sup>1073</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- St Sulpice 1851 – 1851

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Kemp, John (1825-1882)<sup>1074</sup>

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 2 Jun 1825 in Banff<sup>1075</sup>
- Mother: Joanna Gillin<sup>1076</sup>
- Father: John Kemp<sup>1077</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Vaugirard 1838 – 1845
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1845 – 1847?
- St Sulpice 1847? – 1848
- Fled home due to 1848 Revolution

<sup>1071</sup> SCA: OL/2/50/1, Peter Keenan to Scott, Perth 1 Aug 1840.

<sup>1072</sup> SCA: OL/2/50/8, Peter Keenan to Scott, Dundee 19 Aug 1840.

<sup>1073</sup> AN: CRD1851.

<sup>1074</sup> SCA: MC/23/12/8 (photograph).

<sup>1075</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1076</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1077</sup> Ibid.

- Blairs 1848 – 1850
- Ordained 11 Apr 1850 at Blairs

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Charge of Mission of Dufftown 1850 – 1882 (from 1872 with an assistant priest)<sup>1078</sup>
- Retired to Miraval Cottage and was cared for by his mother<sup>1079</sup>
- Died 25 Jul 1882 at Dufftown<sup>1080</sup>
- Buried at the cemetery of St Ninian, Enzie<sup>1081</sup>




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<sup>1078</sup> *SCD* 1883 (obituary).

<sup>1079</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1080</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1081</sup> *Ibid.*

## OTHER

- ‘He was a man of remarkably amiable nature, kindly and charitable in word and deed. He was passionately desirous of increasing the beauty of God’s House, and even denied himself the comforts which his health required, that he might have the more to spend on his beloved Church.’<sup>1082</sup>
- ‘He also took a specially keen interest in the welfare of the young, and spared neither labour nor expense to provide them with a blessing of an efficient Catholic education. In November, 1858, he opened a school, which he himself taught for some time. At last he was fortunate enough to secure an able teacher, under whom it acquired such a reputation that it was soon crowded with children, including many who were not of his own flock.’<sup>1083</sup>
- ‘A woeful necessity obliges me to dispatch in the greatest haste these few words & to inform you of our flight from Paris (all the students of St. Sulpice excepting Tochetti). Your Lordship has undoubtedly by this time been at least vaguely apprised of what passed in Paris during the by-gone week of the overthrow of the Government, of the abdication & flight of Louis Philippe, of the pillage of the Tuilleries & the palaces, of the atrocious scemes that had place within & without the Chambers of deputies, of the streets of the Capital covered with barricades & dead bodies in five of the property & lives of its inhabitants subjected to the power of a lawless or [driad] rabble. The emote broke out on Tuesday it took a terrible developpement on Wednesday, it became completely tesivus on Thursday. On the night of Wednesday to Thursday we were startled from sleep by the ringing of the Toisin from the tours of St. Sulpice & by several discharges of musketry a bloody fight was going on between the municipal grounds & the mob just beneath the windows of the seminary. The next day we were ordered by our superior, in consultation with all the masters to quit the cassock. All the students procured for themselves as quick as possible secular cloths. In a few moments the seminary was evacuated. We wandered for two or three hours, meeting masters & students in the same condition as ourselves, masking this way through the barricaded streets, amidst crowds of postmen, released debt[ors] & national guards armed with guns and swords & sending forth hideous yells. We addressed ourselves to a great many hotels without success, at last we obtained for an exorbitant price permission from a Gentleman to lie in the [ante]-Room with him on a mattress stretched on the floor. Tochetti obtained lodgings in the house of a Gentleman of acquaintance out of town. We have not heard of him since. It was there we made up our minds to leave Paris; after having a second time consulted our superior whom we found in a pitified state. An officer of the national guard had just ordered h[im] to evacuate the seminary for greater security. The most pressing mortise of our departure, not to fault of pressing personal danger, was the prodigious increase of the food provisions, all the shops being short of, commerce stopped, no prospect of peace & Poly open. All we could place our hopes in was the little pocket money we happened to be then possessed of. The procurator would not give one sous to any on account of his having lent of all his money, or secured it by hiding.’ [They made their way on foot and then by vehicles from town to town (railroads closed by rebels), and eventually got to London.]<sup>1084</sup>

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<sup>1082</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1083</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1084</sup> SCA: BL/6/575/3, J. Kemp to Bp Kyle, London 28 Feb 1848.

## Kennedy, Donald (1841-1925)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 30 Nov 1841 near Loch Ness, Inverness-shire <sup>1085</sup>

### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1856 – 1859
- Douai 1859 – 1863
- In spring 1861, listed with his progress as ‘slow’, conduct as ‘very good’, character as ‘docile’ and health as ‘good’;<sup>1086</sup> in autumn 1861, listed with his progress as ‘very slow’, conduct as ‘very good’, character as ‘rather lifeless’ and health as ‘good’<sup>1087</sup>
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1863 – 1865
- St Sulpice 1865 – 1868
- Ordained 6 Jun 1868 in Paris

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Returned to Scotland; transferred to the Western District
- St Mary's, Greenock 1868 – 1869
- Drimmin 1869 – 1871
- St Patrick's, Glasgow 1871 – 1872
- Returned to Northern District
- Glengairn 1872 – 1885
- Tynet 1885 – 1913
- Retired to Fochabers
- Died 8 Apr 1925 at Fochabers<sup>1088</sup>

### OTHER

- ‘In the life of Father Kennedy there is nothing eventful for the chronicler to relate. His record is that of a faithful missionary priest who spent 45 years in the diligent discharge of the manifold duties attaching to the office of a country priest. His life was spent for the most part in outlying districts and his name did not come prominently before the public, but by his zealous devotion to duty and the example of his personal virtues he won the esteem of all who knew him and the affection of those to whom he administered the rites of religion.’<sup>1089</sup>

## MacKenzie, Colin Cameron (1859-1933)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 4 Jun 1859 near Turriff<sup>1090</sup>

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<sup>1085</sup> *SCD* 1926 (obituary).

<sup>1086</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/1: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 25 Mar 1861.

<sup>1087</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/2: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 4 Aug 1861.

<sup>1088</sup> *SCD* 1926 (obituary).

<sup>1089</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1090</sup> *Ibid.*



- Mother: Mary Grant<sup>1091</sup>
- Father: Lewis MacKenzie,<sup>1092</sup> gardener<sup>1093</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1873 – 1877
- Douai 1877 – 1878
- Scots College Rome 1879 – 1885
- Ordained 20 Dec 1884 at Rome

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Lent to Archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh
- St Francis Xavier's, Falkirk 1885 – 1886
- North Berwick 1886 – 1891
- Banff 1891 – 1892
- [Transfer from North Berwick to Banff in 1891]: 'From an ecclesiastical point of view it was a poor substitute for North Berwick with its comparatively large congregation, but Fr. MacKenzie bore his disappointment with the unfailing smile that was characteristic of his personality.'<sup>1094</sup>
- Chapelton 1892 – 1912
- Braemar 1912 – 1933
- Canon
- Died 13 Jun 1933 at Braemar<sup>1095</sup>

#### OTHER

- 'fastidious' tastes<sup>1096</sup>
- [Braes of Glenlivet]: 'He interested himself in the daily life of the people, he even essayed the business of farming – it was not a success, but it brought him into closer touch with the good people of the Braes.'<sup>1097</sup>
- 'there was in Canon MacKenzie a reverence and attention, a devotion and assiduity that was remarkable. [...] you must have marvelled frequently at the long hours he devoted to prayer'<sup>1098</sup>
- 'outside the Church and apart from his duties as a priest Canon MacKenzie had an air of boyishness that was conspicuous. He was agreeable in company, he loved and appreciated a playful word, his own or that of another. To the end he retained the ingenuous smile of his boyhood and his boyhood's playful manner.'<sup>1099</sup>

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<sup>1091</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1092</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1093</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Alvah, RD 146-00, 005-002.

<sup>1094</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1095</sup> SCD 1934 (obituary).

<sup>1096</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1097</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1098</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1099</sup> Ibid.

## MacKenzie, Donald (1817-1843)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 12 Nov 1817 in Strathglass, Inverness<sup>1100</sup>
- Mother: Mary Chisholm<sup>1101</sup>
- Father: Donald MacKenzie<sup>1102</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1833 – 1834
- Vaugirard 1834 – 1841
- St Sulpice (Issy?) 1841 – 1843
- Left Jan 1843<sup>1103</sup>
- 'Left and died'<sup>1104</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

### OTHER

- 'My Lord, We may advance with the assurance that you receive no greater pleasure than to hear of the welfare of your students, and to be of great utility to them provided that Your condescendence dont damage the interests if the mission. I trust then, My lord, than we may with confidence have recourse to your paternal bounty, for your interest and ours are closely connected together. On this letter then depends the success that we Shall obtain in our farther advanced studies. The College that we are in possesses a certain regular course of studies peculiar to itself, which regular courses if we follow up, we shall enter the seminary of Issy in the middle of the course of Philosophy, it being of two years. Rather than spoil such an important branch of our education (for if we went there in the middle of the course we would certainly understand nothing of it, because there are continual allusions made to the study of the first year) we are next year going to make our rhetorick and to pass over our literature; in order that we may arrive at Issy at the beginning of the course. But before we make such a decisif step (before we pass over a class consequently take a year less) we beg of your lordship to promise to us that when we have finished our divinity and are gone home to Scotland, you will allow us to pass a year at Blairs, to make up for the year that we will not have taken in france. It would not only make up for the year that we would not have taken in france, but it would likewise serve us for the Gaelick that we will have nearly forgot, and for the English that we speak very poorly having never learned it gramatically. So for us the year that we would pass at Blairs would be incomparably of more use to us than the one that we would pass in france. Besides we would learn our Gaelick and English, in fact we would be twice more prepared to go on the Mission, and only take the same time as for you, My lord, I imagine that you would receive no disadvantages in granting our demand, on the contrary you would be able to send other students a year sooner in our place. As for the travelling money you would not loose since that money would be requisite a

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<sup>1100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1103</sup> AN: CRD1843.

<sup>1104</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

year later. Since then, My lord, you will draw no disadvantage and that we will draw a great and an incomparable advantage, we beg of you to condescend to our claims. Messrs Keenan, Gordon, Oneil, Reid, and the other Scotch students are all well. Deign, My lord, to give us a prompt and complying answer. Your ever humble and obedient sons, John Shaw and Donald McKenzie. P.S. This letter regards equally us two who have signed our names. We are in the same class, and find ourselves in the same circumstances.<sup>1105</sup>

## McKenzie, Patrick (1856-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 1 Sep 1856 in Aberdeen<sup>1106</sup>
- Mother: Priscilla Rowell,<sup>1107</sup> ‘wife of stoker in a steam vessel’; born on England<sup>1108</sup>
- Father: George McKenzie,<sup>1109</sup> stoker in a steam vessel, formerly nail manufacturer<sup>1110</sup>

### STUDIES (Northern District)

- |                     |             |
|---------------------|-------------|
| • Blairs            | 1869 – 1872 |
| • Douai             | 1872 – 1876 |
| • St Sulpice (Issy) | 1876 – 1877 |

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

### OTHER

- [unknown]

## Kerr, John (1811-1873)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 20 Jan 1811 in Glasgow<sup>1111</sup>
- Mother: Elisabeth Campbell<sup>1112</sup> (‘Betty Bell’)<sup>1113</sup>
- Father: James Kerr,<sup>1114</sup> shoemaker<sup>1115</sup>

<sup>1105</sup> SCA: OL/2/39/3, John Shaw and Donald MacKenzie to Scott, Vaugirard 10 Apr 1839.

<sup>1106</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1108</sup> SPC: Census 1861: St Nicholas, RD 168-01, 046-015.

<sup>1109</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1110</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Old Machar, RD 168-B0, 030-002.

<sup>1111</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1113</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Glasgow, St Andrew’s, MP006200001-00001-00002-00147-.

<sup>1114</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1115</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Glasgow, St Andrew’s, MP006200001-00001-00002-00147-.

#### STUDIES (Lowland District; Western District)

- Aquhorties 1826 – 1829
- Blairs 1829 – 1830
- Refused entry to Issy in 1830<sup>1116</sup>
- St Nicolas 1830 – 1831
- Forced to leave Paris due to unrest in 1831
- Douai 1831 – 1833
- St Sulpice 1833 – 1834
- Blairs 1834 – 1835
- Ordained 11 May 1835 at Blairs

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Andrew's, Glasgow 1835 – 1836
- 'I am sorry to learn that poor Kerr had got so very soon into the blue Devils: he will scarcely pay his passage to France at this rate.'<sup>1117</sup>
- Campbeltown 1836 – 1843
- Greenock 1843 – 1845
- Professor at Blairs 1845 – 1847
- St Mary's, Glasgow 1847 – 1847
- Duntocher 1847 – 1849
- Rothesay 1849 – 1852
- Glasgow 1852 – 1852
- Greenock 1852 – 1852
- St Mirren's, Paisley 1852 – 1856
- Maryhill 1856 – 1858
- St John's, Glasgow 1858 – 1870
- Chaplain for the Convent of Good Shepherd, Dalbeth 1870 – 1873
- Died 2 Sep 1873 in Dalbeth, Glasgow, at Convent of the Good Shepherd<sup>1118</sup>

#### OTHER

- 'My Lord, I read your letter over with very agitated feelings, conscious that I was, that my endeavours to meet the demand of Mr Kean's creditors, did not merit the harsh severity with which you have thought proper to inflict. You wrong me, Grievously, my Lord, if you mean to insinuate that I intended to make a fool of you. I did not know that your character was so deeply involved on my account. I made every endeavour that was possible to be in Greenock to pay it, but could not succeed. I cannot help it, my Lord, if my word will not be believed – As to spending my money to more improper uses, I [can] not understand – I solemnly assert that I spent it in no [?] whatever that could have hindered me from paying the sum [ ] id, if I had had it. My Lord, I would naturally look for your sympathy in the struggles which you must know I have to encounter in this Mission. I have been for weeks without a farthing of money in my house, and did not know how to procure my dinner. I have not much temptations to spend money to very improper uses [...]. If I deserved the character you give me in your letter, I would, in all likelihood, be indifferent about your esteem, but conscious that

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<sup>1116</sup> SCA: BL/6/23/6, Bp Scott to Paterson, Glasgow 12 Nov 1830.

<sup>1117</sup> SCA: OL/1/13/2, Charles McKenzie to Scott, Fort William, 13 Jan 1836.

<sup>1118</sup> SCD 1873 (obituary).

I do not, I am sorry for the resolution you have taken “never more to believe a word I say”.<sup>1119</sup>

- ‘Whilst prosecuting his clerical studies in Scotland and in France, he is described by his college companions to have been a diligent, persevering student, and a general favourite with his school-fellows, being always remarkable for generosity and bonhomie – qualities which distinguished him all through his after life.’<sup>1120</sup>
- ‘It may well be said of Mr. Kerr that while nature gave him a soul that was lofty and full of energy, modesty refined that soul: grace made him humble, and brought him to the perfection of all that is noble and lovely. He was a holy Priest, an accomplished scholar, a classical writer, and an eloquent preacher. He was beloved by the poor, and held in the highest estimation by all classes.’<sup>1121</sup>

## Kerr, Thomas (1844-1918)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 8 Feb 1844<sup>1122</sup> in Monaghan, near Clogher, Ireland<sup>1123</sup>
- Mother: Anna McCabe<sup>1124</sup>
- Father: Patrick Kerr<sup>1125</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Diocesan College of Monaghan, Ireland
- Blairs 1859 – 1865
- Douai 1865 – 1865
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1865 – 1867
- St Sulpice 1867 – 1870
- Ordained 29 Jun 1870 in Paris

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant at St John's, Glasgow 1870 – 1872
- St Palladius', Dalry 1872 – 1877
- St Michael's, Parkhead 1877 – 1885
- Our Lady & St Mark's, Alexandria 1885 – 1889
- St Patrick's, Shotts 1889 – 1890
- Our Lady & St Anne's, Cadzow 1890 – 1895
- Assistant at The Holy Family & St Ninian, Kirkintilloch 1895 – 1896
- St Aloysius', Springburn 1896 – 1910
- Chaplain at Kenmure Industrial School, Bishopbriggs 1910 – 1914
- Assistant at Sacred Heart, Bridgeton 1914 – 1916

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<sup>1119</sup> SCA: OL/1/24/10, John Kerr to Scott, Campbelton 28 May 1838.

<sup>1120</sup> SCD 1873 (obituary).

<sup>1121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1122</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1123</sup> SCD 1919 (obituary).

<sup>1124</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1125</sup> Ibid.

- Retired to St Anne's Convalescent Home, Musselburgh  
1916 – 1918
- Died 26 Jun 1918 in Musselburgh<sup>1126</sup>
- Buried at St Peter's cemetery, Dalbeth<sup>1127</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### MacKinley, James (1854-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 9 Apr 1854<sup>1128</sup>

#### STUDIES (? District)

- St Sulpice 1877 – 1877

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### MacKintosh, Alexander (1854-1922)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 1 Mar 1854<sup>1129</sup> Kin-loch-nan-uannmh, Arisaig, Inverness-shire<sup>1130</sup>
- Mother: Grace MacPherson<sup>1131</sup>
- Father: William MacKintosh,<sup>1132</sup> gamekeeper with ten children, a servant and a tutor<sup>1133</sup>
- House had Five rooms with one or more windows<sup>1134</sup>
- Gaelic-speaker<sup>1135</sup>
- 'His parents came of a stock which has never lost the faith; his father being a native of Lochaber and his mother a MacPherson, whose ancestors were from the district of Braemar.'<sup>1136</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1867 – 1872
- Douai 1872 – 1873

<sup>1126</sup> SCD 1919 (obituary).

<sup>1127</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 179.

<sup>1128</sup> AN: CRD1877.

<sup>1129</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1130</sup> SCD 1923 (obituary).

<sup>1131</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1133</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Arisaig, RD 505-02, 006-002.

<sup>1134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1135</sup> SCD 1923 (obituary).

<sup>1136</sup> Ibid.

- ‘His stay at Douai was, to his regret, all too short, but it was long enough to inspire him with a love of all things Benedictine.’<sup>1137</sup>
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1873 – 1874
- Recalled to Scotland in 1874<sup>1138</sup>
- St Peter’s College 1874 – 1877
- Ordained 24 Jun 1877 in Glasgow

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant priest at Kilmarnock 1877 – 1878
- Wigtown 1878 – 1880
- Daliburgh, South Uist (incl. Eriskay) 1880 – 1884
- Requested permission to migrate to Canada with many of his parishioners (Scottish Highlanders in Manitoba); his bishop consented; however, a colleague became ill and he was asked to cover up at Fort William<sup>1139</sup>
- ‘He watched the larger Scotland growing up on the other side of the Atlantic, and with a statesman’s eye he foresaw there for his poor people possibilities of peace and prosperity which they could never enjoy at home. He asked, therefore, and obtained his Bishop’s permission to go to Canada and take up missionary work among the Scottish Highlanders in Manitoba.’<sup>1140</sup>
- Fort William 1884 – 1922
- Monsignor; Canon (1907); Vicar-General to Bishop Smith from 1916; Proto-Notary Apostolic *ad instar* (1919); Vicar Capitular<sup>1141</sup>
- Died 4 May 1922 in Fort William (collapsed suddenly)<sup>1142</sup>
- Buried at the Cemetery of Killiechoireall<sup>1143</sup>

#### OTHER

- High degree of interest in civic affairs and educational matters (member of a plethora of boards and councils)<sup>1144</sup>
- ‘His opinions were eagerly sought and valued on matters of business and policy, where his acumen and farsightedness were conspicuous.’<sup>1145</sup>
- ‘Father Mackintosh was a man of sterling character – a typical Highland priest, with strong national and racial sympathies, but with a cosmopolitan outlook, cheerful, affable, and possessed of an old-world courtesy that enhanced the dignity of the man. Tall, handsome, with massive, shapely head, clean cut features and fine complexion, his was a figure that would attract attention in any crowd, yet he carried his honours lightly, as if unconscious of his splendid gifts.’<sup>1146</sup>
- ‘Proud of soul he was and dignified, as men are who feel instinctively that dignity pertains to them, and need not think of how to assert or maintain it. No one could be more natural, more free from pretence, nor more cordially detest affectation. By nature he was shy and reserved and outwardly cold in

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<sup>1137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1146</sup> Ibid.

bearing, and self-revelation was to him a thing abhorred and impossible. For this reason, he was sometimes misunderstood, and men shrank from approaching him. In reality, he was most warm-hearted, sensitive and sympathetic. No one could be kinder to the sick and suffering, one in trouble or sorrow. He could be silent for hours with his best friends, and at times he could pour out an endless stream of reminiscences and interesting conversation when he found a sympathetic audience.’<sup>1147</sup>

## MacKintosh, Donald Aloysius (1844-1919)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 22 Dec 1844<sup>1148</sup> on the farm of Bohutin, Braes of Lochaber<sup>1149</sup>
- Mother: Ket (Catherine)<sup>1150</sup> Grant<sup>1151</sup>
- Father: Angus MacKintosh,<sup>1152</sup> cottar, agricultural labourer<sup>1153</sup>
- Uncle of Donald Campbell, later Bishop of Argyll and the Isles<sup>1154</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Educated privately by Fr James Bennett, West Thorn Reformatory, Glasgow
- Douai 1865 – 1866
- Spent an additional year at Douai as was considered ‘too weak’ to proceed to Issy in 1865<sup>1155</sup>
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1866 – 1888
- St Sulpice 1868 – 1870
- Studies interrupted by the Franco-Prussian war in 1870
- Blairs 1870 – 1871
- Ordained 30 May 1871 at Blairs<sup>1156</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant at St John’s, Glasgow 1871 – 1874
- Our Lady and St Margaret’s, Kinning Park, Glasgow 1874 – 1912
- Diocesan Inspector of Schools 1880 – 1912
- Canon (1886); Provost (1908)
- Vicar-general of archdiocese from 1909
- Appointed coadjutor-archbishop of Glasgow (with the right of succession) in 1912
- Died 8 Oct 1919 in Glasgow<sup>1157</sup>

<sup>1147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1148</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Roybridge, St Margaret’s, MP007500001-00014-00001-00173-.

<sup>1149</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1150</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Kilmonivaig, RD 099-00, 013-002.

<sup>1151</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Roybridge, St Margaret’s, MP007500001-00014-00001-00173-.

<sup>1152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1153</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Kilmonivaig, RD 099-00, 013-002.

<sup>1154</sup> Darragh, *The Catholic Hierarchy of Scotland*, 55.

<sup>1155</sup> SCA: CA/1/46/11, M. Duplessy to Monsieur le Supérieur, Paris, 26 Aug 1866.

<sup>1156</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1157</sup> SCD 1920 (obituary).



## OTHER

- Published *Scottish Education* (1913)<sup>1158</sup>
- Principal Scottish architect of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918<sup>1159</sup>

## MacKintosh, John (1859-1903)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 20 Apr 1859 in Lochaber,<sup>1160</sup> ‘gamekeeper’s wife’, head of household in 1861 (married, not widowed)<sup>1161</sup>
- Mother: Margaret Burton<sup>1162</sup>
- Father: Donald MacKintosh,<sup>1163</sup> gamekeeper<sup>1164</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1872 – 1877
- Douai 1877 – 1878
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1878 – 1880
- Was forced to return to Scotland in bad health; upon recovery, sent to Spain
- Valladolid 1880 – 1882
- Ordained 20 Aug 1882 in Valladolid

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant priest at Mingarry 1882 – 1883
- Bornish (South Uist) 1883 – 1900
- Campbeltown 1900 – 1903
- Died 16 Mar 1903 in Campbeltown of an ‘acute attack of Bright’s disease’<sup>1165</sup>

## OTHER

- [unknown]

## MacKintosh, William (1806-1854?)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 1806 in Tongue, Sutherland<sup>1166</sup>
- Mother: Margaret Sutherland<sup>1167</sup>
- Father: George MacKintosh<sup>1168</sup>

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<sup>1158</sup> Darragh, *The Catholic Hierarchy of Scotland*, 56.

<sup>1159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1160</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1161</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Lochaber, RD 099-02, 010-004.

<sup>1162</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1164</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Lochaber, RD 099-02, 010-004.

<sup>1165</sup> SCD 1904 (obituary).

<sup>1166</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1168</sup> Ibid.

#### STUDIES (Lowland District; Northern District)

- Aquhorties 1826 – 1829
- Blairs 1829 – 1830
- St Nicolas 1830 – 1831
- Studies interrupted due to revolution
- Douai 1831 – 1833
- St Sulpice 1833 – 1835
- Ordained 4 Aug 1835 at Preshome

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Preshome 1835 – 1837
- Tombae, Glenlivet 1837 – 1838
- Tomintoul 1838 – 1842
- Elgin 1842 – 1843
- In 1843 he went to Canada and served the Diocese of Toronto 1843-1848<sup>1169</sup>
- Died 1853 in the United States<sup>1170</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘The three remaining of the twelve who came over in 1830 are quite well, they feel no inconvenience from the close confinement of St Sulpice & St Nicholas. The seven whom you lately sent have, for the last six weeks, been at a pension in the suburbs of Paris: Towards the end of this week they remove to their townhour in order to study French a twelve month before they can begin the ordinary course.’<sup>1171</sup>
- ‘I am still in terrible doubts about our Tomintoul friend [William McIntosh]. Not a whisper has come to my ears about the business since I wrote to you first. The woman is dismissed. The affair is of such a nature, & in such a position, that I feel at the utmost loss to determine whether religion would suffer more or greater scandal be given by dismissing or removing him, or by allowing him to remain. I say what I will & do what I may, if I send him away, it will be understood by many as a declaration of his guilt, which would have the moral effects and which at the same time I have not grounds for making. On the other hand by his mad imprudence, he has put himself completely in the woman’s power, & if she was induced by any means to accuse him, it would be impossible for him to redeem himself. I know not whether he would consent to the terms on which you propose Egg to him. He is not, I am sorry to say a teetotaller. And I suspect that as he would consider the removing him to that station out of this district, as a public testimony to our belief of his guilt, he would rather flee to some other country, America or Australia, where the effects of that testimony might not reach him. All circumstances considered I see not what I can do in the mean time but to wait for a few months patently to see events. If nothing occurs to hasten my determination, I shall try to make some change at Whitsunday. By that time, some light may be thrown on the affair itself, or it may be better ascertained for what judgement the people have come. If I can keep him in the district there will be less risk of scandal. If I am obliged to dismiss him, you shall have him in your power, but seriously I do not think he will answer for you, but he must go beyond seas.’<sup>1172</sup>

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<sup>1169</sup> Johnson, ‘The Northern and Eastern Districts’, 35.

<sup>1170</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>1171</sup> SCA: BL/6/96/14, William McIntosh to Charles Gordon, St. Sulpice 6 Oct 1834.

<sup>1172</sup> SCA: OL/2/63/3 (1) and (2), Bp Kyle to Bp Scott, Preshome 15 Jan 1842.

**McLachlan, Alexander (1833-1xxx)**

## FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 27 Feb 1833 in Glasgow<sup>1173</sup>
- Mother: Catherine MacLachlan<sup>1174</sup>
- Father: Arthur MacLachlan,<sup>1175</sup> spirit dealer<sup>1176</sup>

## STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1846 – 1847
- [France] 1847 – ?

## CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

## OTHER

- [unknown]

**MacLachlan, Charles (1831-1xxx)**

## FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 15 Dec 1831 in Glenlivet<sup>1177</sup>

## STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1844 – 1845
- Vaugirard 1845 – 1847
- Dismissed<sup>1178</sup>

## CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

## OTHER

- [Of Western District student Charles Lackland at Vaugirard]: Il c'est si mal conduit et a montré tant d'insubordination envers les maîtres que M. Poiloup ne veut plus le garder et a pris le parti en attendant votre décision de le séparer de ses camarades. [...] L'opinion de Messieurs de Vaugirard est très peu favorable à la vocation Ecclésiastique du jeune Lackland.<sup>1179</sup>
- [unknown]

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<sup>1173</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1176</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 038-009.

<sup>1177</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

<sup>1178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1179</sup> SCA: OL/2/74/4, Cailly, Administrateur des Fondations Ecosaises en France, to Bishop Murdoch, London, 8 Sep 1847.

## McLachlan, James Patrick (1856-1886)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 11 Sep 1856 in Coatbridge<sup>1180</sup>
- Mother: Mary Aleese,<sup>1181</sup> born in Ireland<sup>1182</sup>
- Father: Henry McLachlan,<sup>1183</sup> accountant, messenger and sheriff officer<sup>1184</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Ushaw 1870 – 1873
- Douai 1873 – 1876
- Ill health; returned to Scotland
- Ushaw 1876 – 1878
- Ill health; returned to Scotland
- St Peter's College 1878 – 1879
- Ushaw 1879 – 1882
- 'Whilst at Ushaw, his genial nature, his frank and straightforward character, his kindness, and above all his genuine goodness, made him a favourite with both superiors and fellow-students, many of whom ever after maintained with him close and intimate friendship. But above all, during his life at College, he cultivated that without which knowledge and talents avail but little: he was exemplary in his piety and in the exercise of every virtue. Indeed he might be cited as a bright example of the excellent spirit which has acquired for Ushaw a well-earned reputation of being a fruitful nursery of zealous missionaries and faithful and devoted priests.'<sup>1185</sup>
- Ordained 6 Aug 1882 in Glasgow

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Johnstone 1882 – 1883
- Secretary and Diocesan Treasurer to the Archbishop of Glasgow 1883 – 1886
- 'In this capacity his brethren in the priesthood were able to appreciate his exact attention to, and peculiar fitness for, the onerous and important duties of that office, and the friendly nature that enabled him without presumption, yet without affectation of undue modesty, to advise those that were in anxiety and trouble.'<sup>1186</sup>
- 'At the end of last June his health got so much worse that his medical adviser ordered him to the coast for rest and change of air. He accordingly repaired to Skelmorlie, a watering-place on the Firth of Clyde. But the malady from which he suffered was already beyond the reach of human remedies.'<sup>1187</sup>
- Died 18 Jul 1886 at Skelmorlie of meningitis<sup>1188</sup>

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<sup>1180</sup> *SCD* 1887 (obituary).

<sup>1181</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Coatbridge, St Patrick's, MP000300001-00002-00001-00106-.

<sup>1182</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Old Monkland (Middle District), RD 652-02, 014-009.

<sup>1183</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Coatbridge, St Patrick's, MP000300001-00002-00001-00106-.

<sup>1184</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Old Monkland (Middle District), RD 652-02, 014-009.

<sup>1185</sup> *SCD* 1887 (obituary).

<sup>1186</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1187</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1188</sup> *Ibid.*

- Buried at St Peter’s Cemetery, Dalbeth, in the family grave<sup>1189</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘a leading trait of his character, viz., firmness and determination in the face of indifferent health, and unswerving faithfulness in following out the vocation to the priesthood which the Almighty had bestowed upon him. During his career at College, notwithstanding his poor health, his attention to his studies was assiduous, and even when racked with pain he was always bright and cheerful: with thoughtful and self-sacrificing kindness concealing what he endured lest he might damp the spirits or mar the pleasures of his companions. [...] Although a constant martyr to ill-health, he discharged his duties with unremitting attention.’<sup>1190</sup>
- ‘Of his brief span of missionary labour will be sufficient to say that his utter abnegation of the self, his devotedness to his work – far greater than his strength would have justified – the holiness of life that shone through his actions, the absorption in God that could not be hidden as he stood at the altar celebrating the Sacred Mysteries, his tenderness towards the sick with whose sufferings his own weak health made him able fully to sympathise, his earnestness in preaching which even then gave great promise for the future, and finally, his open and frank and genial nature, tempered with a priestly reserve, won him the love and admiration of those among whom he laboured.’<sup>1191</sup>

### MacLachlan, Paul (1805-1883)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 18 Sep 1805 in Balnaknockan, Braes of Glenlivet, Banff<sup>1192</sup>
- Mother: Helen Grant<sup>1193</sup>
- Father: John MacLachlan<sup>1194</sup>

#### STUDIES (Lowland District; Eastern District)

- Aquhorties 1819 – 1822
- St Nicolas 1822 – 1827
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1827 – 1829
- St Sulpice 1829 – 1830
- Forced to return home in bad health
- Blairs 1830 – 1831
- Ordained ‘on the octave-day of the Assumption’, Aug 1831 in Edinburgh<sup>1195</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Campsie 1831 – 1832
- St Mary's, Edinburgh 1832 – 1834
- Stirling 1834 – 1876

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<sup>1189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1191</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1192</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1193</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1195</sup> SCD 1885 (obituary).

- Fundraising trips to England and Ireland
- Doune 1876 – 1883
- Monsignor; Doctor of Divinity; Vicar-General
- Died 21 Aug 1883 in Doune<sup>1196</sup>

#### OTHER

- Involved in a controversy with Protestant clergymen and gentlemen over matters of faith (pulpit, press and pamphlet);<sup>1197</sup> for example Paul MacLachlan, *A Letter to the Rev. James Gilfillan of Stirling in Answer to a Letter from that Rev. Gentleman to the Rev. Paul MacLachlan of St Francis Xavier's Church, Falkirk* (Edinburgh, 1844).
- 'no man has more real comforts than a good priest.'<sup>1198</sup>
- 'I have no hesitation in saying, that as a general rule, the fair sex is more virtuous and pure in Catholic than in Protestant countries.'<sup>1199</sup>
- Delicate health: work interrupted by cholera, rheumatic fever, apoplexy and scarlet fever<sup>1200</sup>
- 'In Stirling he was all along known as the gentle, courteous gentleman. He devoted his life and great talents to the sacred purpose to which they had been consecrated, and in the service of his Church he lost no opportunities in doing good to her children. [...] His conversation was simple and brilliant, for he kept himself fully informed on what was going on in the world. This he could only do by wasting none of the moments he could snatch from the important duty of his holy office, and these he assiduously utilised.'<sup>1201</sup>
- 'The dignity of *Cameriere segreto sopranumerario*, with the title of Monsignore, was conferred upon him in March, 1883.'<sup>1202</sup>

### Lamont, James Duff (1819-1891)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 2 Dec<sup>1203</sup> 1819<sup>1204</sup> in Kintail, Braemar, Aberdeenshire<sup>1205</sup>
- Mother: Barbara Lamont<sup>1206</sup>
- Father: James Lamont,<sup>1207</sup> soldier, 42<sup>nd</sup> regiment<sup>1208</sup>
- Gaelic-speaker<sup>1209</sup>
- 'Last summer I requested your Lordship might give a place in college to a most promising Boy. My application was of no avail at the time because your Lordship had no place to spare. If there is an opening next season I

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<sup>1196</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1198</sup> SCA: PML/3/5, A booklet by Paul MacLachlan, *Clerical Celibacy and the Confessional: A Letter to J. Burn Murdoch, Esq. by the Rev. MacLachlan* (Edinburgh, 1847), 13.

<sup>1199</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>1200</sup> SCD 1885 (obituary).

<sup>1201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1202</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1203</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1204</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Braemar, St Andrew's, MP

<sup>1205</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1208</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Braemar, St Andrew's, MP

<sup>1209</sup> SCD 1893 (obituary).

would humbly hope he may be received because he is a very fit subject in disposition and piety. His talents I would consider to be of the very first order. His clergyman the Rev V. Chisholm Fort Augustus confirms my decided opinion of the boy. If then were an opening for him abroad I would request he might be allowed to go there because his father is just dead and his mother is left destitute, so that she cannot pay for his year's board at Blairs. Of course if he goes to France no more is required than his travelling expenses to enable him to enter college and these Mr V. Chisholm and I shall most cheerfully defray. <sup>1210</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1833 – 1834
- Vaugirard 1834 – 1837
- Returned home in bad health: 'Le jeune Lamond, Elève placé à l'Institution de M. Poiloup était retourné pour cause de santé en Ecosse. Chez ses parents, pendant les vacances de 1837. Il devait rentrer pour le 1er 8bre, puis pour le Mois de Janvier 1838'<sup>1211</sup>
- Blairs 1837 – 1843
- 'As to Ratisbon I am glad that you & I agree so well in our ideas. Lamont at Blairs does not go. It was not for a life of religious retirement that he took an inclination, but a notion came across him some time ago that he would wish a mission of greater labour & greater suffering than ours. I understand that his notion speedily passed away, & he is now quite contented & giving contentment where he is.'<sup>1212</sup>
- Ordained 24 Apr 1843 at Preshome

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Preshome 1843 – 1844
- Dornie in Kintail 1844 – 1848
- Glenmoriston and Fort Augustus 1848 – 1853
- Dornie 1853 – 1856
- Fasnakyle, Strathglass 1856 – 1858
- Dornie 1858 – 1865
- Nearly emigrated to New Zealand in 1861<sup>1213</sup>
- In 1865 left the Scottish Mission
- Went to Walsall, England
- Emigrated to Canada
- Prince Edward Island, Canada
- Parkhill, Canada
- In 1874 moved to Irishtown, Ontario, Canada
- Died 25 Nov 1891 in Irishtown, Ontario, Canada; suffered from 'contraction and twitching of nerves' so death was not unexpected<sup>1214</sup>
- 'The remains are buried in a beautiful spot immediately opposite the door of the chapel [of Irishtown].'<sup>1215</sup>

#### OTHER

<sup>1210</sup> SCA: BL/6/575/19, Mr Lamont to Bishop, 17 Dec 1848.

<sup>1211</sup> AN: CRD1838.

<sup>1212</sup> SCA: OL/2/45/5, Bp Kyle to Bp Scott, Preshome 18 Jan 1840.

<sup>1213</sup> SCD 1893 (obituary).

<sup>1214</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1215</sup> SCD 1893 (obituary), mostly citing the one published in the *Catholic Record* of Irishtown.

- ‘His herculean strength, great energy, powers of endurance and unconquerable will seemed to admirably fit him for the task; but the toil and hardships he underwent, coupled with an utter (and perhaps culpable) disregard of his personal comforts, laid the foundation of an ailment which caused a contraction and twitching of the nerves, which produced an abrupt and painfully convulsive movement of the whole body; and though he could never divest himself of this affliction, yet he always seemed happy and cheerful.’<sup>1216</sup>
- ‘His temper, slightly irascible by nature, was so chastened by the influence of religion as to give him that suavity of manners which made him a most agreeable companion. He was always engaged in some pious or devotional act, spending much of his time before the tabernacle in prayer and frequently visiting the people.’<sup>1217</sup>
- ‘He possessed a most retentive memory, which “is the soul of genius”. His profound erudition, his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, theology and human nature, together with a natural capacity of imparting to others with ease and clearness the impressions of his mind, combined to render him a preacher of great power. His style was very forcible, and so logical and argumentative that his hearers plainly saw his conclusions before he came them. He never failed to procure conviction; and so great was his humility that he refused to take any credit for his success, attributing it to the inherent and indestructible blessing which accompanied the command to preach.’<sup>1218</sup>

## Lamont, William (1860-19xx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 15 May 1860 in Glenshee<sup>1219</sup>
- Mother: Emily Gruer<sup>1220</sup>
- Father: James Lamont,<sup>1221</sup> shepherd<sup>1222</sup>

### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1874 –
- Douai
- [‘Died’?]<sup>1223</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- In 1881, an unmarried boarder listed as a ‘druggist’ in Forfar<sup>1224</sup>
- In 1891, listed as a chemist and druggist; married to Annie; two daughters<sup>1225</sup>

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<sup>1216</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1217</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1218</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1219</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1220</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1221</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1222</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Glenshee, RD 370-02, 001-003.

<sup>1223</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register). This is likely a mistake.

<sup>1224</sup> SPC: Census 1881: Forfar, RD 288-00, 021-024.

<sup>1225</sup> SPC: Census 1891: Brechin, RD 275-00, 001-031.



- In 1901, a widowed chemist and druggist at Brechin with three daughters and a son<sup>1226</sup>
- In 1911 listed as a pharmacist and employer; wife Elizabeth<sup>1227</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### MacLean, Norman (18xx-1831)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- [unknown]

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- St Nicolas 1826 – 1831
- Was unable to escape Paris in 1831 due to illness<sup>1228</sup>
- Died at St Nicolas 21 Jun 1831<sup>1229</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- ‘You probably many have heard from Mon[signo]r Fery or Mon[signo]r Frère that the greater part of the Scotch students in Paris have come to Doway. Eleven from St Nicholas arrived here on the 10<sup>th</sup> of this month, a twelvth [Mclean] who was to accompany them was unable from the ill state of his health to travel, but as soon as he shall be capable of supporting the fatigues of the journey I suppose he will follow his companions.’<sup>1230</sup>

### Letters, Frederick (1854-1931)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 12 Feb 1854 in Stirling<sup>1231</sup>
- Mother: Catherine Loughran<sup>1232</sup>
- Father: Patrick Letters,<sup>1233</sup> pawn broker<sup>1234</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs and Tirlemont, Belgium 1867 – 1873
- St Patrick’s College 1873 – 1873

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<sup>1226</sup> SPC: Census 1901: Brechin, RD 275-00, 009-040.

<sup>1227</sup> SPC: Census 1911: Brechin, RD 275-00, 001-008.

<sup>1228</sup> OL/2/6/1, Rev Collier (Douay College) to Bp Scott, English College Douai 28 May 1831.

<sup>1229</sup> AN: CRD1831.

<sup>1230</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1231</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1232</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1233</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1234</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Alloa, RD 465-00, 006-003.

- Séez 1873 – 1874
- St Peter's College 1874 – 1877
- Ordained 24 Jun 1877 in Glasgow

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant at Ayr 1877 – 1880
- Charge of Dalmellington 1880 – 1888
- Newton Stewart 1888 – 1897
- Irvine 1897 – 1911
- [no address] 1911 – 1915
- Auchinleck 1915 – 1926
- Retired in London 1926 – 1831
- Died 7 Oct 1931 in London<sup>1235</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘He was a most genial soul, full of real wit and most charitable in speech.’<sup>1236</sup>

### McLornan, Daniel (1840-1866)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 10 Jan 1840 in Belfast, Ireland<sup>1237</sup>
- Mother: Agnes McLornan<sup>1238</sup>
- Father: John McLornan, printer-compositor<sup>1239</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1855 – 1859
- Douai 1859 – 1861
- In spring 1861, listed with his progress as ‘satisfactory’, conduct as ‘very good’, character as ‘steary’ and health as ‘delicate’, with an additional comment, ‘has a weak chest of which he is suffering at the moment’;<sup>1240</sup> in autumn 1861, listed with his progress as ‘satisfactory’, conduct as ‘very good’, character as ‘quiet’ and health as ‘good’, with additional comment, ‘finished’<sup>1241</sup>
- St Sulpice 1861 – 1862
- Left 31 Mar, but came back 1 Oct 1862<sup>1242</sup>
- St Sulpice 1863 – 1863
- Left 30 Sep 1863;<sup>1243</sup> ill health stops him from continuing his studies in France:<sup>1244</sup> MacLornan ‘est pieux, bon élève, mais d’une santé déplorable. A

<sup>1235</sup> *SCD* 1832 (obituary).

<sup>1236</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1237</sup> *SCA*: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

<sup>1238</sup> *SPC*: Census 1851: Brechin, RD 275-00, 008-028.

<sup>1239</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1240</sup> *SCA*: CA/2/14/1: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 25 Mar 1861.

<sup>1241</sup> *SCA*: CA/2/14/2, Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 4 Aug 1861.

<sup>1242</sup> *AN*: CRD1862.

<sup>1243</sup> *AN*: CRD1863.

<sup>1244</sup> *AN*: F/17/2733.

la fin de l'année in crachait le sang. Il est en ce moment en Irlande avec un de ses camarades chargé par ces messieurs de l'accompagner et de veiller sur lui en cas d'accident.'<sup>1245</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Died Sep 1866 in Belfast<sup>1246</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### McLoughlin, John (1842-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 21 Jun 1842<sup>1247</sup> in Sligo, Ireland<sup>1248</sup>
- Mother: Rose O'Donnell<sup>1249</sup>
- Father: Patrick MacLoughlin<sup>1250</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Douai 1857 – 1859
- In 1859, listed with his progress as 'very very slow', conduct as 'good', character as 'rather stupid' and health as 'very good'<sup>1251</sup>
- Left 1 Sep 1859,<sup>1252</sup> sent away, 'not intelligent enough'<sup>1253</sup> and 'incapable student'<sup>1254</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Lovi, Walter (18xx-1878)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born in Edinburgh<sup>1255</sup>

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<sup>1245</sup> SCA: ED/8/18/6, Duplessy to [unknown], Paris, 22 Aug 1863.

<sup>1246</sup> SCD 1867 (note of death of a 'late student of Blairs College').

<sup>1247</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/10, Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund's College Douai, 24 Jan 1859.

<sup>1248</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>1249</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1251</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/10: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund's College Douai, 24 Jan 1859.

<sup>1252</sup> AN: CRD1859.

<sup>1253</sup> A note stating 'pas d'intelligence, renvoyé de St Sulpice en 1859'. SCA: ED/8/18/6, Élèves rentrés en Ecosse – District de l'Est.

<sup>1254</sup> Marked as 'élève incapable'. SCA: CA/1/46/1, M. L'abbe Duplessy to MacPherson (Monsieur le Supérieur), Paris 2 Oct 1859.

<sup>1255</sup> Johnson, 'Secular Clergy of the Lowland District', 75.

#### STUDIES (Lowland District)

- Clongowes Wood College, Co. Kildare, Ireland  
1821 – 1823
- Scots College Rome  
1823 – 1825
- When at Rome, Lovi was ‘supported by MacPherson’s private purse’<sup>1256</sup>
- St Sulpice  
1825 – 1826
- Ordained 1826 in Paris

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Huntly  
1827 – 1827
- Keith  
1827 – 1837
- Braemar  
1837 – 1842
- At Vienna, Austria  
1842 – 1843
- Braemar  
1844 – 1844
- On the Continent  
1844 – 1847
- St Mary's Mount, Walsall  
1848 – 1869
- Wappenbury, Leamington  
1870 – 1872
- St Mary's Retreat, Harborne, Birmingham, retired  
1873 – 1878
- Died 21 Dec 1878 at Walsall<sup>1257</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘Dear Friend, This will be handed to you by a young man, who is going to reside with me for some time. Have the goodness therefore to show him to Kempcairn[?], and tell my people there to give him a bed and whatever is necessary until I return. [...] I am somewhat surprised to find that you are so much displeased with me on account of my long absence from home. As I could not reach home sooner I sent two substitutes in my place, in the big box which I am told has been opened. [...] I have had many requests to remain in this town, so that if I do not find you good natured and forgiving in your temper, perhaps I might be tempted to [pinfer] my native town.’<sup>1258</sup>
- “‘Nous verrons’ – We’ll see, we’ll see may do very well with us in Scotland when we can get nothing more substantial, but the French have no idea of such a mode of doing business.’<sup>1259</sup>
- ‘I have my picture along with me & a beautiful one it is. I got another in London a third is to follow, so that I shall have enough of pictures.’<sup>1260</sup>
- [Of Mr Lovi]: ‘The debt on the Keith chapel is at present personal to himself & I have little doubt, if he lives it will be paid. [...] It was not next summer but just now that he is gone on his travels to beg jointly for Wick & Keith. [...] He set off about a week ago for Aberdeen & London in company with M Venables his great medical friend on a six month’s leave of absence, with recommendations from me to the Clergy & Catholics of England & Ireland, In which I take equal care to mention his 89 at Wick and his debts at Keith. Valeant quantum ustere popunt. They can do no harm, and Mr Lovi is more

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<sup>1256</sup> SCA: BL/5/175/1, Bishop Paterson to Alexander Cameron, Paris, 6 Apr 1825.

<sup>1257</sup> Johnson, ‘Secular Clergy of the Lowland District’, 75.

<sup>1258</sup> SCA: BL/5/243/16, Walter Lovi to Miss Margaret George, Edinburgh 1 Jan 1829.

<sup>1259</sup> SCA: OL/2/4/18, Walter Lovi to Bp Scott, Keith 21 Dec 1830.

<sup>1260</sup> Ibid.

in his element when thus pushing forward some thing new, than when engaged in the ordinary unostentatious duties of a missionary.’<sup>1261</sup>

- ‘Since I left Keith I have never written to his Lordship in consequence of a very insulting letter he sent me when I was in Edinburgh. This letter is [...] proof of the singularity of the good Bishop’s character – He can abuse, insult and tyrannize over those, who, from a principle of religion and duty are perfectly submissive to his will, while to me, who disregards his orders, and who turn the functions of this ministry to their private advantage, he shows the white feather. Since I inter upon the Mission I have laboured in season and out of season, not for private complement; God knows, but for the noble object of promoting the salvation of souls and (bear with me) I have laboured successfully. Why then am I to be insulted in this manner? excellent encouragement this, at the commencement of my tour. I will never forgive him; unless he make an apology.’ [he also states that he has sent the Bishop a letter, that as his mission oath was only for the old Lowland district, Wick is not part of it] Is this Bp Kyle?<sup>1262</sup>
- [Writing of Mr Spencer admirably]: ‘He is the most edifying apostolical man I ever saw in my life. [...] He preaches eight sermons every week and travels on foot 20 miles every day of his life. If he were not very obedient to the Bishop and to his confessor, he would do too much and kill himself in a short time. He lives in the lowest possible manner: he is even applying to the B: for leave to resign his house, and to sleep in the vestry on boards. He is wishing also to confine his food to bread and water. His B: however refuses. Mr Spencer is quite a saint. [...] Six Jesuits left Stonyhurst this week for London, thence to Calcutta. They go out under the sanction of the English government. Religion has suffered materially in that city from the old few Portuguese priests who officiate there. These Jesuits will do much good.’<sup>1263</sup>
- ‘I am still in the land of the living, but nearly worn out. Little is said in the papers of this place about the prevailing epidemic, for fear of injuring trade, but entre nous we had a severe visitation. Ten indeed of my patients die. Since I commenced I have had under my exclusive management not fewer than 100 bad cases; of these I have lost 10, five of whom were old people above 70. What is very singular, few patients recover except those under my care. On Monday the disease had so far subsided, and my patients so much better, that I had no deaths for three days. I thought the opportunity favourable for taking a trip to the Highlands to cure myself of a fit of indigestion brought on by fatigue and anxiety of mind. That very day after I was gone eight died, and the same number perished the following day. To that I was sent for express to resume my labours. I returned without delay, and the deaths again decreased. What is all this owing to? Or what are the views of Providence in employing an instrument every way so contemptible in effecting so much public good? The cholera is spreading among all the adjacent towns – so that I suppose I will have a winter’s work before me. God help me!’ [he also mentions that a gentleman has said he will apply for government to get him a pension]<sup>1264</sup>
- ‘Och hone the weather is terrible in this quarter. The snow is not very deep, but the frost is the most severe ever experienced. I used to talk of an isicle

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<sup>1261</sup> SCA: OL/2/9/11, Bp Kyle to Bp Scott, Preshome 3 Dec 1832.

<sup>1262</sup> SCA: BL/6/96/1, Walter Lovi to [my dear friend] Charles Fraser, York 5 May 1834.

<sup>1263</sup> SCA: BL/6/96/3, Walter Lovi to [my dearest friend] Charles Fraser, Birmingham, 23 May 1834.

<sup>1264</sup> SCA: BL/6/96/5, Walter Lovi to [my dear sir] Charles Fraser, Inverness 10 Oct 1834.

[sic] sticking to my nose, but I expect to lose my nose altogether from the frost.<sup>1265</sup>

- ‘I am utterly astonished at the charges brought against me By Miss Purves’ late servant. The whole is a fabrication.’<sup>1266</sup>
- ‘I have just received your most melancholy letter, which has put me in a state not to be dissolved. Alas, alas what the girl says is too true in every particular. I consulted with Mr Stewart of Ballogie about the propriety of my wish to make all known to you before this; time but he dissuaded me on account of the pain it would give you. What am I to do? I do not ask, I do not expect, I do not wish for forgiveness from you. My wish as I expressed to Mr Stewart was, to go into some La trappe, or to some [inquisition?]; or to some Serra Leone there to perish. Such is still my wish. But unhappy religion is involved in my calamity. If that could be saved from the scandal I would be willing to perish. Let me perish therefore, but try to fall after some plan to save our holy mission from the effects of this blow. If that could be done I would welcome death in its most appalling form. But if that cannot be done, of course I must go immediately into perpetual exile.’<sup>1267</sup>
- ‘I sent you an instant reply to yours on the 12<sup>th</sup>; but I was in such a state of distraction, that I may not have expressed myself intelligibly. The mysterious part of the whole concern will be, the midnight visit. I proceed therefore with all candour to explain that circumstance. On the Friday night previous I received a letter from the girl stating the state of agony & despair into which she was plunged, and for the first time, made known the course of her distress. Prior to that letter I had never ever suspected anything [more wrong]. No hint was given when I went to the Architect a few days before X-mas. No hint from her or any else gave me the least cause of suspicion. In her letter she implored of me to come & send her on the following Monday night, as the only person to whom she could open her mind, save her from destruction. I went accordingly, when to my horror the whole case was made known to me. She herself proposed to go to Aberdeen & I approved of her plan, while I condemned with great severity another one she had in [whim] which was to destroy the child in her womb. She told me at the time she would rather die a hundred deaths than give me the paternity. [...] I told her at the time of meeting that I was not conscious of being the father of her child and that I would declare so in an oath in my last moments. She then expressed her fair determination to not to blame me at all in the matter. This as God is my witness is the whole truth. [...] I am ruined and unfit for anything’<sup>1268</sup>
- ‘To the latter, I will of course pay the most dutiful respect, by carefully abstaining from every ecclesiastical function.’<sup>1269</sup>
- ‘Your letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> went like a barbed dagger to a heart already wounded beyond power of human endurance.’ [Added in more stable hand]: ‘How is it that the simiral [sic, meaning similar?] of Mr Morgan, Lee, McLachlan, Gibli & Barra did not add to the scandal these gentlemen were supposed to have given? They, or some of them, were entitled, by an offer of money, to leave the country so far were their Bishops from thinking their removal an injury either to themselves or to Mission. I am anxious therefore to know

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<sup>1265</sup> SCA: BL/6/206/2, Walter Lovi to Bp Kyle, Braemar 16 Feb 1838.

<sup>1266</sup> SCA: BL/6/206/5, Walter Lovi to Bp Kyle, Braemar 14 Apr 1838.

<sup>1267</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1268</sup> SCA: BL/6/206/7, Walter Lovi to Bp Kyle, Braemar 16 Apr 1838.

<sup>1269</sup> SCA: BL/6/206/8, Walter Lovi to Bp Kyle, Braemar 20 Apr 1838.

what there is peculiar in my case; or why should I be treated differently from my brethren in misfortune?’<sup>1270</sup>

- [Restored to the functions of his holy order]: ‘It is impossible to express what I feel on the present occasion. What has happened will be a lesson to me all my days. Had I been left to my own management and prudence in the matter I would have been ruined. I fell into better and [] hands than my own, and I, who have always hated ingratitude, will now find ample room for the exercise of the opposite virtue.’<sup>1271</sup>
- ‘People seem to have given over talking about Mr Lovi’s matter, at least I hear no more of it. Many [...] are satisfied, but I fear all are not so, as his vindication is by no means so triumphant or unequivocal as I would wish. I copy here for your own use the girl’s retraction [of accusation]. “In a moment of irritation cause by threats & violence I criminated to get rid of importunity the Revd Mr Lovi in my present misfortune I now feel and am deeply sensible of the enormous wrong & grievous injustice I have thereby done him & I retract in the strongest language that words can express that crimination which in a fatal moment I had the unhappiness to make, I now declare in the most solemn manner that I wronged Mr Lovi & I trust that this retraction which is the only reparation I can make will be held sufficient for his justification.” Written & signed by herself before witnesses. [...] But still notwithstanding all his declarations, a dreadful doubt hangs on my mind & probably that of others. Time alone can dispel this.’<sup>1272</sup>
- ‘I always thought that in regard to the information given to us by Mr Lovi we ought to proceed with the utmost caution, lest his sanguine temperament & rashness in behaving & in acting should bring us into any scrape or awkward situation.’<sup>1273</sup>
- ‘When lately at [Hornby?] Castle I had some dispute with the Duchess respecting the funds of the school. She got me entangled in the necessary alterations made in the old chapel to fit it for a school; and then refused to allow the funds in your hands to be applied for that purpose. After much wrangling she said that she would consent to have your own subscription, and all that was raised in Braemar to be given for the alterations. She promised to write to you on the subject. I would be glad to know whether she has done so, and whether that money is available.’<sup>1274</sup>
- [See above]: ‘As soon as she knew that I had bought the timber and made the contract she arrested the money in your hands. This vile Trickery on her part annoyed me much. I went to [Hornby?] to remonstrate with her about it. All that she would consent to was an application of your own subscription & that with congregation to the purpose she promised to write to you to that effect. It appears she did not do so. She had some high words about it, at last I told her that I would take £65 she lent, through me, to some poor farmer to purchase sheep, and pay the expenses of school with that mony – I did so – and it was not enough by £10. But I made up the rest myself. [...] She thought to trick me in a most unhandsome manner but she has so far failed. [...] I shall still exert myself to assist both schools & the Braemar mission generally provided a proper priest is put there. If I could venture to offer a suggestion I would say that Mr M’Donald now in Glenmoriston is the fittest

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<sup>1270</sup> SCA: BL/6/206/9, Walter Lovi to Bp Kyle, Braemar 22 Apr 1838.

<sup>1271</sup> SCA: BL/6/206/12, Walter Lovi to Bp Kyle, Braemar 5 May 1838.

<sup>1272</sup> SCA: OL/2/34/7, Bp Kyle to Bp Scott, Preshome 14 Jun 1838.

<sup>1273</sup> SCA: OL/2/61/10, Bp Kyle to Bp Scott, Preshome 11 Sep 1841.

<sup>1274</sup> SCA: BL/6/427/13, Fr Lovi to Bp Kyle, Braemar 12 Apr 1844.

person for the place. But let him keep clear of the Duchess. He has not courage to take the upper hand of her; & without that she is incorrigible & tormenting. In truth she is wicked.’<sup>1275</sup>

- ‘When I went to Thornby Castle to settle with the Duchess, I found there, the good Earl & Countess of [Hemsby?]. We remained together for some days. They but made me promise to take Alton Towers on my way to London whither I was going to arrange some business with the Austrian Ambassador. I went accordingly and spent nearly a fortnight with them. His Lordship had me very much with him, converging upon various subjects, politics among the rest. The [Jenners?] state trials had just concluded in Ireland – these became a present subject of discussion; and I was most anxious that Lord J: should take the opportunity of the Count Gordon dinner to seek a reconciliation with Don & Ireland, from both of which he had been estranged though the Machinations of Wiseman. Though I did not venture to propose the thing directly to him, the whole drift of my commendation tended to that result. I left him two days before the dinner. But I was no sooner gone that he wrote to the secretary of the dinner that he would attend. He & his Lady arrived next day in London; & she wrote me a note to call upon her at the Clarendon Hotel. She took a hold of my hands with both of hers and thanked me in the affectionate manner for having advised her Lord to go to the dinner &c. The whole things has had so excellent an effect, has done so much honours to Lord Sh: that as soon as he returned home he wrote to me to call upon him on my way back to Scotland. He asked me now in direct terms, what had been before merly hinted at; whether I would accept of the situation of his chaplain; telling me at same time what the emoluments would be & they are quite brilliant. There would be plenty of work which I could never do without &-. In answer I said that I could not possibly accept at present having other engagements. He then wished me to promise for next year. But I could not. He has written several times to me since I reached Braemar and promises to correspond with me in Vienna for which purpose he in his last letter asked for my address. Whether I shall alternably accept of his chaplaincy is at present problematical. Nothing would ever induce me to return to Britain but the prospect of still being able to do something for my unhappy country. I have laboured much for it; & suffered much in it; but I tore myself away with many a bitter pang and many an unseen bias after all. Even now I cast a lingering longing look behind; and so far from regretting that I have done so much, I lament I have not been able to do more. I was a fool to expect thanks, and wrong to look even for common civility from many of my brethren. Though extremely sensitive I ought to have been prepared for ill usage. But this subject is both painful & pointless – I forgive all who have injured me. [...] P.S. I hope you have read Lord S: late pamphlet, it is excellent. He makes use of some anecdotes [sic] and arguments I put before him. He means to make the tour of Scotland this summer, so perhaps you may see him.’<sup>1276</sup>

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<sup>1275</sup> SCA: BL/6/427/15 (1), Fr Lovi to ‘My Lord’, Dundee Steam Ship, 2 May 1844.

<sup>1276</sup> SCA: BL/6/427/15 (2), Fr Lovi to ‘My Lord’, Dundee Steam Ship, 2 May 1844.



## MacLoy, John (1851-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 1 Jan 1851 in Aberdeen<sup>1277</sup>
- Mother: Helen Smith<sup>1278</sup>
- Father: Daniel McLoy,<sup>1279</sup> journeyman house carpenter<sup>1280</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Sééz 1861 – 1863
- Petit Séminaire d'Ornans 1863 – 1866
- Forced to return home in bad health in 1866<sup>1281</sup>
- Blairs 1868 – 1869
- Scots College Rome 1869 – 1874
- Ordained 17 May 1874 at Rome

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Dumbarton 1874 – 1874
- St Mary's, Glasgow 1874 – 1876
- Dismissed for drinking in 1876<sup>1282</sup>

### OTHER

- [unknown]

## MacLuskey, John Bernard (1851-1920)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 15 Aug 1851 in Glasgow<sup>1283</sup>
- Mother: Eliza McConnell<sup>1284</sup>
- Father: James MacLuskey,<sup>1285</sup> master cabinet maker (employing four men)<sup>1286</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- St Aloysius' College, Glasgow
- Blairs 1865 – 1871
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1871 – 1873
- St Sulpice 1873 – 1876
- Ordained 29 Jun 1876 in Paris

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

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<sup>1277</sup> SCD 1875 (note of ordination).

<sup>1278</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Aberdeen, St Mary's with St Peter's, MP001000001-00002-00006-00032-.

<sup>1279</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1280</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Aberdeen, RD 168-A0, 022-065.

<sup>1281</sup> SCD 1875 (note of ordination).

<sup>1282</sup> Johnson, 'The Western District', 132.

<sup>1283</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1284</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1286</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Govan, RD 646-01, 014-002.

- Assistant at Our Lady and St Margaret's, Kinning Park, Glasgow  
1876 – 1879
- St Andrew's, Glasgow  
1879 – 1882
- St John's, Glasgow  
1882 – 1915
- Canon (in 1900)
- 1915 forced to retire due to ill health<sup>1287</sup>
- Last years spent at Twyford Abbey, near London, nursed by the Alexian brothers<sup>1288</sup>
- Died 21 Jan 1920 in London<sup>1289</sup>
- Buried at Kensal Green, London<sup>1290</sup>

#### OTHER

- 'In 1910 he was elected to the Glasgow School Board, and gained the esteem of the members of that body by his educational abilities, and his diligent attention to the interests of the Catholic body and of the general community.'<sup>1291</sup>
- 'He was also secretary of the Whitevale Refuge Scheme, a director of the Catholic Industrial Schools, a member of the Central Executive of the League of the Cross, a founder of the Seamen's Institute, and Chairman of the Prison Aid Society and of the Catholic Truth Society of Scotland.'<sup>1292</sup>
- 'The mere enumeration of these offices bespeaks the active and industrious character of his life. He was a man of many abilities, but kindness of heart was perhaps his most outstanding feature.'<sup>1293</sup>

### McLusky, William J. (1831-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 28 Feb 1831 in Greenock<sup>1294</sup>
- Mother: Mary Anne Jeffery from Ireland<sup>1295</sup>
- Father: John McLusky,<sup>1296</sup> merchant tailor; from Ireland<sup>1297</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs  
1845 – 1847
- Vaugirard  
1847 – 1850
- Douai  
1851 – 1851
- Listed at Douai until 30 Sep 1851; no further record<sup>1298</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

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<sup>1287</sup> SCD 1921 (obituary).

<sup>1288</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1289</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1290</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1291</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1292</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1293</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1294</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1295</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Greenock, St Mary's, MP000600001-00002-00005-00080-.

<sup>1296</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1297</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Greenock, RD 564-00, 076-007.

<sup>1298</sup> AN: CRD1851.

- Listed in 1861 as a medical student<sup>1299</sup>
- In 1871, listed as a married rigger; wife Ann; three children, the eldest of which is an apprentice joiner; 2 rooms with windows<sup>1300</sup>
- 1881 still rigger<sup>1301</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

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### MacMahon, George (1827-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 25 Dec 1827 in Dundee<sup>1302</sup>
- Mother: Joanna Cowie<sup>1303</sup>
- Father: Peter MacMahon<sup>1304</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1841 – 1847
- Scots College Rome 1847 – 1849
- St Sulpice 1849 – 1851
- Douai 1851 – 1852
- Ordained 12 Apr 1852 in Edinburgh

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Dumfries 1852 – 1856
- Campsie 1856 – 1856
- In 1856 left the Mission and went to America<sup>1305</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Malcolm, John (1813-1852)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 10 Apr 1813 in Aberdeen<sup>1306</sup>

#### STUDIES (Lowland District; Eastern District)

- Aquhorties 1823 – 1826

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<sup>1299</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Greenock Old or West, RD 564-03, 042-010.

<sup>1300</sup> SPC: Census 1871: Greenock New or Middle, RD 564-01, 006-022.

<sup>1301</sup> SPC: Census 1881: Greenock New or Middle, RD 564-01, 004-014.

<sup>1302</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1303</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1304</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1305</sup> Johnson, 'The Northern and Eastern Districts', 56.

<sup>1306</sup> SCD 1853 (obituary).

- St Nicolas 1826 – 1830
- Studies interrupted due to Revolution, so was forced to flee France to Scotland via England<sup>1307</sup>
- St Nicolas 1830 – 1831
- Unrest in Paris prevailed; students transferred to Douai<sup>1308</sup>
- Douai 1831 – 1833
- St Sulpice 1833 – 1836
- Ordained 25 Aug 1836 in Edinburgh

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Mary's, Edinburgh 1836 – 1845
- Dumfries 1845 – 1847
- Stirling 1847 – 1851
- Retired due to ill health to Arbroath 1851
- Died 2 Apr 1852 in Arbroath<sup>1309</sup>
- Buried in Arbroath near the Chapel<sup>1310</sup>

#### OTHER

- One of the authors of a letter from Confans: ‘C’est pour remplir un devoir que la reconnaissance nous impose, c’est pour que vous puissiez juger de nos progrès dans la Langue Française, que nous nous permettons de vous écrire. Depuis deux ans que nous sommes en France, nous n’avons pas encore songé à nous y ennuyer, et nous avons toujours joui d’une excellente santé : en effet, pourrait-il en être autrement, établis comme nous sommes à la campagne où l’air est si frais et si pur ? Car nous ne sommes plus à Paris, nous sommes au petit séminaire à Conflans. Mr McLean jouit aussi d’une très bonne santé, il se voit à la veille d’un grand jour, il va faire demain sa première Communion. Notre maison est très belle en même temps qu’elle est agréable. Nous avons une Chapelle qui est une grande beauté, l’or y brille de toutes parts. Le séminaire est consacré à honorer l’enfance de Notre Seigneur Jesus Christ. Nous n’entreprenons pas, Monseigneur, de vous faire d’éloge des avantages inappréciables [sic] dont jouit cette maison, nous craindrions d’abuser de votre attention. D’ailleurs, vous les connaissez sans doute mieux que nous, vous connaissez avec quels soins on y cultive l’esprit et le cœur de la jeunesse. Peut-être, Monseigneur, désireriez-vous connaître l’objet de nos études pendant cette année: Mr Dawson est en sixième. Pour les auteurs Latins, il a traduit Cornelius Nepos et les Fables de Phèdre, pour les auteurs Grecs, il a expliqué les Fables d’Esopé. Il a aussi vu la géographie de l’Afrique et l’histoire de l’Egypte. Mr Grant et moi, nous sommes en Septième. Nous avons expliqué une partie de Sulpice Sévère, et nous expliquons actuellement Justin, et Phèdre et Esopé. Nous avons vu en abrégé la géographie de l’Asie moderne. Nous voyons en outre un cours de Botanique. Telles sont, Monseigneur, nos occupations pendant cette année qui ne nous empêchent pas de lire quelquefois des livres Anglais, pour ne pas oublier notre Langue. Ce n’a été qu’avec une bien vive douleur que nous

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<sup>1307</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1308</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1309</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1310</sup> Ibid.

avons appris la maladie de Mr Gillis. Puisse le bon Dieu le guérir au-plutôt.  
C'est ce que nous souhaitons de tout notre cœur.'<sup>1311</sup>

## Malcolm, John (1859-1932)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 17 Jul 1859 in Perth,<sup>1312</sup> but parents moved soon to Aberdeen<sup>1313</sup>
- Mother: Anna Forsyth<sup>1314</sup>
- Father: William Malcolm,<sup>1315</sup> railway coach maker<sup>1316</sup>

### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1872 – 1877
- Douai 1877 – 1879
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1879 – 1881
- St Sulpice 1881 – 1884
- Ordained 29 Jun 1884 at Soissons (rather than at St Sulpice, 'the necessary ecclesiastical documents not having arrived from the homeland in time for the Trinity Eve ordination at St Sulpice')<sup>1317</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant priest at Doune 1884 – 1885
- St John's, Perth 1885 – 1888
- Montrose 1888 – 1889
- Blairgowrie 1889 – 1917
- St Patrick's, Dundee 1917 – 1930
- Retired 1930: 'after twenty-eight years in the quiet country mission [of Blairgowrie] his not too robust frame and gentle character were scarcely able to grapple with the elements, sometimes turbulent, of our city life [at Dundee], and probably that continuous overstrain hastened his breakdown and retreat from active duty.'<sup>1318</sup>
- Canon
- Died 17 Jun 1932 in Dundee<sup>1319</sup>
- Buried at Balgay cemetery<sup>1320</sup>

### OTHER

- One of the students petitioning for 'what has long been a heavy grievance to your students in France, namely their condition in vacation time' in 1882.

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<sup>1311</sup> SCA: CA/1/43/4: A. Grant, E. McD. Dawson and I. Malcolm to Bp Paterson, Conflans 28 Jun 1828.

<sup>1312</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1313</sup> SCD 1933 (obituary).

<sup>1314</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1315</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1316</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Arbroath, RD 272-00, 020-006.

<sup>1317</sup> SCD 1933 (obituary).

<sup>1318</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1319</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1320</sup> Ibid.

The letter was humbly finished: ‘Whatever your decision, we shall cheerfully acquiesce; - it will be for us the voice of God.’<sup>1321</sup>

- ‘His life on the mission was fully saturated with the exercises of piety of his Sulpician training’<sup>1322</sup>
- ‘his zeal and prudence’<sup>1323</sup>
- ‘Erection of presbytery and mission chapel’<sup>1324</sup>
- Took part in the ‘social and educational work of the community’<sup>1325</sup>
- ‘Besides faithfully attending to every branch of mission work, the Canon cultivated and developed the musical and dramatic talent among his flock’ (operettas, plays, concerts)<sup>1326</sup>

## Malone, Michael (185x-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 27 Jul in Lochee<sup>1327</sup> (or 24 Jul 1858 in Glasgow)<sup>1328</sup>
- Mother: Jane McDonald<sup>1329</sup>
- Father: Michael Malone<sup>1330</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1864? – 1865
- Douai 1865 – 1866
- St Sulpice 1866 – 1870
- Left St Sulpice 19 Sep 1870<sup>1331</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

### OTHER

- [unknown]

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<sup>1321</sup> SCA: ED/8/20/1, Petition letter of students at Grand Séminaire de St Sulpice (John Malcolm, Donald Chisholm, Lawrence Phin, Patrick McMahon, Donald McMillar, George Mullan, William McKenzie, Angus McRae, Edmund Langley, John Meany, Michael Lavelle, Charles Mann, John Cameron) to ‘Your Lordship’, 3 May 1882.

<sup>1322</sup> *SCD* 1933 (obituary).

<sup>1323</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1324</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1325</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1326</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1327</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1328</sup> A record of birth matching Michael and his parents’ names was located at SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Glasgow, St Mungo’s, MP006700001-00002-00001-00217-. It indicates Michael was born on the 24<sup>th</sup> of July, but baptised on the 27<sup>th</sup>. Although it is possible the boy was born in Glasgow and moved to Lochee later, this would put Michael’s year of birth at 1858. This, in turn, would make him only six years old when he entered Blairs and seven when he was sent abroad, which would be highly unusual.

<sup>1329</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1330</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1331</sup> AN: CRD1870-71.

## Mann, Henry (1848-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 25 Mar 1848 in Glasgow<sup>1332</sup>
- Mother: Emilie Carney<sup>1333</sup>
- Father: Alexander Mann<sup>1334</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1858 – 1863
- Douai 1863

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

### OTHER

- [unknown]

## Mann, William (1818-1900)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 6 May 1818 in Banff<sup>1335</sup>
- Mother: Jane George<sup>1336</sup>
- Father: James Mann,<sup>1337</sup> shoemaker<sup>1338</sup>

### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1832 – 1834
- Vaugirard 1834 – 1839
- At Vaugirard, called ‘a brilliant and edifying student’<sup>1339</sup>
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1839 – 1842?
- St Sulpice 1842? – 1844
- Ordained 1 Jun 1844 in Paris

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Corgarff 1844 – 1846
- Glengairn 1846 – 1848
- Ballogie 1848 – 1852
- Professor at Blairs 1852 – 1863
- Tomintoul 1863 – 1874
- Wick (with Orkney and Shetland until 1882) 1874 – 1889
- Portsoy 1889 – 1900
- Retired in 1895

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<sup>1332</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

<sup>1333</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>1334</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1335</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1336</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1337</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1338</sup> SPC: Old Parish Registers (Marriages): Banff, RD 147-00, 0040, 356Z.

<sup>1339</sup> SCD 1901 (obituary).

- Died 19 Jan 1900, Portsoy<sup>1340</sup>
- Buried at St Ninian's cemetery, Enzie<sup>1341</sup>

#### OTHER

- 'gentle humour and high literary gifts'<sup>1342</sup>
- 'By his brethren in the priesthood he was recognised and spoken of as a living saint.'<sup>1343</sup>

### Manson, William (1833-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 20 Feb 1833 in Cullen<sup>1344</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1845 – 1847
- France 1847 – 1848
- Gave up in Feb 1848<sup>1345</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Mantica, Joseph William (1823-1852)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 30 Apr 1823 in Greenock<sup>1346</sup>
- Mother: Jean Gordon,<sup>1347</sup> born in Scotland<sup>1348</sup>
- Father: Joseph Manticha,<sup>1349</sup> carver and gilder,<sup>1350</sup> born in Italy<sup>1351</sup>
- 'He was nearly related to the Rev. John Gordon'<sup>1352</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1834 – 1837
- Vaugirard 1837 – 1843
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1843 – 1845

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<sup>1340</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1341</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1342</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1343</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1344</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>1345</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1346</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1347</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1348</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Greenock, RD 564-00, 078-009.

<sup>1349</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1350</sup> SCA: CB/5/1/4, Birth certificate of Joseph William Manticha.

<sup>1351</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Greenock, RD 564-00, 078-009.

<sup>1352</sup> SCD 1853 (obituary).



- St Sulpice 1845 – 1848
- Studies interrupted in 1848;<sup>1353</sup> returned to Scotland
- Ordained 5 Apr 1848, Glasgow

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Obtained permission to serve the Western District<sup>1354</sup>
- Greenock 1848 – 1849
- Returned to Eastern District<sup>1355</sup>
- Portobello 1849 – 1852
- ‘But his constitution, naturally weak, could not long hold out against the fatigue of such accumulated exertions. Nearly twelve months before his death, he felt the first symptoms of that insidious and fatal malady (consumption) which deprived him of life’.<sup>1356</sup>
- Died 31 Aug 1852 in Portobello, of consumption<sup>1357</sup>
- Buried at New Calton cemetery, Edinburgh<sup>1358</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘he gave proof of more than ordinary talents, and at Vaugirard his success in classical attainments was marked by the number of prizes which he carried off at the close of each scholar year.’<sup>1359</sup>
- ‘His last and earnestly repeated request was, that the Bishop would not forget the scene of his labours, and that a few pounds, which he had saved for the purpose, should be applied to form the beginning of a fund for building a Church in Haddington – a place where he had been subjected to many public insults in the discharge of his duty.’<sup>1360</sup>

### McManus, Michael J. (1859-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 8 Apr 1859 in Dundee<sup>1361</sup>
- Mother: Maria Collins,<sup>1362</sup> from Ireland<sup>1363</sup>
- Father: William McManus,<sup>1364</sup> road labourer; Irish<sup>1365</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1872 – 1877
- Douai 1877 – 1878
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1878 – 1880
- St Sulpice 1880 – 1881

<sup>1353</sup> Johnson, ‘The Northern and Eastern Districts’, 57.

<sup>1354</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1355</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1356</sup> SCD 1853 (obituary).

<sup>1357</sup> Johnson, ‘The Northern and Eastern Districts’, 57.

<sup>1358</sup> SCD 1853 (obituary).

<sup>1359</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1360</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1361</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1362</sup> Ibid.).

<sup>1363</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Dundee First District, RD 292-01, 023-011.

<sup>1364</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1365</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Dundee First District, RD 292-01, 023-011.

- Returned home in bad health in 1881
- Valladolid 1881 – 1882
- Ordained 20 Aug 1882 at Valladolid

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant priest, Blairgowrie 1882 – 1886
- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### McManus, Patrick Peter (1822-1896)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 5 Feb 1822 in Co. Fermanagh, Ireland<sup>1366</sup>
- Came to Edinburgh with his parents<sup>1367</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs [not in register]<sup>1368</sup>
- Vaugirard 1835 – 1842
- St Sulpice 1842 – 1847
- Ordained 29 May 1847 in Paris

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- At Creighton Mains near Edinburgh serving the railway workers laying the Edinburgh-London tracks 1847 – 1848
- St Mary's, Edinburgh 1848 – 1849
- St Andrew's, Dumfries 1849 – 1852
- St Mary's, Edinburgh 1852 – 1856
- St John's, Perth 1856 – 1857
- Charge of St Anthony's at Murthly Castle 1857 – 1858
- St Andrew's, Dumfries 1858 – 1869
- St John's, Perth 1869 – 1871
- St Mary's, Dundee 1871 – 1875
- Immaculate Conception, Bathgate 1875 – 1876
- St Mary's, Stirling 1876 – 1879
- Immaculate Conception, Jedburgh 1879 – 1886
- Canon 1885
- Retired in 1886: 'For the last twelve years of his life, or more, the canon had been suffering from severe illness and lived in comparative retirement.'<sup>1369</sup>
- Died 13 Sep 1896 in Edinburgh<sup>1370</sup>
- Buried in the new Cemetery, Liberton<sup>1371</sup>

<sup>1366</sup> *SCD* 1898 (obituary).

<sup>1367</sup> Johnson, 'The Northern and Eastern Districts', 56.

<sup>1368</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1369</sup> *SCD* 1898 (obituary).

<sup>1370</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1371</sup> *Ibid.*

## OTHER

- ‘Canon MacManus was an eloquent preacher, and a good classical scholar and a sound theologian.’<sup>1372</sup>

## Margey, Hugh (1839-18xx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 1 Jul 1839 in Glasgow<sup>1373</sup>
- Mother: Brigitta Sheills;<sup>1374</sup> born in Ireland<sup>1375</sup>
- Father: Hugh Margey,<sup>1376</sup> bookseller; born in Ireland<sup>1377</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1852 – 1854
- Valladolid 1854 – 1858
- St Sulpice 1858 – 1859
- Douai 1860 – 1860

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Married Mary Ann Jeffrey 2 Jun 1868<sup>1378</sup>
- In 1871, bookseller & stationer like his father; lodgings with 4 rooms; two servants; one son<sup>1379</sup>

## OTHER

- [unknown]

## MacMaster, Donald (1822-1846)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born Nov 1822 in Lochaber, Inverness<sup>1380</sup>
- Mother: Anna MacDonald<sup>1381</sup>
- Father: John MacMaster<sup>1382</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1837 – 1839
- Vaugirard 1839 – 1846
- Died at Vaugirard 1846<sup>1383</sup>

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<sup>1372</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1373</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1374</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1375</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 064-001.

<sup>1376</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1377</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 064-001.

<sup>1378</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Marriages): Glasgow, St Andrew's, MP006200001-00004-00003-00248-.

<sup>1379</sup> SPC: Census 1871: Hutchesontown, RD 644-10, 061-005.

<sup>1380</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1381</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1382</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1383</sup> Ibid.

## CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

## OTHER

- ‘I got the Boy and his father to town yesterday and saw him provided with every thing necessary in clothing &c. He will be ready to start by the middle of next week. He goes by Inverness and by steam thence to Aberdeen, which I think is the cheapest route. I never saw the Boy till yesterday but, if I can judge from his appearance, he promises well; he is a stout, healthy, smart Boy and seemingly determined on his object. His name is McMaster and I hope he will give equal satisfaction with his namesake in Rome,’<sup>1384</sup>  
‘All the Scotch students in France are doing very well, and are in general remarkable for their success in their studies, they are all in very good health and spirits with the exception of one of your lordship’s subjects that is Donald McMaster. I think that he is getting better now, but certainly the confinement of a French house of education does not agree with him very well, it I really astonishing how the others stand out so well, for they have a great deal of study and very little recreation in comparison to what they had during my time in Blairs.’<sup>1385</sup>

## Mazzoni, John (1797-18xx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 14 Feb 1797 in Edinburgh<sup>1386</sup>
- Mother: Rose Frances Mazzoni<sup>1387</sup>
- Father: Pellegrins Mazzoni<sup>1388</sup>
- Two sisters, at least one of whom (Rosina) at a convent<sup>1389</sup>
- Family had a close relationship with Bishop Cameron<sup>1390</sup>

### STUDIES (Lowland District)

- Aquhorties 1813 – 1818
- St Nicolas 1818 – ?

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Married Emeretien Hopton 18 May 1826 in Edinburgh<sup>1391</sup>
- In 1851, listed as a copyist and amanuensis at St Cuthbert’s with several children, one of whom (Elizabeth, 13) is working as a servant<sup>1392</sup>

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<sup>1384</sup> SCA: OL/1/21/4, Charles MacKenzie to Scott, Fort William, 14 Jul 1837.

<sup>1385</sup> SCA: OL/2/64/1, John Shaw to Scott, Séminaire d’Issy 4 Apr 1842.

<sup>1386</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>1387</sup> SCA: BL/5/17/19, Letter by Rose Frances Mazzoni, to her daughter, Rose, 28 Feb 1816: ‘you and my dear John’s dear and precious souls [...] I believe that your and his vocation is to serve God’.

<sup>1388</sup> Marked as father to Joana Geddes Mazzoni, daughter of Rose Frances. SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Edinburgh, St Mary’s Cathedral, MP007400001-00001-00001-00037-.

<sup>1389</sup> SCA: BL/4/464/2, Rosina Mazzoni to Bishop Cameron, 27 Jan 1815.

<sup>1390</sup> Rosina signed her letter to Bishop Cameron with ‘your adopted child, Rosina Mazzoni’. SCA: BL/4/464/2, Rosina Mazzoni to Bishop Cameron, 27 Jan 1815.

<sup>1391</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Marriages): Edinburgh, St Mary’s Cathedral, MP007400001-00004-00001-00189-.

<sup>1392</sup> SPC: Census 1851: St Cuthbert’s, RD 685-02, 168-002.

- In 1861 wife 'Emma' listed as head of household in Newington with no husband mentioned;<sup>1393</sup> in 1881, Emma is listed as a widowed 'annuitant' in Leith (North), living with a daughter<sup>1394</sup>

#### OTHER

- 'Much Honoured Sir, The choice of a state of life has been, for a long time past, the subject of my most serious consideration. I have endeavoured to go about so important a concern, with the requisite care and deliberation. I have not neglected [sic] to consult those, under whose care I am placed, and whose direction it is my duty to follow. But, as you know, they have had the indulgence to leave the matter in a great measure to my own determination. In the mean time, I cannot express, how much I am indebted to your goodness, for having allowed me so long a time to deliberate, & so favourable an opportunity of qualifying myself for whatever state of life, I might encline to embrace. Sensible of the importance of the present moment, the proper choice of a state of life has been, since you left this, more than ever the constant object of my thoughts. I have run over in my mind the different situations in the world, which might be open to me, comparing the advantages and disadvantages of each, - resolved to embrace that, as the state designed for me by providence, which should offer me the greatest advantages. It is now some time ago, since I came to a determination in favour of the ecclesiastical line of life – a determination which I would call unalterable, if it depended on me alone to follow it out. About two months ago, I opened my mind on this subject, to Mr Kyle, who desired me to consider the matter for some time, before I made any application to you on the subject. I hope you will consider the time already elapsed, together with the experience which I have already had of the college life, as a sufficient trial of my resolution. I have therefore to request of you as a favour surpassing all the favours, which you have as yet bestowed upon me, that you would admit me into the Seminary, as a candidate for the ecclesiastical state of life. I have delayed to acquaint Mr Brown with my determination, till I should receive your answer. I am not aware, that he, or my other friends, will make any objections. I remain, much honoured Sir, with very great respect, your humble servant, John Mazzoni.'<sup>1395</sup>
- [Rosina Mazzoni]: 'What, you really think that my simple, thoughtless brother will perhaps be a Priest? He is simple, but God loves simplicity, and although he has been careless and negligent, still he has a good heart and I hope that now he will enter into himself, and whatever his vocation may be, I trust that he will always have for his principal object the greater honor and glory of God and the salvation of his soul.'<sup>1396</sup>

### McMillan, Donald (1857-1890)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 12 Jun 1857 in Uist<sup>1397</sup>

<sup>1393</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Newington, RD 685-05, 084-006.

<sup>1394</sup> SPC: Census 1881: Leith North, RD 692-01, 025-057.

<sup>1395</sup> SCA: BL/4/463/11, John Mazzoni to Bp Cameron, Aquhorties 21 Jan 1815 [very neat letter].

<sup>1396</sup> SCA: BL/4/464/2, Rosina Mazzoni to Bp Cameron, 27 Jan 1815.

<sup>1397</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

- Mother: Catherine McLellan<sup>1398</sup>
- Father: Roderick McMillan,<sup>1399</sup> tenant farmer<sup>1400</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1875 – 18xx
- Douai 18xx – 1881
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1881 – 1883<sup>1401</sup>
- ‘A post varia discrimina Glasgua sem S Petri’<sup>1402</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Died 11 Nov 1890 in Aberdeen: ‘Pray for the repose of the soul of Donald M’Millan, who died suddenly at Aberdeen on the 11<sup>th</sup> November, 1890.’<sup>1403</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Miller, John (1831-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 3 Dec 1831<sup>1404</sup> in Edinburgh
- Mother: Mary Jane McDougal,<sup>1405</sup> born in England<sup>1406</sup>
- Father: John Miller,<sup>1407</sup> bookseller<sup>1408</sup>

#### STUDIES (? District)

- Vaugirard 1847 – 1851
- Douai 1851 – 1852

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

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<sup>1398</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1399</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1400</sup> SPC: Census 1871: Howmore, RD 118-02, 006-002.

<sup>1401</sup> SCA: CA/1/47/2 (bound volume with a variety of lists), 93-94.

<sup>1402</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1403</sup> SCD 1891 (note of death).

<sup>1404</sup> AN: CRD1847; CRD1851; CRD1852.

<sup>1405</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Edinburgh, St Mary’s Cathedral, MP007400001-00002-00001-00213-.

<sup>1406</sup> SPC: Census 1861: St Giles, RD 685-04, 021-001.

<sup>1407</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Edinburgh, St Mary’s Cathedral, MP007400001-00002-00001-00213-.

<sup>1408</sup> SPC: Census 1861: St Giles, RD 685-04, 021-001.

## Milne, James (1828-1890)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 23 Jun 1828 in Auchbegs, Enzie, Banffshire<sup>1409</sup>
- Mother: Helen Murdoch<sup>1410</sup>
- Father: John Milne<sup>1411</sup>
- Nephew of Bishop Murdoch<sup>1412</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1842 – 1844
- Aire 1844 – 1849
- Boulogne 1849 – 1851
- Arras 1851 – 1855
- Ordained 24 Jul 1855 in Glasgow

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Patrick's, Glasgow 1855 – 1855
- St Mary's, Hamilton 1855 – 1858
- 'He faced all the difficulties of the cholera and fever epidemic with through Christian courage during that trying year [1855] and continued till August 1858, to fulfil the sacred duties of his calling with zeal and with a fatherly kindness which made him beloved by all his people.'<sup>1413</sup>
- St Mungo's, Glasgow 1858 – 1859
- Chapelhall 1859 – 1871
- Mossend 1871 – 1881
- Kilbirnie 1881 – 1890
- Died 1 Feb 1890 in Kilbirnie of 'a malady': 'Father Milne was of great stature, and very robust. He used to think that nothing could wear him out, but unfortunately he had miscalculated his power of endurance, and a malady ensued of which he died.'<sup>1414</sup>

### OTHER

- Had a chapel-house and a school built at Mossend<sup>1415</sup>
- 'Father Milne seldom or never left his own mission. He was cheerful, but reserved, and very austere in his habits.'<sup>1416</sup>

## Mitchelson, William V. (1858-19xx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 10 Jun 1858 in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne<sup>1417</sup>

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<sup>1409</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1410</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1411</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1412</sup> SCD 1891 (obituary).

<sup>1413</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1414</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1415</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1416</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1417</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

- Mother: Sara Bewick<sup>1418</sup>
- Father: William Mitchelson,<sup>1419</sup> woodman<sup>1420</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1870 – 1874
- Douai 1874 – 1876
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1876 – 1877

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- In 1881, listed as a boarder and engine machinist<sup>1421</sup>
- By 1891 married to Mary Agnes; grocer and draper<sup>1422</sup>
- In 1901 listed as a grocer and photographer<sup>1423</sup>
- ‘Grocer (retail) and photographer’ in 1911; no children<sup>1424</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Monaghan, James (1815-1852)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 13 Apr 1815<sup>1425</sup> in Tydavnet, Co. Monaghan, Ireland<sup>1426</sup>
- Mother: Anna<sup>1427</sup>
- Father: Arthur Monaghan<sup>1428</sup>
- Irish-born; came to Edinburgh with his parents ‘in his infancy’<sup>1429</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1831 – 1834
- Vaugirard 1834 – 1838
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1838 – 1840
- St Sulpice 1840 – 1843
- Ordained 10 Jun 1843, Paris

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant at St Mary’s, Stirling 1843 – 1843
- Professor at Blairs 1843 – 1846
- St Mary St David’s, Hawick 1846 – 1847
- St Andrew’s, Dumfries 1847 – 1848

<sup>1418</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1419</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1420</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1861: Bywell, Hexham, ED 001, piece 3856, f. 8, 9.

<sup>1421</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1881: South Shields, ED 027, piece 5025, f. 61, 6.

<sup>1422</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1891: South Shields, ED 028, piece 4168, f. 26, 46.

<sup>1423</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1901: Jarrow, South Shields, ED 020, piece 4742, f. 83, 6.

<sup>1424</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1911: Jarrow, South Shields, RD 556-00, ED 019, piece 30367.

<sup>1425</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

<sup>1426</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1427</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1428</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1429</sup> SCD 1853 (obituary).



- Administrator at St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh  
1848 – 1852
- Died 28 Jun 1852, of a stroke, in Edinburgh<sup>1430</sup>
- Buried in the new Calton cemetery, Edinburgh<sup>1431</sup>

#### OTHER

- Took great interest in the Holy Cross School, established in 1850<sup>1432</sup>
- 'He was of an exceedingly gentle nature. [...] A little incident in his life will illustrate this. A young boy in the Canongate had followed him shouting to his heart's content "Down with the Pope!" Fr. Monaghan after a time called the boy to him and gave him a sixpence'.<sup>1433</sup>

### Monaghan, Thomas M. (1859-1929)<sup>1434</sup>

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 18 Apr 1856 in Kilonan, Co. Roscommon, Ireland<sup>1435</sup>
- Mother: Bridget Dooney<sup>1436</sup>
- Father: Thomas Monaghan,<sup>1437</sup> agricultural labourer from Ireland<sup>1438</sup>
- Irish-born

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1870 – 1874
- Douai 1874 – 1876
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1876 – 1878
- St Sulpice 1878 – 1879
- Carlow College, Ireland 1879 – 1882
- Ordained 12 Nov 1882 at Carlow, Ireland

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant at Our Lady of the Waves, Dunbar  
1883
- Assistant priest at Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, Kirkcaldy  
1883 – 1886
- St John Cantius St Nicholas, Broxburn  
1886 – 1890
- St Mary's, Ratho 1890 – 1895
- St Paul's, East Calder 1895 – 1929
- Died 29 Apr 1929 at St Raphael's Home, Edinburgh<sup>1439</sup>

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<sup>1430</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1431</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1432</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1433</sup> James Donlevy, *Historical Account of St Mary's Cathedral* (Edinburgh, 1890), 207-208, quoted in Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 213.

<sup>1434</sup> SCA: MC/23/13/12 (photograph).

<sup>1435</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1436</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1437</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1438</sup> SPC: Census 1861: North Berwick, RD 713-00, 003-019.

<sup>1439</sup> SCD 1930 (obituary).

- Buried at East Calder cemetery



#### OTHER

- ‘a man of genial and kindly disposition, who endeared himself to all by his cheerful disposition and charitable demeanour. His piety was genuine, though not ostentatious’<sup>1440</sup>
- Sat at the Midlothian Education Authority for 20 years<sup>1441</sup>
- ‘For many years he had suffered from much ill health, but bore his affliction with cheerful self-sacrifice’<sup>1442</sup>

### Morgan, Thomas (1810-1845)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 3 Feb 1810 in Belfast, Co. Antrim, Ireland<sup>1443</sup>
- Mother: Leah Burns<sup>1444</sup>
- Father: Thomas Morgan<sup>1445</sup>

#### STUDIES (Lowland District?; Eastern District)

<sup>1440</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1441</sup> Glasgow Observer, 4 May 1929, 12, quoted in Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 214.

<sup>1442</sup> *SCD* 1930 (obituary).

<sup>1443</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1444</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1445</sup> Ibid.

- Aquhorties 1828 – 1829
- Blairs 1829 – 1830
- Refused entry to Issy or St Sulpice in 1830<sup>1446</sup>
- St Nicolas 1830 – 1831
- Douai 1831 – 1833
- Blairs 1833 – 1835
- Ordained 2 Apr 1835, Blairs

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Professor at Blairs 1835 – 1836
- St Andrew's, Dundee 1836 – 1837
- Sent away, briefly to Rome, including a spiritual retreat with the Jesuits
- West Indies 1837 – 1845
- Died 26 April 1845 in St Lucia, Barbados, after being kicked by a horse.<sup>1447</sup>

#### OTHER

- Suffered from rheumatism<sup>1448</sup>
- Morgan 'a cast off Scotch priest';<sup>1449</sup> no obituary; no record in Canning's *Irish-Born Secular Priests in Scotland*
- 'I fear you have been bungled that business and that Mr Morgan will soon be back to Scotland to renew his former scandals or perhaps to crown them all by a public act of apostacy. Are you aware that he was tired of the life or a Priest or Missionary, and requesting Mr Smith to apply to O'connell to procure him some lay situation in which he could make a genteel Livelyhood. No priest that was not mad could have applied to a Catholic requesting that Catholic to apply to another Catholic to furnish him with the means of renouncing his Clerical vocation. That Mr Morgan did make such an application to Mr Smith now in London I was assured of by a worthy priest who was told it by Mrs Smith, and she added when letting the fact that she soon expected to hear that he was married.'<sup>1450</sup>
- 'Castracane feels greatly hurt in sending Morgan to with a letter of recommendation. [...] Both the Cardinals are much displeased with Dr Carruthers. I wish he may be able to justify himself. Castracane sent Morgan to the Jesuits to make a spiritual retreat of 10 days. That is now finished. Both Castracane and Fransoni requested I would receive him until they had settled how to dispose of him. I believe they are resolved to send him back to Scotland. The Jesuits say that the crime of which he is guilty is of an old date. His spiritual Director has been with me and told me that he could answer for Morgan's future good conduct.'<sup>1451</sup>
- 'You also thought you could answer for his good conduct in Glasgow when you sent him to Dr Murdoch there from Edinburgh. You have only to ask Dr Murdoch how long or how well he kept his promise to you. This much I can say more than Dr Murdoch knows that the mother of one of our students at Glasgow was obliged in her own home to chid him and to request him not to continue to give Scandal to the female servant, and a more mild woman does not exist. Were Morgan's crimes of drunkenness of an old date? Were his

<sup>1446</sup> SCA: BL/6/23/6, Bp Scott to Paterson, Glasgow 12 Nov 1830.

<sup>1447</sup> Johnson, 'The Northern and Eastern Districts', 58.

<sup>1448</sup> SCA: DD/1/7/1, Bp Scott to Carruthers, Greenock 6 Jan 1838

<sup>1449</sup> SCA: DD/1/7/3, Bp Scott to Carruthers, Greenock 1 Mar 1838.

<sup>1450</sup> SCA: DD/1/6/12 Bp Scott to Carruthers, Greenock, 20 Dec 1837.

<sup>1451</sup> SCA: OL/2/30/9, Abbé MacPherson to Bp Scott, Rome 6 December 1837.

still more scandalous doings at Westertown, in Mr Lewis Gordon's, in Strathglass, and in the company of that Young woman whom he went 40 miles to try to seduce and to get her to marry him. No, no he is still the same hypocrite he ever was, and I must begin to question his faith, and to doubt whether he has any religion at all, when he could so soon impose upon the Jesuits in Rome. – But, my dear Sir, how would you in conscience give him a letter of recommendation to any Cardinal, without explaining to that Cardinal the reasons which obliged you to send him to Rome. When I saw Mr Gillis, it was proposed that a strong letter detailing all the reasons for getting him out of Scotland, and especially the reasonable fear of his soon becoming an apostate here and thereby in the present circumstances entailing dreadful scandal and injury to Religion, should be plainly stated to Propaganda before he made his appearance there. This I really thought had been done till I received the Abbé's letter to day. In place of that it seems you never wrote to propaganda at all, but gave him a strong letter, or sent a strong letter of recommendation of him to Cardinal Castracane, who has no com[muni]cation with propaganda... I really hope you will excuse me for writing so clearly my mind upon that subject. I have no interest in Mr Morgan but his crimes do as much injury to Religion here as they do in the Eastern District; and I cannot help feeling [mere]ly when it is question of such scandals and of such danger of greater scandal to Religion in the district committed to try charge. I must add that I feel more than astonished that you did not write fully and clearly to the Abbé all the circumstances before he, Mr M., would arrive at Rome, and request the Abbé to inform propaganda of them. If propaganda sends him back to Scotland with a request to you to employ him again, you will be in a pretty habble; for if Morgan gets an order from Rome to be employed by you, he will consider it a victory, and consider himself at liberty for the future to do as he likes – of course when I answer the Abbé's letter, I mean to write to him plainly and clearly my ideas and opinions on Mr Morgan and to state him facts which I can prove, not forgetting what dismissed him so suddenly from Blairs, which you always kept secret from me.' <sup>1452</sup>

- 'He has made a spiritual retreat of about two weeks with the Jesuits who speak very highly of him, and say that if guilty of any misbehaviour the fault lay with his superior, who did not give him time to finish his Studies, and ordained him too soon.' <sup>1453</sup>
- 'I begin to doubt much the sincerity of his dispositions, and the outward appearances of piety which he occasionally puts on. If he be sincere at the time, he must be as unsteady as the weather cock. To wish to come again to Scotland and to expose himself to the society of those whom he scandalised does not say much for the sincerity of his repentance or the delicacy of his feelings. When he could go so far in his indelicate proposals of marriage and apostacy to a Catholic Lady as to draw from her the following strong expression: "Mr Morgan, if you be deliberately determined to go to Hell, I am determined not to accompany you there." Then he could assure her that he had an offer of a lucrative situation which would be capable of supporting her and him; and that he was certain that considering his talents the other party (meaning the protestants) would be glad to get him over to their side. When threatened by the Lady with an exposure to you of his proposals and indelicate conduct towards her, he would be capable of coolly saying: "Do

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<sup>1452</sup> SCA: DD/1/6/12, Bp Scott to Carruthers, Greenock, 20 Dec 1837.

<sup>1453</sup> SCA: OL/2/30/9, Abbé MacPherson to Bp Scott, Rome 6 December 1837.

not imagine that I am such a dolt, as not to know that one witness would not be sufficient to condemn me in case of such importance.” What trust can ever be put again in a man who could be capable of facing those to whom he made use of such expressions? It is true he seemed however afraid lest you should be informed of the transaction, and to endeavour to prevent it, finding that the Lady would not be seduced by him, and only about a fortnight before the scandalous affair at Westertown took place he wrote to the Lady repeating in nonsensical terms the strength of his affections for her, but adding that a season of reflection had come over his mind, and begging that she would [t]e no more of the proposal. How strongly that season of reflection had operated upon his mind may be judged of from what took place shortly after at Westertown, Aberdeen and in Strathglass.’<sup>1454</sup>

- ‘In my letter to Castracane I stated that Morgan had been guilty of immoralities which rendered it necessary to remove him from the mission on account of the scandal that would result from his being further employed in Scotland and conjured him to interceed with the proper authorities that he might export into some place of relocat and from whence after a one week of probation, he might be employed elsewhere if it was thought fit.’<sup>1455</sup>
- ‘I shall be exceedingly sorry to see such an idiot put his foot on British soil again; but I don’t well see how it could be prevented, unless perhaps a strong remonstrance were made by the Bishops, stating a few very plain facts. When a man shews no more feeling than M. has done after such conduct as his, and when religion is at stake in consequence, it seems to me that he deserves no quarter, & should get none.’<sup>1456</sup>
- ‘You say I permitted Mr Morgan, whom you call my favourite Professor to take in the little Boys to amuse themselves with him in his private room contrary to the Rules of the House. Morgan, while a student was particularly punctual and exact in all the Duties of the Community & extremely useful in forming the Choir and training the Students to sing Church Music. In all this he was justly entitled to Commendation. After he was appointed Professor he certainly did not give me the same satisfaction as before. I highly disapproved of his admitting the little Boys to his Room and of his joining in their sports and Plays, but I had not the power to prevent it. There is indeed a Rule which forbids the Professors to admit the Boys into their Bedrooms; but in consequence of wishing to enforce that rule a complaint was made to the Bishops and Dr Kyle in the name of all the Rest expressly desired me to pass that Rule over in silence and to take no notice of it whatever. Mr Morgan was well aware that I could not insist on the observance of it. With regard to the Boys boxing or wrestling in his presence, that I instantly stopt as soon as I got notion of it.’<sup>1457</sup>

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<sup>1454</sup> SCA: DD/1/7/2, Bp Scott to Carruthers, 19 Jan 1838.

<sup>1455</sup> SCA: OL/2/30/16, Andrew Carruthers to Bp Scott, Edinburgh 21 Dec 1837.

<sup>1456</sup> SCA: OL/2/32/6, James Gillis to Bp Scott, Edinburgh Greenhill Cottage 13 Mar 1838.

<sup>1457</sup> SCA: OL/2/33/4, John Cowie to Bp Scott, Blairs 15 May 1838.

## Morris, Patrick (1848-1929)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 17 Mar 1848<sup>1458</sup> in Tullamore, Co. Offaly, Ireland<sup>1459</sup>
- Mother: Anne (or Mary<sup>1460</sup>) Murray<sup>1461</sup>
- Father: Patrick Morris<sup>1462</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1863 – 1863
- Douai 1863 – 1871
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1871 – 1873
- St Sulpice 1873 – 1876
- Ordained 10 Jun 1876, Paris

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant at Immaculate Conception, Jedburgh 1876 – 1879
- St Marie's, Kirkcaldy 1879 – 1881
- St John the Evangelist, Portobello 1881 – 1888
- Immaculate Conception, Bathgate 1888 – 1893
- St Francis Xavier's, Falkirk 1893 – 1912
- St Patrick's, Edinburgh 1912 – 1929
- Canon (1890); Monsignor; Vicar-Genral (1905); Domestic Prelate (1906); Provost (1912); Protonotary Apostolic (1919)<sup>1463</sup>
- Died 25 Mar 1929 in Edinburgh<sup>1464</sup>
- Buried at Mt Vernon cemetery, Edinburgh<sup>1465</sup>

### OTHER

- 'By the various flocks who came under his spiritual care he was highly esteemed; he was readily approachable by the humblest of his parishioners, who found in him a kindly sympathiser in their troubles and a prudent counsellor in their difficulties.'<sup>1466</sup>

## Morrison, Dominic (1854-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 18 Jul 1854<sup>1467</sup>

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<sup>1458</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 216-217.

<sup>1459</sup> *SCD* 1877 (note of ordination). According to Blairs Student Register, born in Dundee. SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1460</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1461</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>1462</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1463</sup> *SCD* 1930 (obituary).

<sup>1464</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1465</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 216-217.

<sup>1466</sup> *SCD* 1930 (obituary).

<sup>1467</sup> AN: CRD1878.

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Douai 1875 – 1877
- St Sulpice 1877 – 1878

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Morrison, James (1835-1860)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 5 Jul 1835<sup>1468</sup> in Benbecula, Inverness<sup>1469</sup>
- Mother: Flora MacDonald<sup>1470</sup>
- Father: Peter Morrison,<sup>1471</sup> crofter in Balvanich<sup>1472</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1852 – 1857
- Douai 1857 – 1859
- His progress in studies marked as ‘satisfactory’, his conduct ‘very good’, his character ‘very close’ and his health ‘often ailing’<sup>1473</sup>
- Left Douai 1 Jun 1859<sup>1474</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Died at home 1860<sup>1475</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Moyes, David (1841-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 17 Apr 1841 in Blarney, Co. Cork, Ireland<sup>1476</sup>
- Mother: Susanna Donnelly<sup>1477</sup>

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<sup>1468</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Ardkenneth, St Michael’s, MP004300001-00002-00004-00011-.

<sup>1469</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1470</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1471</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1472</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Ardkenneth, St Michael’s, MP004300001-00002-00004-00011-.

<sup>1473</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/10, Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 24 Jan 1859.

<sup>1474</sup> AN: CRD1859.

<sup>1475</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1476</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1477</sup> Ibid.

- Father: David Moyes,<sup>1478</sup> Scotsman; ordnance surveyor<sup>1479</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1857 – 1859
- Douai 1859 – 1862
- In spring 1861, listed with his progress as ‘very satisfactory’, conduct as ‘good’, character as ‘steary’ and health as ‘good’;<sup>1480</sup> in autumn 1861, listed with his progress as ‘very satisfactory’, conduct as ‘good’, character as ‘stiff’ and health as ‘good’<sup>1481</sup>
- St Sulpice 1862 – 1863
- Moyes ‘est bien faible reussi [...]’<sup>1482</sup>
- Left 30 Sep 1863<sup>1483</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Murnin, William (1850-19xx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 7 Apr 1850 in Bathgate, Newmonkland, Lanarkshire<sup>1484</sup>
- Mother: Anna Murnin<sup>1485</sup>
- Father: Francis Murnin,<sup>1486</sup> ironstone miner<sup>1487</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1864 – 1868
- Douai 1868 – 1872
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1872 – 1872
- Left September 1872<sup>1488</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- In 1881 census, a William Murnin is listed as a ‘lunatic’ patient (unmarried) at an asylum at Ayr; profession ‘student’<sup>1489</sup>
- In 1901, he is still listed as a ‘lunatic’ as well as a ‘divinity student’<sup>1490</sup>

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<sup>1478</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1479</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1851: Kenilworth, Warwick, ED 001A, piece 2073, f. 215, 26.

<sup>1480</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/1: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 25 Mar 1861.

<sup>1481</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/2, Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 4 Aug 1861.

<sup>1482</sup> SCA: ED/8/18/6, Duplessy’s notes on students, Paris, 22 Aug 1863.

<sup>1483</sup> AN: CRD1863.

<sup>1484</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1485</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1486</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1487</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Fauldhouse, RD 673-02, 005-020.

<sup>1488</sup> SCA: ED/8/46 Bishop Strain: Students at Various Colleges, 1872-81.

<sup>1489</sup> SPC: Census 1901: Ayr, RD 578-00, 029-007.

<sup>1490</sup> SPC: Census 1881: Shotts (Middle District), RD 655-01, 005-008.



## OTHER

- [unknown]

## Murphy, Henry (1843-1897)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 6 Dec 1843 in Glasgow
- Mother: Mary Murphy,<sup>1491</sup> from Ireland<sup>1492</sup>
- Father: Bernard Murphy,<sup>1493</sup> street [caus]eylayer from Ireland<sup>1494</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Douai 1861 – 1865
- In autumn 1861, listed with his progress as ‘satisfactory’, conduct as ‘good’, character as ‘rather soft’ and health as ‘good’<sup>1495</sup>
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1865 – 1867
- St Sulpice 1867 – 1870
- Ordained 7 Jun 1870 at Maynooth

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Vincent's, Glasgow 1870 – 1875
- Muirkirk 1875 – 1879
- Irvine 1879 – 1880
- Disappears from clergy lists 1881<sup>1496</sup>
- Died 23 Aug 1897 at Rutherglen<sup>1497</sup>

## OTHER

- [unknown<sup>1498</sup>]

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## McNamara, Henry (1841-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 20 Dec 1841 in Glasgow<sup>1499</sup>

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<sup>1491</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Glasgow, St Andrews, MP006200001-00002-00005-00167-.

<sup>1492</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 088-015.

<sup>1493</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Glasgow, St Andrews, MP006200001-00002-00005-00167-.

<sup>1494</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 088-015.

<sup>1495</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/2: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund's College Douai, 4 Aug 1861.

<sup>1496</sup> Johnson, ‘The Western District’, 133.

<sup>1497</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1498</sup> SCD 1898 (obituary).

<sup>1499</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

- Mother: Rosanna Morgan,<sup>1500</sup> born in Ireland<sup>1501</sup>
- Father: Henry McNamara,<sup>1502</sup> broker, born in Ireland<sup>1503</sup>
- Brother to James, also a seminarian
- Parents moved from Ireland to Glasgow before Henry was born<sup>1504</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1857 – 1859
- Douai 1859 – 1861
- In spring 1861, listed with his progress as ‘very satisfactory’, conduct as ‘satisfactory’, character as ‘rather obstinate’ and health as ‘good’;<sup>1505</sup> in autumn 1861, listed with his progress as ‘very satisfactory’, conduct as ‘passable’, character as ‘rather morose’ and health as ‘good’<sup>1506</sup>
- Left 1 Oct 1861,<sup>1507</sup> ‘not suitable for the ecclesiastical state’<sup>1508</sup>
- Left 12 Sep 1861,<sup>1509</sup> ‘nearly mad’<sup>1510</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### McNamara, James (1837-1899)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 7 Mar 1837 in Belfast, Ireland<sup>1511</sup>
- Mother: Rosanna Morgan,<sup>1512</sup> born in Ireland<sup>1513</sup>
- Father: Henry McNamara,<sup>1514</sup> broker, born in Ireland<sup>1515</sup>
- Parents moved from Ireland to Glasgow when he was ‘in his childhood’<sup>1516</sup>
- Brother of Henry, also a seminarian

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<sup>1500</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1501</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 057-001.

<sup>1502</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>1503</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 057-001.

<sup>1504</sup> SCD 1900 (obituary of James McNamara).

<sup>1505</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/1: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 25 Mar 1861.

<sup>1506</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/2, Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 4 Aug 1861.

<sup>1507</sup> AN: CRD1861.

<sup>1508</sup> ‘[II] n’a pas été jugé propre à l’état eccléastique’. AN: F/17/2733, Duplessy to Ministre de l’Instruction Publique, Paris, 21 Sep 1861.

<sup>1509</sup> AN: CRD1861.

<sup>1510</sup> Sent from Douai : ‘renvoyé de Douai, presque fou’. SCA: ED/8/18/6, Élèves rentrés en Ecosse – District de l’Est.

<sup>1511</sup> SCD 1900 (obituary).

<sup>1512</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1513</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 057-001.

<sup>1514</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>1515</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 057-001.

<sup>1516</sup> SCD 1900 (obituary).

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Douai 1853 – 1858
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1858 – 1860
- St Sulpice 1860 – 1862
- Ordained 20 Sep 1862 in Paris

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant at St Mary's, Pollokshaws 1863 – 1863
- Barrhead 1863
- St Thomas's, Neilston 1863 – 1880
- St Mary's, Pollokshaws 1880 – 1899
- Canon (1893)
- Died 16 Sep 1899 at Pollokshaws following several weeks of pleurisy<sup>1517</sup>
- Buried at St Peter's Cemetery, Dalbeth<sup>1518</sup>

#### OTHER

- 'Those who were at all familiar with Canon McNamara will not be surprised to hear that during the whole of period of his college career he proved himself to be, in classics, in philosophy and in theology, one of the most talented among his fellow-students.'<sup>1519</sup>
- 'his sound and mature judgement, [...] his natural buoyancy of spirits, his genial ways, and his frank and open character drew towards him the affection of his college companions, and the goodwill and esteem of his superiors'<sup>1520</sup>
- 'Forty years ago the life of every country priest, almost without exception, was one continual struggle and sacrifice, one uninterrupted effort, to gather together and form and consolidate his congregation. [...] the cares and responsibilities of a country mission were such as only priests full of zeal, of undaunted courage and robust health could face and conquer.'<sup>1521</sup>
- Served both at the Parish Council and the School Board<sup>1522</sup>
- 'a frank and manly nature, an open-handed generosity, an abhorrence of anything mean, a playful humour, an extraordinary freshness of interest in every topic – [...] a very striking and loveable personality.'<sup>1523</sup>
- [At Neilston] 'Father McNamara's time, zeal and energy was taken up moulding the parish together and going after the lost sheep'<sup>1524</sup>
- One of the rebellious 'twenty-two' in 1864 expressing a vote of no-confidence for Bishop Murdoch.<sup>1525</sup>

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<sup>1517</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1518</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 269.

<sup>1519</sup> SCD 1900 (obituary).

<sup>1520</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1521</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1522</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1523</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1524</sup> *Glasgow Observer*, 2 Sep 1899, 5, quoted in Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 270.

<sup>1525</sup> McClelland, 'Irish Clergy and Archbishop Manning's Apostolic Visitation', pt. I, 11, footnote 18.

## O'Neil, Daniel (1820-1839)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 10 Oct 1820<sup>1526</sup> in Inveraray, Argyll<sup>1527</sup>
- Mother: Mary Gallachar<sup>1528</sup>
- Father: John O'Neil,<sup>1529</sup> dealer<sup>1530</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1832 – 1835
- Vaugirard 1835 – 1838
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1838 – 1839
- Interrupted studies. Returned from Paris 1839.
- 'Your favour of the sixth March duly came to hand; and immediately on the receipt of it I wrote to O'Neil, as you desired. But being in no expectation of any answer I was not disappointed at receiving none. I had indeed addressed one of my former letters to Issy. What O'Neils motives may be for not answering I do not know, but it seems incredible to me that all my three letters should have been lost. I have however directed Mr Gallagher to question O'Neil on the subject as he passes through Paris and to let your Lordship know the result of his enquiries. Had O'Neil been referred to me, I would not have given a farthing until he had given some explanation.'<sup>1531</sup>
- Died in Scotland, immediately after his return in 1839.<sup>1532</sup>
- 'I hear that poor O'Neil is dead. I regret much this unfortunate matter. He was I thought an excellent boy and not merely the loss of him but the manner of it is afflicting as it makes us fear that the others may be lost in a similar manner. I wonder how Dr Gillis could have overlooked his state.'<sup>1533</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [n/a]

### OTHER

- 'Right revd Dear Sir, I received your present letter as also the one you sent me last years, with that satisfaction which I should naturally feel, to receive a letter from you. Besides when you write me, you always send me something more than an advice. I could not call at Mrs Callaghan's before yesterday, because having received your letter on a Thursday, I was forced to wait till the Wednesday following for that is the playday of the week. With regard to the students, of whom you ask what classes they finish this year, and what classes they will enter at the end of the vacation, this is their ordre beginning by the lowest classes: Manticha and Tochetti are finishing their seventh class, and will enter into the sixth; Reid finishing the sixth, will

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<sup>1526</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Glasgow, St Andrew's, MP006200001-00002-00001-00202-.

<sup>1527</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1528</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1529</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1530</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Glasgow, St Andrew's, MP006200001-00002-00001-00202-.

<sup>1531</sup> SCA: OL/2/40/2, John Cowie to Bp Scott, Rome 4 Jun 1839.

<sup>1532</sup> '[...] poor O'Neil who came home and died last year'. SCA: DD/1/10/17, Bp Scott to [unknown], Greenock 23 Jul 1840.

<sup>1533</sup> SCA: OL/2/42/4, Bp Kyle to Bp Scott, Preshome 5 Aug 1839.

enter into the Fifth; Gall, Smith and MacManus finishing the fifth will enter into the fourth; Shaw, et McKenzie and French, finishing the fourth, will enter into the third; Gartly, O'Donnel and Dawson finishing the third will enter into the Second; Mann finishing the second will enter into Rhetoric; Monachan and I finishing our Rhetoric, will begin our Philosophy. Thus none skip a class this year. All of us enjoy the best health, all without exception, not one being less healthy than another. All of us are happy; all of us, I may add, are virtuous. Had you but seen this house, you would not have found it necessary to caution me against bad companions. It enjoys the best reputation and deservedly. Besides the only companions that we (for the Scotch mission) have had till now are ourselves. We are proud of the vocation to which we are called; we animate each other with the best sentiments; we increase in fervour as we approach The Goal. To that to fall into a grievous fault, one must create a precipice for himself. – I can only finish as you finished yourself, by hoping to increase in knowledge and in piety till I return with you. I hope also at that time to be a cause of joy to my parents. Last year, I had felt a desire to go and see them; I had been on the point of asking your permission: after six years absence from home, such a desire is not perhaps surprising; but I am ready to sacrifice a present satisfaction for a future one, since it might be an obstacle to my advancement in knowledge and in virtue. I remain Dear Sir with gratitude  
Yours etc, Daniel Oneill.<sup>1534</sup>

## O'Neill, John (1859-1920)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 17 Apr 1859 in Blairgowrie<sup>1535</sup>
- Mother: Maria McKay,<sup>1536</sup> from Ireland<sup>1537</sup>
- Father: Edward O'Neill,<sup>1538</sup> riddle maker from Ireland

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1872 – 1874
- St Peter's College 1874 – 1877
- Douai 1877 – 1878
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1878 – 1879
- Scots College Rome 1879 – 1884
- Ordained 22 May 1884 at Rome

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Mary's, Dundee 1884 – 1887
- St Joseph's, Dundee 1887 – 1889
- Alloa 1889 – 1913
- Immaculate Conception, Dundee 1913 – 1920
- Died 25 Feb 1920 when failed to recover from an operation<sup>1539</sup>

<sup>1534</sup> SCA: OL/2/35/5, Daniel O'Neill to Scott, Vaugirard 12 Jul 1838.

<sup>1535</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1536</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1537</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Blairgowrie, RD 335-00, 002-010.

<sup>1538</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1539</sup> SCD 1921 (obituary).

- Buried at Balgay cemetery

#### OTHER

- ‘His buoyant nature and his keen spirit of sportsmanship led him beyond the invisible boundaries of parochial retirement’<sup>1540</sup>
- ‘the very embodiment of kindness.’<sup>1541</sup>
- ‘Throughout his life Father O’Neill enjoyed a reputation among his clerical brethren in Scotland for athletic accomplishments and for physical strength.’<sup>1542</sup>

### O’Neill, John A. (1840-1922)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 12 Mar 1840 in Campbeltown<sup>1543</sup>
- Mother: Biddy O’Neill, born in Ireland<sup>1544</sup>
- Father: Arthur O’Neill, born in Ireland; linen draper<sup>1545</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Mount Melleray, Ireland: ‘He pursued his preliminary course of study – classics, rhetoric and philosophy – at mount Melleray, Ireland; and here he seems to have imbibed a love of Ireland which coloured his political views in later days.’<sup>1546</sup>
- Séez 1873 – 1874
- St Peter’s College 1874 – 1876
- Ordained 25 Jun 1876 in Glasgow

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Newton Stewart 1876 – 1881
- Muirkirk 1881 – 1894
- Birnieknowe, Auchinleck 1894 – 1909
- Retired at Clifton, then Musselburgh 1909<sup>1547</sup>
- Provost
- Died 3 Nov 1922 in Musselburgh<sup>1548</sup>
- Buried at Mount Vernon Cemetery, Edinburgh<sup>1549</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘had a taste for gardening’<sup>1550</sup>
- ‘his zeal, holiness of life, and business capacity’<sup>1551</sup>

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<sup>1540</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1541</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1542</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1543</sup> *SCD* 1924 (obituary).

<sup>1544</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Campbeltown, RD 507-00, 002-011.

<sup>1545</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1546</sup> *SCD* 1924 (obituary).

<sup>1547</sup> Johnson, ‘The Western District’, 134.

<sup>1548</sup> *SCD* 1924 (obituary).

<sup>1549</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1550</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1551</sup> Ibid.

- ‘he was a stranger to ambition’<sup>1552</sup>
- ‘Provost O’Neill was a typical priest.’<sup>1553</sup>
- ‘disinterestedness and utter selflessness’ of his character<sup>1554</sup>

## Niven, Peter (1858-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 29 Oct 1858 in Dundee<sup>1555</sup>
- Mother: Maria Kelly<sup>1556</sup> from Ireland<sup>1557</sup>
- Father: Terrance Niven,<sup>1558</sup> general labourer, from Ireland<sup>1559</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- |              |             |
|--------------|-------------|
| • Blairs     | 1871 – 1876 |
| • St Riquier | 1876 – 1877 |
| • Douai      | 1877 – 1878 |
| • St Sulpice | 1878 – 1878 |

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- In 1881, occupation listed as ‘painter’; unmarried<sup>1560</sup>

### OTHER

- [unknown]

## P

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## Paterson, John (1810-1834)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 27 May 1810 in Homie, Rathven, Enzie, Banffshire<sup>1561</sup>
- Mother: Isabella Badenoch<sup>1562</sup>
- Father: John Paterson<sup>1563</sup>
- Homie was ‘formerly a wadset [mortgaged farm] belonging to his family’<sup>1564</sup>
- Son of ‘respectable parents’<sup>1565</sup>

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<sup>1552</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1553</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1554</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1555</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1556</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1557</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Dundee Second District, RD 282-02, 006-008.

<sup>1558</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1559</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Dundee Second District, RD 282-02, 006-008.

<sup>1560</sup> SPC: Census 1881: St Andrews and St Leonards, RD 453-00, 004-007.

<sup>1561</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>1562</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1563</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1564</sup> SCD 1835 (obituary).

<sup>1565</sup> Ibid.

- Unspecified 'relative' of Bishop Paterson's<sup>1566</sup>

#### STUDIES (Lowland District; Northern District)

- Aquhorties 1819 – 1823
- Scots College Rome 1823 – 1828
- Taught at Aquhorties 1828 – 1829<sup>1567</sup>
- St Sulpice 1829 – 1830
- Studies interrupted in 1830<sup>1568</sup>
- St Sulpice 1830 – 1831
- Studies interrupted in 1831<sup>1569</sup>
- St Sulpice 1831 – 1833
- Ordained 1833, Edinburgh

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Mary's, Edinburgh 1833 – 1834
- Died 26 Jul 1834 of 'fever, apparently produced by too intense application' in Edinburgh<sup>1570</sup>
- Buried at New Calton cemetery<sup>1571</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Paul, James Alexander (1848-1912)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 9 Dec 1848 in Aberdeen<sup>1572</sup>
- Mother: Christine Johnston<sup>1573</sup>
- Father: Alexander Paul,<sup>1574</sup> joiner ironmonger<sup>1575</sup>
- Younger brother Fr John Paul; the two were close<sup>1576</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1859 – 1865
- Douai 1865 – 1865
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1865 – 1867
- St Sulpice 1867 – 1870
- In 1870, too young to be ordained; Franco-Prussian war necessitated departure from France<sup>1577</sup>

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<sup>1566</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1567</sup> Johnson, 'The Northern and Eastern Districts', 59.

<sup>1568</sup> SCA: OL/2/4/18, Walter Lovi to Bp Scott, Keith 21 Dec 1830. See also CRD1830.

<sup>1569</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1570</sup> SCD 1835 (obituary).

<sup>1571</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1572</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1573</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1574</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1575</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Aberdeen, RD 168-A0, 028-074.

<sup>1576</sup> SCD 1913 (obituary).

<sup>1577</sup> Ibid.



- Worked as professor at Blairs until reached the minimum age for ordination<sup>1578</sup>
- Ordained 21 Dec 1871 in Aberdeen

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Professor at Blairs 1871 – 1876
- Aboyne 1876 – 1882
- Braemar 1882 – 1912
- Monsignor; Canon; Domestic Prelate
- Died 17 Aug 1912 in Braemar of a ‘critical illness of a little more than a week's duration’<sup>1579</sup>
- Buried at St Andrew’s, Braemar<sup>1580</sup>

#### OTHER

- Served in School Board and Parish Council as well<sup>1581</sup>
- ‘well-defined and impressive personality’<sup>1582</sup>

### McPhail, George (1853-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 1 Jun 1853 in Dumbarton<sup>1583</sup>
- Mother: Maria Lamont<sup>1584</sup>
- Father: John McPhail,<sup>1585</sup> fish and eel merchant from Ireland with lodgers<sup>1586</sup>
- Siblings: two apprentice plumbers, an engineer, a barmaid<sup>1587</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1866 – 1872
- Douai 1872 – 1873
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1873 – 1874

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- In 1881, listed as a stationer in Dumbarton, living with his parents<sup>1588</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

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<sup>1578</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1579</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1580</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1581</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1582</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1583</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1584</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1585</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1586</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Dumbarton, RD 496-00, 001-003; SPC: Census 1881: Dumbarton, RD 496-00, 002-030.

<sup>1587</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1588</sup> SPC: Census 1881: Dumbarton, RD 496-00, 002-030.

## MacPherson, John (1801-1871)<sup>1589</sup>

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 29 Aug 1801 in Blair-na-Marrow near Tomintoul, Banff<sup>1590</sup>
- Mother: Margaret Grant<sup>1591</sup>
- Father: John MacPherson,<sup>1592</sup> died a few months after son's birth<sup>1593</sup>
- Raised by his mother, 'of whose assiduity in training him to the practice of piety from his earliest years he retained ever after a grateful recollection. The fondness for everything connected with the public worship of God, which was so distinguishing a feature in him, soon displayed itself, and nothing gave him greater delight than to be employed about the Chapel.'<sup>1594</sup>
- 'near relative' to Abbé Paul MacPherson<sup>1595</sup>

### STUDIES (Lowland District; Western District)

- Aquhorties 1814 – 1818
- St Nicolas 1818 – 1823
- 'In the Seminary of St Nicholas our students at first met with little friendliness from their French companions: they were looked upon as *Anglais*, who at that time found no favour in France. But their abilities and application soon commanded the respect of their fellow-students, while their uniformly good conduct won the commendation of their superiors.'<sup>1596</sup>
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1823 – 1826
- 'Head Sacristan' at Issy; requested to be transferred to St Sulpice as this took too much of his time<sup>1597</sup>
- St Sulpice 1826 – 1827
- [At St Sulpice] 'he spent two years, which he ever looked back upon as the happiest of his life. He studied diligently, was exemplary in the observance of the rules, gave satisfaction to his superiors, and was on the best terms with his fellow-students, of whom there were nearly two hundred.'<sup>1598</sup>
- Ordained 9 Jun 1827 in Paris

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Professor at Aquhorties 1827 – 1829
- Professor at Blairs 1829 – 1830
- Edinburgh 1830 – 1832
- Dundee 1832 – 1847
- Professor at Blairs 1847 – 1858
- 1857 – 1857 accompanied Bishop Murdoch to Ratisbon and Rome
- Edinburgh 1858 – 1861
- New Abbey 1861 – 1864
- Perth 1864 – 1869
- Dundee 1869 – 1871

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<sup>1589</sup> SCA: MC/23/13/11 (photograph).

<sup>1590</sup> SCD 1872 (obituary).

<sup>1591</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Tomintoul, MP003500001-00001-00001-00029-.

<sup>1592</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1593</sup> SCD 1872 (obituary).

<sup>1594</sup> Ibid.

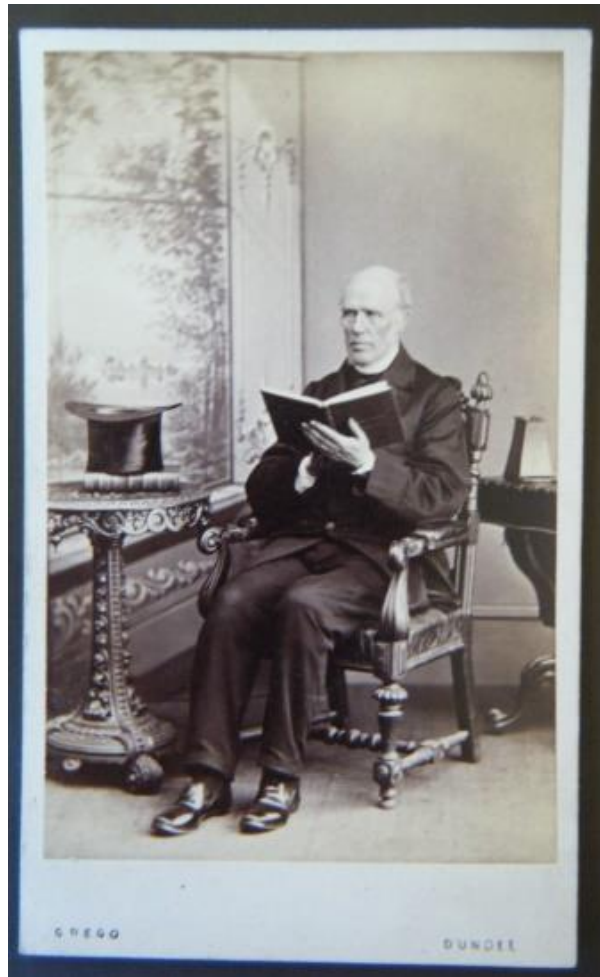
<sup>1595</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1596</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1597</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1598</sup> Ibid.

- Doctor of Divinity; Vicar-General
- Died 16 Jul 1871 in Dundee<sup>1599</sup>
- Buried in the vault of St Mary's, Dundee<sup>1600</sup>



#### OTHER

- Founder and author of the Catholic Directory
- During his studies in Paris, he generally volunteered to be employed at ceremonies at Notre Dame when students were required<sup>1601</sup>
- 'Special benefactor to the people of Perth.'<sup>1602</sup>
- 'During the forty-four years of his missionary life he had filled at one time or other every office in the Church to which a Priest could be chosen.'<sup>1603</sup>
- His transfers were predominantly due to the fact that 'his prudence and management could be relied on'.<sup>1604</sup>

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<sup>1599</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1600</sup> Alexander S. MacWilliam, 'Catholic Dundee: 1787 to 1836', 87, in *Innes Review* 18/2 (1967), 75-87.

<sup>1601</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1602</sup> SCA: MC/23/13/11 (photograph).

<sup>1603</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1604</sup> Ibid.

**MacRae (18xx-1xxx)**

## FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- [unknown]

## STUDIES (? District)

- St Nicolas 1826 – 1827<sup>1605</sup>

## CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

## OTHER

- [unknown]

**MacRae, Angus (1858-1923)**

## FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 28 Sep 1858 in Cruive, Strathglass<sup>1606</sup>
- Mother: Anna MacRae<sup>1607</sup>
- Father: Alexander MacRae,<sup>1608</sup> farmer of 44 acres (of which 22 arable) employing three labourers<sup>1609</sup>

## STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1872 – 1877
- Douai 1877 – 1879
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1879 – 1881
- St Sulpice 1881 – 1885
- Returned to Scotland for a time due to bad health<sup>1</sup>
- St Sulpice 1885 – 1886
- Ordained 29 Jun 1886 in Meaux<sup>1610</sup>

## CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Ardkenneth 1886 – 1886
- Mingarry 1886 – 1888
- Ardkenneth 1887 – 1903
- Morar 1903 – 1923
- Canon
- Died 2 Jun 1923 in Glasgow<sup>1611</sup>

<sup>1605</sup> AN: CRD1826; CRD1827.

<sup>1606</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1607</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1608</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1609</sup> SPC: Census 1871: Kiltarlity, RD 101-00, 003-008.

<sup>1610</sup> Johnson, *Scottish Catholic Secular Clergy*, 133.

<sup>1611</sup> SCD 1924 (obituary).

- Buried at Eskadale, Strathgals, ‘in accordance with his own expressed wish’<sup>1612</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘In his missionary career Father Macrae was assiduous in the discharge of the many duties that attach to the office of a priest in the widely scattered districts of the Argyll diocese. Of a bright and vivacious nature, he had a great fund of ready wit. He had the simple faith that characterises the inhabitants of his native glen and a natural devotion that influenced his every action.’<sup>1613</sup>
- Both in Uist and Morar, member of the Parish council and the School Board; elected to the Inverness-shire County Council; Justice of the Peace for the County of Inverness<sup>1614</sup>
- One of the students petitioning to return to Scotland from St Sulpice during the holidays<sup>1615</sup>

### MacRae, Donald (1833-1897)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 29 Jun 1833 in Dornie, Kintail, Ross-shire<sup>1616</sup>
- Mother: Martha Finlayson<sup>1617</sup>
- Father: Archibald MacRae,<sup>1618</sup> crofter<sup>1619</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1845 – 1849
- Vaugirard 1849 – 1851
- Douai 1851 – 1854
- Returned home in bad health<sup>1620</sup>
- Blairs 1854 – 1857
- Ordained 11 Nov 1857 at Blairs

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Applecross, Ross-shire 1858 – 1861
- Dufftown 1861 – 1862
- Braemar 1862 – 1882
- Name only given in clergy lists 1882-1887<sup>1621</sup>
- Braemar 1887 – 1891

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<sup>1612</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1613</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1614</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1615</sup> SCA: ED/8/20/1, Petition letter of students at Grand Séminaire de St Sulpice (John Malcolm, Donald Chisholm, Lawrence Phin, Patrick McMahon, Donald McMillar, George Mullan, William McKenzie, Angus McRae, Edmund Langley, John Meany, Michael Lavelle, Charles Mann, John Cameron) to ‘Your Lordship’, 3 May 1882.

<sup>1616</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1617</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1618</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1619</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Kintail, RD 072-00, 002-005.

<sup>1620</sup> Johnson, ‘The Northern and Eastern Districts’, 32.

<sup>1621</sup> Ibid.

- Not in clergy lists 1891-1897<sup>1622</sup>
- Died 24 Feb 1897 at Dornie: ‘Pray for the soul of the Rev. Donald Macrae, who died at Dornie in Kintail, on the 24<sup>th</sup> day of February, 1897, in the 65<sup>th</sup> year of his age and the 40<sup>th</sup> of his priesthood.’<sup>1623</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### MacRae, John (1827-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 12 Sep 1827 in Strathglass, Inverness<sup>1624</sup>
- Mother: Margaret Fraser<sup>1625</sup>
- Father: Alexander MacRae,<sup>1626</sup> tenant [farmer]<sup>1627</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1839 – 1845
- Aire 1845 –

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Ralston, Charles (1808-1833)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 22 Sep 1808 in Glasgow<sup>1628</sup>
- Irish;<sup>1629</sup> admitted grudgingly: ‘In truth I must say that the boy has several good qualities though not more than many others of Irish parents, but I know that Bishop Cameron is against receiving more Irish children’<sup>1630</sup>

#### STUDIES (Lowland District; Northern District)

- Aquhorties 1822 – 1828
- St Nicolas 1828 – 1828
- St Sulpice 1829 – 1830
- Studies interrupted due to the Revolution of 1830
- Blairs 1830 – 1832
- Ordained 3 Jul 1832 at Blairs

<sup>1622</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1623</sup> SCD 1898 (note of death).

<sup>1624</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1625</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1626</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1627</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Eskadale, St Mary’s, MP002100001-00002-00001-00003-.

<sup>1628</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>1629</sup> Johnson, *Developments*, 137.

<sup>1630</sup> SCA: BL, William Reid to James Kyle, Edinburgh 22 Jul 1821, quoted in Ibid., 138.

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant at Preshome 1832 – 1833
- Briefly in Glenlivet in bad health in 1832
- Died 15 Sep 1833 at Preshome of consumption<sup>1631</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Reid, Alexander (1832-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 15 Dec 1832 in Portgordon, Banffshire<sup>1632</sup>
- Mother: Margaret Seert<sup>1633</sup>
- Father: John Reid<sup>1634</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1845 – 1847
- Vaugirard 1847 – 1850
- Left Vaugirard 1 Oct 1850<sup>1635</sup>
- Blairs 1850 – 1852
- Left 30 Jul 1852<sup>1636</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- In 1881, listed as a shipmaster, married to Elizabeth W. with five children<sup>1637</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Reid, Charles (1823-1886)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 11 Jan 1823 in Aberdeen<sup>1638</sup>
- Mother: Elizabeth Fraser<sup>1639</sup>
- Father: William Reid<sup>1640</sup>

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<sup>1631</sup> SCD 1834 (obituary).

<sup>1632</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1633</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1634</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1635</sup> AN: CRD1850.

<sup>1636</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aqhorties Student Register).

<sup>1637</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1881: Drainie, RD 130-00, 005-003.

<sup>1638</sup> SCD 1887 (obituary).

<sup>1639</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Aberdeen, St Mary's with St Peter's, MP001000001-00002-00003-00017-.

<sup>1640</sup> Ibid.

- Brothers John and Alexander priests as well; resided for a time with his two sisters when priest<sup>1641</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Vaugirard 1835 – 1842
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1842 – 1844?
- St Sulpice 1844? – 1845
- Blairs 1845 – 1846
- Ordained 1846 in Glasgow

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant priest at Airdrie 1846 – 1847
- St Andrew's, Glasgow 1847 – 1849
- St Mary's, Glasgow 1849 – 1850
- St Andrew's, Glasgow 1850 – 1851
- Campbeltown 1851 – 1854
- Greenock 1854 – 1868
- Helensburgh 1868 – 1874
- Retired for a time in bad health 1874-1875; finally retired in Rothesay 1875-1886
- Died 20 Apr 1886 at Rothesay<sup>1642</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘One who was intimately acquainted with him writes thus of these last years: - “... His mind was still clear, and remained to till nearly the end, but his constitution was completely shattered. He was very fond of books, and spent most of his time in reading. He had excellent abilities, and was very well informed, especially in history, literature, and the physical sciences. Owing to the state of his health, and to his temperament, he made few friends; but those he had, whether Catholic or Protestant, highly respected him and were much attached to him. His piety was not of the demonstrative kind, but it was deep and sincere. He was straightforward, sometimes even to bluntness; but I always found him most kind, considerate, and charitable. What I most admired him for was his strong faith and respect for authority. He suffered much, especially towards the end of his life; but he bore everything with great patience and resignation. His two sisters, with whom he latterly resided, and to whom he was much attached, died, one on the 13<sup>th</sup> December, the other on the 13<sup>th</sup> January last. All he said was, ‘God’s will be done’. But the loss of his sisters soon told on his own health, already much enfeebled.”’<sup>1643</sup>

### O’Reilly, John (1858-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 15 Oct 1858 in Lochee, Blairgowrie<sup>1644</sup>

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<sup>1641</sup> *SCD* 1887 (obituary).

<sup>1642</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1643</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1644</sup> *SCA*: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).



- Mother: Bridget Mayley<sup>1645</sup>
- Father: Thomas Reilly<sup>1646</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1872 – 1876
- St Riquier 1876 – 1877
- Douai 1877 – 1878
- St Sulpice 1878 – 1878
- Expelled from St Sulpice<sup>1647</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Reynolds, Michael (1853-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 30 Jun 1853<sup>1648</sup> (or 1852)<sup>1649</sup> in Kilduff<sup>1650</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1868 – 1871
- Douai 1871 – 1872
- Left Aug 1872<sup>1651</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Robertson, George (1837-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 26 Oct 1837 in Fife-Keith, Banff<sup>1652</sup>
- Mother: Elizabeth Dawson,<sup>1653</sup> feuar and farmer of 4 acres (widow by 1851)<sup>1654</sup>

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<sup>1645</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1646</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1647</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1648</sup> AN: CRD1872.

<sup>1649</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1650</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1651</sup> SCA: ED8/46, Bishop Strain: Students at Various Colleges, 1872-81.

<sup>1652</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1653</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1654</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Keith, RD 159-00, 006-017.

- Father: William Robertson<sup>1655</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1853 – 1857
- Douai 1857 – 1859
- ‘No vocation’; sent away from St Sulpice in 1859<sup>1656</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Robertson, William (1829-1857)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 13 May 1829 in Fife-Keith, Banff<sup>1657</sup>
- Mother: Elizabeth Dawson,<sup>1658</sup> feuar and farmer of 4 acres (widow by 1851)<sup>1659</sup>
- Father: William Robertson<sup>1660</sup>
- ‘There is another apparently very nice Boy, named Robertson; whose Father is most anxious to send him and would I think be able to pay for him also.’<sup>1661</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1844 – 1846
- Valladolid 1846 – 1852
- St Sulpice (his own request) 1852 – 1853
- Ordained 21 May 1853 in Paris

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Preshome 1853 – 1853
- Fochabers 1853 – 1857
- Died 9 Sep 1857 of a long-term illness: ‘He had not been above two years in this his only charge, when he manifested insipient indications of declining health, and the malady under which he laboured gradually gaining upon him, while his case gave his friends various alternations of hope and fear, his constitution, naturally weak, at length yielded to its fatal inroads. All hopes of recovery being now given up, he lingered on for several months, calmly and earnestly preparing himself for the crisis, till he expired at six o’clock in the afternoon of the day above mentioned.’<sup>1662</sup>

<sup>1655</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1656</sup> SCA: ED/8/18/6, Élèves rentrés en Ecosse – District de l’Est.

<sup>1657</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1658</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1659</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Keith, RD 159-00, 006-017.

<sup>1660</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1661</sup> SCA: OL/2/64/3, Forbes to his Bishop, St Mary’s 4 May 1842.

<sup>1662</sup> SCD 1858 (obituary).

- Buried at the ancient Churchyard of St Ninian, Chapeford, Enzie<sup>1663</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Rooney, William E. (1857-1941)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 10 Aug 1857 in Edinburgh<sup>1664</sup>
- Mother: Anna Coyle,<sup>1665</sup> from Ireland<sup>1666</sup>
- Father: Hugh Rooney,<sup>1667</sup> communion agent<sup>1668</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1873 – 1877
- Douai 1877 – 1878
- Scots College Rome 1879 – 1885
- Ordained 22 May 1884 at Rome

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh 1885 – 1886
- Penicuik 1886 – 1886
- Vice-Rector of Scots College Rome 1886 – 1891
- Recalled: St Alexander's, Denny 1891 – 1902
- Galashiels 1902 – 1924
- St Andrews, Fife 1924 – 1929
- Peebles 1929 – 1941
- 1929 chosen Provost; also a Canon
- Died 25 May 1941 in Peebles of pneumonia following an accident in the garden<sup>1669</sup>
- Buried in the Priests' Enclosure in Mount Vernon Cemetery<sup>1670</sup>

#### OTHER

- 'His was a strong, kindly personality, the strength derived from his absolute rectitude and sincerity of soul. He was a truly noblehearted priest, highly cultured and greatly gifted, and generous to a fault.'<sup>1671</sup>

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<sup>1663</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1664</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1665</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1666</sup> SPC: Census 1871: St Andrew, RD 685-02, 062-002.

<sup>1667</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1668</sup> SPC: Census 1871: St Andrew, RD 685-02, 062-002.

<sup>1669</sup> SCD 1942 (obituary).

<sup>1670</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1671</sup> Ibid.

## Rowley, Thomas William (1850-1928)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 1 Mar 1850 in Forgandenny, Perth<sup>1672</sup>
- Mother: Jeanne Dobbie,<sup>1673</sup> Scottish<sup>1674</sup>
- Father: Thomas Rowley,<sup>1675</sup> Chelsea pensioner; born in Ireland; one servant in the household<sup>1676</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1864 – 1868
- Douai 1868 – 1872
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1872 – 1874
- St Sulpice 1874 – 1875
- Left 1875

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Married Mary Helen McMahon in Carlow, Ireland, 4 Aug 1879<sup>1677</sup>
- Died 28 Aug 1928 in Twickenham, England<sup>1678</sup>

### OTHER

- [unknown]

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## Scanlan, Martin (1854-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 16 Nov 1854 in Glasgow, Lanarkshire<sup>1679</sup>
- Mother: Maria Kerns,<sup>1680</sup> widow; hawker in delph, her own mother and head of household a lodging house keeper, both from Ireland<sup>1681</sup>
- Father: John Scanlan<sup>1682</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1869 – 1871
- Douai 1871 – 1874
- Expelled: 'Martin Scanlan was expelled from Douay, for good reasons' (3 Nov 1874)<sup>1683</sup>

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<sup>1672</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1673</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1674</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Forgandenny, RD 353-00, 001-001.

<sup>1675</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1676</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Forgandenny, RD 353-00, 001-001.

<sup>1677</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: [no source indicated].

<sup>1678</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1679</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1680</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1681</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Clyde, RD 644-05, 011-016.

<sup>1682</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1683</sup> SCA: ED/8/46 (Bishop Strain: Students at Various Colleges, 1872-81).

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### O'Shaughnessy, Patrick Aloysius (1856-1885)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 10 Jan 1856 in Rutherglen, Lanarkshire<sup>1684</sup>
- Mother: Maria Murphy,<sup>1685</sup> agricultural labourer; widowed head of household in 1861<sup>1686</sup>
- Father: John Shaughnessy<sup>1687</sup>
- Brother to William J. A., also a seminarian

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- |                     |             |
|---------------------|-------------|
| • Blairs            | 1869 – 1871 |
| • Douai             | 1871 – 1872 |
| • St Sulpice (Issy) | 1872 – 1872 |
| • Douai             | 1872 – 1874 |

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- In 1881, listed as licenced grocer in Cambusland, living with sister and aunt<sup>1688</sup>
- Died 19 Mar 1885 in Cambuslang<sup>1689</sup>

#### OTHER

- Unusually has a note of death in the SCD, although not an ordained priest: 'Pray for the repose of the soul of Patrick Aloysius O'Shaughnessy, who died at Cambuslang, fortified by the Rites of the Church, on 19<sup>th</sup> March, 1885, aged 29 years.'<sup>1690</sup>

### O'Shaughnessy, William J. A. (1847-1897)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 22 Apr 1847 in Dalton, Hamilton, near Lanarkshire<sup>1691</sup>
- Mother: Maria Murphy,<sup>1692</sup> agricultural labourer born in Forfarshire; widowed head of household in 1861<sup>1693</sup>

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<sup>1684</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1685</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1686</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Dunipace, RD 478-00, 001-003.

<sup>1687</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1688</sup> SPC: Census 1881: Cambuslang, RD 627-00, 002-034.

<sup>1689</sup> SCD 1886 (obituary).

<sup>1690</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1691</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1692</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1693</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Dunipace, RD 478-00, 001-003.

- Father: John Shaughnessy<sup>1694</sup>
- Brother to Patrick Aloysius, also a seminarian

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- St Aloysius' College, Glasgow
- Blairs 1860 – 1865
- Douai 1865 – 1865
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1865 – 1867
- St Sulpice 1867 – 1870
- Ordained deacon, after which returned to Scotland in bad health<sup>1695</sup>
- When recovered, ordained 14 Jun 1870 in Glasgow

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Mary's, Greenock 1870 – 1872
- Girvan 1872 – 1890
- Building of the Church at Maybole in 1876<sup>1696</sup>
- Travelled in the United States, fundraising to meet the debts incurred<sup>1697</sup>
- Ayr 1890 – 1894
- Galston 1894 – 1896
- Girvan 1896 – 1897
- In Nice, recovering from an illness: 'A short time ago his health, which had been anything but strong, entirely collapsed, and the bursting of blood vessel in the cerebral region bringing on a severe crisis, which while it lasted left his life in peril. Recovering slightly he went to the South of France in hope of recuperating, and there he remained till a few weeks ago.'<sup>1698</sup>
- Died 23 Aug 1897 in Rutherglen: 'When entirely broken down he came to his brother's house at Rutherglen, where he gradually sank until death overtook him.'<sup>1699</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Shaw, John (1820-1885)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 6 Apr 1820<sup>1700</sup> in Stronavaich, Strathavon, Banffshire<sup>1701</sup>
- Mother: Elspeth Gordon<sup>1702</sup>
- Father: Alexander Shaw,<sup>1703</sup> Protestant,<sup>1704</sup> 'Plaids&c. He. La. Ir.'<sup>1705</sup>

<sup>1694</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1695</sup> SCD 1871 (note of ordination).

<sup>1696</sup> SCD 1898 (obituary).

<sup>1697</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1698</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1699</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1700</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>1701</sup> SCD 1886 (obituary).

<sup>1702</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Marriages): Tomintoul, MP003500001-00001-00002-00015-.

<sup>1703</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1704</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Tomintoul, MP003500001-00001-00002-00094-.

<sup>1705</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Dores, RD 096-A0, 001-001.

- Father's uncle Donald Shaw a farmer;<sup>1706</sup> younger brother James at 25 (in 1841) a mason<sup>1707</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1833 – 1834
- Vaugirard 1834 – 1841
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1841 – 1844?
- 'At Issy his remarkable aptitude for the natural sciences was recognised by the professor of physics, who entrusted him with the care of the instruments and the arrangement for experiments in class.'<sup>1708</sup>
- St Sulpice 1844? – 1846
- Ordained 6 Jun 1846 in Paris

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Andrew's, Glasgow 1846 – 1849
- St Mary's, Glasgow 1849 – 1851
- Epidemics in Glasgow: 'But during a considerable part of Mr. Shaw's stay among them the city was afflicted with two dreadful scourges, the typhus epidemic and the cholera, which bore with special severity on the Catholics, owing to the utter destitution of so many among them.' (He was ill as well and took to bed more than once.)<sup>1709</sup>
- Rutherglen 1851 – 1885
- Canon
- Died 3 Nov 1885 at Rutherglen of embolism, paralysis, and violent seizures: 'While he was giving Benediction, he felt his head grow dizzy and his sight fail him. That night, as he was retiring to rest, a sick-call came in, and, as he found himself unable to walk, had himself carried by two men to the house of the sick person. When he was brought home he was struck down by embolism. After recovering partially, he retired for two months to Rothesay at the earnest solicitation of his flock, and returned home much improved in health, but unable any longer to work the mission single-handed. For some months more he discharged his missionary duties to the best of his ability till – once more after attending a sick-call – he was again attacked so violently that the blood oozed out from eyes, ears, nose, and even the pores of his skin. This was followed from time to time during the remainder of his life by such seizures that his medical attendant was surprised that even his constitution, strong though it was naturally, and preserved by the regularity and abstemiousness of his life, could bear him through them. On the 29th of October last he was struck with paralysis on the left side, and on the fifth night after [...] he calmly passed away, a heavenly smile lighting up his countenance.'<sup>1710</sup>
- Buried 'in a specially prepared vault in the church' [in Rutherglen?].<sup>1711</sup>

#### OTHER

- Rutherglen church, presbytery and school

<sup>1706</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Marriages): Tomintoul, MP003500001-00001-00002-00015-.

<sup>1707</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Dores, RD 096-A0, 001-001.

<sup>1708</sup> SCD 1886 (obituary).

<sup>1709</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1710</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1711</sup> Ibid.

- ‘My Lord, I should have written to you long since to give you an account of my progress but finding no occasion I was obliged to stop till now. My Lord I am coming on very well in my studies and am always in good health. I have got several prizes so have all the other boys that came to France with me and we like the place very well. In four years time I hope to enter Philosophy. My Lord I got a letter from home June the 26. and I expected to find in it some money but found none and I understand that my parents had sent me a letter before with some money in it afraid it was lost on the way. I then wrote home a second time but as my parents at present are not coming on very well they told me to ask some from your Lordship. I then ask you some and I hope that you will give me, for I have none at present, and I get none where I am, I beg of you to send it very soon. My Lord be always sure that I will do all that I can to become one day a good priest. I remain your humble servant, John Shaw.’<sup>1712</sup>
- ‘My Lord, We may advance with the assurance that you receive no greater pleasure than to hear of the welfare of your students, and to be of great utility to them provided that Your condescendence dont damage the interests if the mission. I trust then, My lord, than we may with confidence have recourse to your paternal bounty, for your interest and ours are closely connected together. On this letter then depends the success that we Shall obtain in our farther advanced studies. The College that we are in possesses a certain regular course of studies peculiar to itself, which regular courses if we follow up, we shall enter the seminary of Issy in the middle of the course of Philosophy, it being of two years. Rather than spoil such an important branch of our education (for if we went there in the middle of the course we would certainly understand nothing of it, because there are continual allusions made to the study of the first year) we are next year going to make our rhetorick and to pass over our literature; in order that we may arrive at Issy at the beginning of the course. But before we make such a decisif step (before we pass over a class consequently take a year less) we beg of your lordship to promise to us that when we have finished our divinity and are gone home to Scotland, you will allow us to pass a year at Blairs, to make up for the year that we will not have taken in france. It would not only make up for the year that we would not have taken in france, but it would likewise serve us for the Gaelick that we will have nearly forgot, and for the English that we speak very poorly having never learned it gramatically. So for us the year that we would pass at Blairs would be incomparably of more use to us than the one that we would pass in france. Besides we would learn our Gaelick and English, in fact we would be twice more prepared to go on the Mission, and only take the same time as for you, My lord, I imagine that you would receive no disadvantages in granting our demand, on the contrary you would be able to send other students a year sooner in our place. As for the travelling money you would not loose since that money would be requisite a year later. Since then, My lord, you will draw no disadvantage and that we will draw a great and an incomparable advantage, we beg of you to condescend to our claims. Messrs Keenan, Gordon, Oneil, Reid, and the other Scotch students are all well. Deign, My lord, to give us a prompt and complying answer. Your ever humble and obedient sons, John Shaw and Donald McKenzie. [...] P.S. This letter regards equally us two who have

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<sup>1712</sup> SCA: OL/2/29/7, John Shaw to Bp Scott, Vaugirard 27 Jun 1837.



signed our names. We are in the same class, and find ourselves in the same circumstances.<sup>1713</sup>

- [asking written permission to be tonsured before moving on to St Sulpice]: ‘the directors of the seminary have a bad opinion of one who is not tonsured the first year he enters their house attributing nearly always to bad conduct.’<sup>1714</sup>
- ‘This is the time that one must pay great attention to his vocation. The subdeaconship is advancing; in two years I hope that I will get that order if I have the happiness to be called to the priest hood: it would certainly be a great misfortune for me not to conform myself to my vocation, if ever I had one which I hope and think that I have, but it would still be a greater misfortune to introduce myself into the sanctuary without the calling of God.’<sup>1715</sup>
- ‘All the Scotch students in France are doing very well, and are in general remarkable for their success in their studies, they are all in very good health and spirits with the exception of one of your lordship’s subjects that is Donald McMaster. I think that he is getting better now, but certainly the confinement of a French house of education does not agree with him very well, it is really astonishing how the others stand out so well, for they have a great deal of study and very little recreation in comparison to what they had during my time in Blairs.’<sup>1716</sup>
- ‘He took no holidays, engaged in no parties of pleasure, – he once was at a dinner-party, which he left as soon as he could with propriety, bitterly regretting the loss of valuable time, – and never spent a night away from his mission.’<sup>1717</sup>
- ‘while he was a devout priest and a laborious missionary, he was none the less an ardent and brilliant scientist, and in himself a convincing refutation of the charge that the Church is opposed to science, or that her doctrines exercise a baneful influence on the mind.’<sup>1718</sup>
- ‘his favourite studies, and devoted to them every hour which was not consecrated to his religious exercises or external duties. [...] His proficiency in various departments of knowledge was well known to his friends, and indeed a matter of notoriety; but accident often brought to light his mastery of subjects which he was not previously thought to be acquainted with at all. [...] His intimate familiarity with many of the natural sciences is well enough known, for he often lectured on one or other of them, and gave to the world papers discussing scientific subjects or communicating the results of his own researches and observations. He had studied deeply astronomy, geology, chemistry, biology and botany; and was careful to read the most recent and best works bearing on these sciences. His astronomical telescope, his powerful microscope, and meteorological instruments were to him a source of never-failing delight and instruction.’ (‘he has been called an encyclopedia’) <sup>1719</sup>
- ‘Canon Shaw was a man of primitive simplicity of life, and a model of Christian and priestly virtue. He was utterly devoid of ambition or self-

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<sup>1713</sup> SCA: OL/2/39/3, John Shaw and Donald MacKenzie to Bp Scott, Vaugirard 10 Apr 1839.

<sup>1714</sup> SCA: OL/2/64/1, John Shaw to Bp Scott, Séminaire d’Issy 4 Apr 1842.

<sup>1715</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1716</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1717</sup> SCD 1886 (obituary).

<sup>1718</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1719</sup> Ibid.

interest, and his charity to the poor was limited only by his means. Naturally fiery and impetuous, he had gained such mastery over himself that his patience under provocation or in suffering, as during the constant and racking pains of the last months of his life, was extraordinary. His rectitude and singlemindedness were so apparent to all, that he retained the esteem and even the affection of those whose actions he felt himself called upon to censure, or whose projects he stoutly opposed. In his intercourse with others he was frank, genial, and warmhearted.’<sup>1720</sup>

## Shaw, John (1847-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 11 Jul 1847<sup>1721</sup> in Delachcaile,<sup>1722</sup> Kirkmichael, Banff
- Mother: Isabelle MacIritis<sup>1723</sup>
- Father: Alexander Shaw,<sup>1724</sup> farmer of 120 acres arable and 300 acres pasture<sup>1725</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Douai 1861 – 1865
- In autumn 1861, listed with his progress as ‘satisfactory’, conduct as ‘good’, character as ‘good’ and health as ‘good’<sup>1726</sup>
- Left 1 Sep 1865 ;<sup>1727</sup> no vocation<sup>1728</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

### OTHER

- [unknown]

## Sheehy, John J. (1859-1937)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 5 Jul 1859 in Airdrie<sup>1729</sup>
- Mother: Rosanna McLusky,<sup>1730</sup> widow; housekeeper; from Ireland; eight children in 1871<sup>1731</sup>

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<sup>1720</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1721</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/2, Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 4 Aug 1861.

<sup>1722</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>1723</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1724</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1725</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1851: Kirkmichael, RD 160-00, 07A-002.

<sup>1726</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/2, Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 4 Aug 1861.

<sup>1727</sup> AN: CRD1865.

<sup>1728</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>1729</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1730</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1731</sup> SPC: Census 1871: Airdrie or New Monkland, RD 651-01, 007-017.

- Father: John Sheehy<sup>1732</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1871 – 1877
- Douai 1877 – 1878
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1878 – 1878
- Scots College Rome 1878 – 1884
- Ordained 22 May 1884 at Rome

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant at Girvan 1884 – 1885
- St Margaret's, Ayr 1885 – 1887
- St Andrews, Dumfries 1887 – 1888
- Kirkcudbright 1888 – 1903
- In Kirkcudbright, he 'played a very important part in educational and Parish Council affairs [...]. In the course of those [34] years he cleared off £25,000 of church and school debt; he was indefatigable in his work for education, relinquishing his post as Chairman of the local School Management Committee only a year before his death; he was Chairman too of the Kilmarnock Savings Bank; and for more than eight years was Vicar General of the Diocese.'<sup>1733</sup>
- Administrator at St Joseph's, Kilmarnock 1903 – 1937
- Monsignor; Provost and Domestic Prelate in 1935<sup>1734</sup>
- Died suddenly 20 Dec 1937 in Kilmarnock<sup>1735</sup>
- Buried at Kilmarnock cemetery<sup>1736</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Shivers, Patrick (1857-1916)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 13 Jul 1857 in Lavey,<sup>1737</sup> Termoncery,<sup>1738</sup> Co. Londonderry, Ireland
- Mother: Maria Brennan<sup>1739</sup>
- Father: Henry Shivers<sup>1740</sup>
- Parents moved to Dundee when he was still a child<sup>1741</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1872 – 1876

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<sup>1732</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1733</sup> SCD 1939 (obituary).

<sup>1734</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1735</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1736</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1737</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1738</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 360.

<sup>1739</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1740</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1741</sup> SCD 1917 (obituary).

- St Riquier 1876 – 1877
- Douai 1877 – 1878
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1878 – 1879
- Scots College Rome 1879 – 1883
- Ordained 19 May 1883 at Rome

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Decano of the College at Rome for a year after his ordination  
1883 – 1884
- Returned to Scotland in 1884
- Assistant at St Mary's, Stirling under Monsignor Smith  
1884 – 1887
- St Mary St David's, Hawick 1887 – 1892
- Our Lady of Perpetual Succour (St Marie's), Kirkcaldy (including  
Burntisland)  
1892 – 1898
- St Michael's, Linlithgow 1898 – 1902
- St Alexander's, Denny (and briefly Innerleithen)  
1902 – 1916
- Canon (1905)
- Died 12 Oct 1916 at Denny, following a rapid decline (comatose for the last  
week)<sup>1742</sup>
- Buried 'in the family burying-ground at Balgay'<sup>1743</sup>

#### OTHER

- 'During his college as well as his priestly life physical suffering was his  
constant companion. So overpowering was the strain of work upon his weak  
frame, that for a short while the small mission of Innerleithen was given to  
him.'<sup>1744</sup>
- 'The dominant characteristic of Canon Shivers' life was visible to all in the  
retiring disposition that he on all occasions manifested. He cared not that his  
many good works should be known by men. The disposition made him shun  
as far as possible an appearance on public boards.'<sup>1745</sup>

### Smith, Andrew (1822-1877)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 26 Aug 1822 in Edinburgh<sup>1746</sup>
- Mother: Catherine McKenzie<sup>1747</sup>
- Father: James Smith, Esquire S.S.C.,<sup>1748</sup> Architect and builder<sup>1749</sup>

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<sup>1742</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1743</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1744</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1745</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1746</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1747</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1748</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Edinburgh, St Mary's Cathedral, MP007400001-00001-00003-00287-.

<sup>1749</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Edinburgh, RD 685-01, 043-011.

- Two servants<sup>1750</sup>
- Brother of the later Archbishop William Smith<sup>1751</sup>
- ‘His mother – a cousin of Bishop Macdonnell of Glengarry – had in her youth much to endure on account of her firm adherence to her religion; and in her later years bore, with the uncomplaining gentleness of a saint, the excruciating and protracted sufferings which ended only in her death.’<sup>1752</sup>
- ‘His father – a convert from the Established Church of Scotland – took in Edinburgh a leading part in the agitation which resulted in the Emancipation Act; and, while Catholic writers were yet “few and far between,” employed his lucid and vigorous pen in defence of the Faith and political rights of his Catholic fellow-subjects. Summoned afterwards to London, he edited for a time the *Dublin Review*, then coming into notice, and eventually was chosen Secretary of the *Catholic Institute of Great Britain*.’<sup>1753</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1835 – 1837
- Vaugirard 1837 – 1842
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1842 – 1843
- Had to return home due to illness<sup>1754</sup>
- Blairs 1843 – 1847
- Ordained 20 Apr 1847, Blairs

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Professor at Valladolid 1847 – 1851
- Kirkcudbright 1851 – 1856
- Linlithgow 1856 – 1859
- Bathgate 1859 – 1860
- Left the Mission in 1860<sup>1755</sup>
- At Inzievar, the home of his brother, Mr Smith Sligo, 1862-1864
- English chaplain and confessor at the Church of St Nicholas, Bruges<sup>1756</sup>
- returned to Scotland 1871
- Superintendence of the Oakley Mission (resident at Inzievar), 1871 – 1877
- Died 1 Mar 1877 at Inzievar<sup>1757</sup>
- ‘During that incumbency the symptoms of heart disease which had shown themselves in previous years, became more decided and distressing, and they were frequently aggravated by severe attacks of acute rheumatism.’<sup>1758</sup>
- Buried beside his father at the ancient Catholic burying-ground of Carnock, near Dunfermline<sup>1759</sup>

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<sup>1750</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1751</sup> *SCD* 1878 (obituary).

<sup>1752</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1753</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1754</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1755</sup> Johnson, ‘The Northern and Eastern Districts’, 60.

<sup>1756</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1757</sup> *SCD* 1914 (obituary).

<sup>1758</sup> *SCD* 1878 (obituary).

<sup>1759</sup> Ibid.

## OTHER

- ‘he was transferred to the celebrated School of Vaugirard, Paris, then at the height of its educational eminence; and there he won much distinction, on one occasion carrying off the French prize even from the French themselves.’<sup>1760</sup>
- ‘His talents were varied, and of high order; so that, if health and position had been favourable, he was calculated to shine in science, in eloquence or in art. In music he was a rare proficient. He not only played remarkably well, but, when he sang, the mellow tones of his rich and powerful baritone could stir the heart like a trumpet, or touch with wizard skill the softer keys of sympathetic feeling. In company he was very sociable, and so genial in conversation, that it was quite a treat to hear his unfailing flow of sparkling talk, witty remark, and ready repartee, when it pleased him to indulge the vein.’<sup>1761</sup>
- ‘In him no one could discover the least trace of jealousy with regard to those who might eclipse himself. For even in those things where he himself excelled, he rejoiced at the success of others as much as at his own. His hand too, as his heart, was ever open to relieve distress, and more than once it happened that in helping others, he became the victim of his generosity. Nor did he ever indulge animosity against those who did him an ill-turn, and but seldom showed that he had even the remembrance of any unkindness of injustice.’<sup>1762</sup>

## Smith, George John (1840-1918)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 24 Jan 1840 in Cuttlebrae, Enzie, Banffshire<sup>1763</sup>
- Mother: Helen Bennet<sup>1764</sup>
- Father: Alexander Smith<sup>1765</sup>

### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1853 – 1857
- Douai 1857 – 1859
- His progress in studies marked as ‘satisfactory’, his conduct ‘very good’, his character ‘open’ and his health ‘good’<sup>1766</sup>
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1859 – 1861
- St Sulpice 1861 – 1864
- Ordained 17 Dec 1864 in Paris

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Junior priest, St Mungo's, Glasgow 1865 – 1865
- St Vincent's, Glasgow 1865 – 1867
- Kilmarnock 1867 – 1869

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<sup>1760</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1761</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1762</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1763</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1764</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1765</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1766</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/10, Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund's College Douai, 24 Jan 1859.

- Rothesay 1869 – 1893
- Consecrated Bishop of Argyll and the Isles at Oban 1893
- Ill health for a long time before death<sup>1767</sup>
- Died 18 Jan 1918 at Oban<sup>1768</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘Of a retiring and unassuming disposition, Bishop Smith took little or no part in affairs beyond the immediate province of his episcopal charge; he was content to pass his years in the unostentatious but faithful discharge of his pastoral office. He was more scholar than a man of affairs, and was deeply versed in the literature of the early Fathers of the Church.’<sup>1769</sup>
- Charity ‘his special virtue’<sup>1770</sup>

### Stuart, Alexander (1804-18xx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Baptised 14 Oct 1804<sup>1771</sup> in Kirkmichael, Banffshire
- Mother: Margaret Stuart<sup>1772</sup>
- Father: Donald Stuart, Laggan of Croughly,<sup>1773</sup> farmer<sup>1774</sup>

#### STUDIES (? District)

- St Nicolas 1826 – 1829
- St Sulpice 1829 – 1830
- Forced to flee Paris in February 1830<sup>1775</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Married Jane MacPherson 4 Jul 1832
- Four children by 1841<sup>1776</sup>
- Listed as ‘letter carrier’ in 1861<sup>1777</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

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<sup>1767</sup> SCD 1919 (obituary).

<sup>1768</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1769</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1770</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1771</sup> SPC: Catholic Paris Registers (Births): Tomintoul, MP003500001-00001-00001-00034-.

<sup>1772</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1773</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1774</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Kirkmichael and Tomintoul, RD 160-00, 012-001. Donald Stuart erroneously listed as female.

<sup>1775</sup> AN: CRD1829.

<sup>1776</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1841: Kirkmichael, RD 160-00, 005-002.

<sup>1777</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1861: Newhills, RD 226-00, 003-008.

## Stuart, William (1808-1845)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 20 Nov 1806,<sup>1778</sup> or 27 Nov 1808<sup>1779</sup> in Keannakyle, Glenlivet, Banffshire<sup>1780</sup>
- Mother: Joanna Turner<sup>1781</sup>
- Father: John Stuart<sup>1782</sup>

### STUDIES (Lowland District; Northern District)

- Aquhorties 1821 – 1828
- St Nicolas 1828
- St Sulpice 1828 – 1830
- Studies interrupted in 1830 due to Revolution<sup>1783</sup>
- Blairs 1830 – 1832
- Ordained 3 Jul 1832, in Glasgow<sup>1784</sup> or Blairs<sup>1785</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Preshome 1832 – 1833
- Portsoy and Banff 1833 – 1837
- Fochabers (but living at Preshome) 1837 – 1843
- Retired to Glenlivet due to ill health in 1843.
- Died 4 Jun 1845 in Tombae, Glenlivet<sup>1786</sup> of consumption.<sup>1787</sup>

### OTHER

- ‘In regard to William Stuart, the case is different: I recommended him, at a time he was only seven or eight years of age, when he was not capable to judge for himself, nor could we judge of his capacity for learning, as it had not been tried. He was placed, I believe, on Mr Farquharson’s foundation, but not by me (as I had no control over that foundation) but by the trustees of that foundation; & I am now[ays] answerable for the good or bad conduct of these Gentlemen. But as the matter now stands, you, no doubt, recollect also, that, about Whitsunday 1811, I remitted to you, thro’ the hands of our then procurator, the sum of £200, 150£ of whichsum belonged to William Stuart: for that sum have paid interest at the rate of five p[e]rcent p[e]r annum to his mother, who has my Bill. The boy is at present at school, & I pay or have to pay for his board &c He is now of age to choose for himself a situation in life. The expenses for his indenture & apprenticeship &c will require all his little capital.’<sup>1788</sup>

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<sup>1778</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1779</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>1780</sup> *SCD* 1846 (obituary).

<sup>1781</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>1782</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1783</sup> *SCD* 1846 (obituary).

<sup>1784</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>1785</sup> Johnson, ‘The Northern and Eastern Districts’, 38.

<sup>1786</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>1787</sup> *SCD* 1846 (obituary).

<sup>1788</sup> SCA: BL/5/156/9, Bp Paterson to Bp Cameron, Paris 20 Oct 1824.



## Sutherland, John (1848-1884)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 12 Dec 1848 in Aberdeen<sup>1789</sup>
- Mother: Marjory Robertson<sup>1790</sup>
- Father: Charles Sutherland,<sup>1791</sup> tailor<sup>1792</sup>

### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1863 – 1867
- Douai 1867 – 1871
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1871 – 1873
- St Sulpice 1873 – 1876
- Ordained 10 Jun 1876 in Paris

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Went to work in the Western District
- St Patrick's, Glasgow 1876 – 1878
- Shotts 1878 – 1884
- 'For several months before his death the state of his health gave great anxiety to his friends, but he continued to discharge his laborious duties to the very end.'<sup>1793</sup>
- Died suddenly 16 Feb 1884 at Shotts<sup>1794</sup>
- Buried at Dalbeth cemetery<sup>1795</sup>

### OTHER

- [unknown]

## Swan, Daniel (1826-1xxx)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 22 Aug 1826 in Glasgow<sup>1796</sup>
- Mother: Mary Carlin,<sup>1797</sup> spirit merchant, born in Ireland, widow by 1851<sup>1798</sup>
- Father: George J. Swan<sup>1799</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1845 – 1847
- Vaugirard 1847 – 1850
- Gave up clerical career in 1849<sup>1800</sup>

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<sup>1789</sup> SCD 1885 (obituary).

<sup>1790</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1791</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1792</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Old Machar, RD 168-B0, 002-038.

<sup>1793</sup> SCD 1885 (obituary).

<sup>1794</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1795</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1796</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1797</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1798</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 248-001.

<sup>1799</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1800</sup> Ibid.

- Left Vaugirard 1 Apr 1850<sup>1801</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- In 1851 census, recorded as ‘scholar’, living with his widowed mother; brother a carpenter; household has one servant<sup>1802</sup>
- In 1861 census listed as a spirit retailer at Bridgeton, Glasgow, living with his mother, who is listed as housekeeper<sup>1803</sup>
- In 1871, Daniel Swan is listed as an unmarried medical student, still in Glasgow, at his mother’s household<sup>1804</sup>
- In 1881 listed as an unmarried [spirit?] merchant in Glasgow, living with a housekeeper and another servant<sup>1805</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Sweeney, William (1844-1874)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 3 Sep 1844 in Dundee<sup>1806</sup>
- Mother: Elizabeth Hamilton,<sup>1807</sup> from Ireland<sup>1808</sup>
- Father: William Sweeney,<sup>1809</sup> ‘rag picker paper’ from Ireland; two lodgers<sup>1810</sup>
- Brother a ‘lithographic printer apprentice’<sup>1811</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Valladolid, but left in 1865 because of rheumatism<sup>1812</sup>
- Moulins 1865 – 1867
- Returning to Scotland 19 Mar 1867 to recover health

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- ‘Pray for the soul of the Rev. William Sweeney, a native of Dundee, who died at Nacogdoches, Texas, America, on the 1<sup>st</sup> March, 1874, in the 30<sup>th</sup> year of his age, and 6<sup>th</sup> of his priesthood.’<sup>1813</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

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<sup>1801</sup> AN: CRD1850.

<sup>1802</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Glasgow, RD 644-01, 248-001.

<sup>1803</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Bridgeton, RD 644-03, 017-001.

<sup>1804</sup> SPC: Census 1871: Bridgeton, RD 644-03, 014-023.

<sup>1805</sup> SPC: Census 1881: Calton, RD 644-04, 022-021.

<sup>1806</sup> AN: CRD1867; SCD 1875 (note of death).

<sup>1807</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>1808</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Dundee, RD 282-00, 050-030.

<sup>1809</sup> AN: F/17/2733.

<sup>1810</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Dundee, RD 282-00, 050-030.

<sup>1811</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1812</sup> ‘College Register’, 29 Sep 1862, in Maurice Taylor, *The Scots College in Spain* (Valladolid, 1971).

<sup>1813</sup> SCD 1875 (obituary).

## MacSwein, Alexander (1803-1870)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 1803 in Lochgilphead<sup>1814</sup>
- ‘of Irish extraction’<sup>1815</sup>

### STUDIES (Highland District)

- Lismore
- Valladolid 1820 – 1824
- St Nicolas 1824 – 1825<sup>1816</sup>
- Returned to Scotland:<sup>1817</sup> ‘MacSwein who is direct from Paris left Alexr Fletcher & the rest of the boys well.’<sup>1818</sup>
- Ordained at Lismore 1827<sup>1819</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Strathglass 1827 – 1845
- Emigrated to Nova Scotia<sup>1820</sup>
- St Andrew's, Boisdale, Nova Scotia<sup>1821</sup>
- Died 19 Jul 1870 at Boisdale, Nova Scotia<sup>1822</sup>

### OTHER

- ‘Two students from St Nicolas (Paris) have been sent home [...]. The Superior of the Seminary says in his letter to me, that McSwein had purloined from two of his fellow students, by the means of false keys, the sums of 195 franks & that McSwein stated, that he had been advised & assisted by Green; but that, afterwards, he had acknowledged that Green had had no hand in the fraudulent transaction. However this may be, the Superior adds that he had thought proper so send both home to their parents, “persuade que c’est rendre service a la Religion, que de saisir cette occasion d’eloigner de l’état Ecclesiastique deux jeunes gens, qui ne montrent, depuis si longtemps, ni piele [sic], ni talens [sic], ni aptitude, ni moyens suffisants pour faire croire qu’ils pourraient ma jour rendre des services proportionnés aux sacrifice, qu’on fait pour eux; et comme Mr Green a contre lui d’autres notes, nous avons [?] devoir le comprendre dans l’expulsion.”<sup>1823</sup>

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<sup>1814</sup> Forbes and Anderson, ‘Clergy Lists of the Highland District’, 183-184.

<sup>1815</sup> Johnson, *Developments*, 42.

<sup>1816</sup> AN: CRD1824; CRD1825.

<sup>1817</sup> Forbes and Anderson, ‘Clergy Lists of the Highland District’, 183-184. See also SCA: BL/5/175/5: Bp Paterson to Bp Cameron, London 16 South Molton Street, 22 June 1825.

<sup>1818</sup> SCA: OL/1/3/13, Ranald Macdonald to John MacDonald Esq of Bonadale Arisaig, Lismore 30 Jul 1825.

<sup>1819</sup> Forbes and Anderson, ‘Clergy Lists of the Highland District’, 183-184.

<sup>1820</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1821</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1822</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1823</sup> SCA: BL/5/175/5: Bp Paterson to Bp Cameron, London 16 South Molton Street, 22 June 1825.

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### Thomson, William (1833-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 20 Feb 1833 in Cullen, Banffshire<sup>1824</sup>
- Mother: Joanna Finlay<sup>1825</sup>
- Father: James Thomson,<sup>1826</sup> farmer;<sup>1827</sup> later ship owner and Justice of Peace<sup>1828</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- Blairs 1845 – 1847
- Destined for France?
- Left 1848<sup>1829</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- In 1851, listed as a scholar<sup>1830</sup>
- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Tochetti, Charles Joseph (1822-1903)<sup>1831</sup>

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 9 Nov 1822 in Aberdeen<sup>1832</sup>
- Mother: Isabel Hall
- Father: Charles Tochetti<sup>1833</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Vaugirard 1835 – 1843
- [Of his 8 years at Vaugirard]: ‘when we remember the strict discipline and the hard *régime* then enforced at that institution, and the tender years of the pupil far removed from home and parental love, his early training seems to us of a later age to have been somewhat severe. Yet, in after years, the old man loved to recall those days, and speak of them as amongst the happiest of his life. Here in Vaugirard he acquired that great love for self-sacrifice and mortification which manifested itself throughout his whole life. For, even to

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<sup>1824</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1825</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1826</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1827</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Cullen, RD 150-00, 003-017.

<sup>1828</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Cullen, RD 150-00, 002-013.

<sup>1829</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1830</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Cullen, RD 150-00, 002-013.

<sup>1831</sup> Robert Brough, ‘Monsignor Charles Tochetti’ (1897), oil on canvas. Part of Blairs Museum Collections, Aberdeen). Accessed online 29 November 2014. URL:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/monsignor-charles-tochetti-166439>.

<sup>1832</sup> SCD 1904 (obituary).

<sup>1833</sup> Darragh, *The Catholic Hierarchy of Scotland*, 72.

the end, until put under obedience, he would not be persuaded to mitigate in any way the fasts prescribed by the church. Often in his great humility he would go and ask the pardon of even the youngest priest if he thought he had in any way offended him.’<sup>1834</sup>

- St Sulpice 1843 – 1848
- ‘In 1843 Monsignor Tochetti was transferred to St. Sulpice, and all know how he loved that seminary. His daily spiritual life was but a continuation of what he practiced there. His whole demeanour spoke of St. Sulpice. His spirit was that of St. Sulpice. Did you wish to cheer him in the weary hours when infirmities had broken his strength, speak to him of St. Sulpice. [...] If I were to single out one of his many striking qualities as a student, his strict observance of the smallest rule immediately forces itself upon me, a practice which led to his remarkable punctuality and attention to details on the mission.’<sup>1835</sup>
- ‘His love for walking was proverbial. In his college days at St. Sulpice he passed his vacations in making pilgrimages on foot to distant shrines in France, and in visiting Italy, the land of his fathers.’<sup>1836</sup>
- Ordained 17 Jun 1848 in Paris

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Preshome 1848 – 1849
- Fetternear 1849 – 1850
- Inverurie 1850 – 1853
- Keith 1853 – 1892
- Woodside, Aberdeen 1892 – 1897
- Ordered to retire due to illness in 1897, so removed to ‘a private villa in Hamilton Place, Aberdeen’ in 1897<sup>1837</sup>
- Monsignor; Canon; Provost (1895); Domestic Prelate (1898); Vicar-General (1899)
- Terminally ill; at Blairs 1899 – 1903
- Died 1 Aug 1903 at Blairs of angina pectoris<sup>1838</sup>
- Requested a simple funeral, as well as to ‘be buried beside his father in St. Peter’s Cemetery, Old Aberdeen.’<sup>1839</sup>

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<sup>1834</sup> *SCD* 1904 (obituary).

<sup>1835</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1836</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1837</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1838</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1839</sup> *Ibid.*



#### OTHER

- ‘Nothing was more dear to him than the moral and intellectual training of his children.’<sup>1840</sup>
- Paid for the building of Catholic schools ‘from his own means’<sup>1841</sup>
- During the 1848 revolution, Tochetti, unlike his fellow students who fled to Scotland, ‘obtained lodgings in the house of a Gentleman of acquaintance out of town.’<sup>1842</sup>

### Tracy, Bernard (1832-1912)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 24 Apr 1832 in Claudy, Cumber, Co. Derry, Ireland<sup>1843</sup>
- Mother: Elizabeth<sup>1844</sup>
- Father: Henry Tracy, flax mill worker with seven children<sup>1845</sup>
- In 1851, Bernard listed as a flax mill worker as well<sup>1846</sup>

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<sup>1840</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1841</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1842</sup> SCA: BL/6/575/3, J. Kemp to Bp Kyle, London 28 Feb 1848.

<sup>1843</sup> SCD 1861 (note of ordination).

<sup>1844</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Glasgow, RD 664-01, 189-016.

<sup>1845</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1846</sup> Ibid.

## STUDIES (Western District)

- Glasgow
- All Hallows, Dublin, Ireland 1853 – 1858
- St Sulpice 1858 – 1860
- Ordained 17 Dec 1859 in Paris

## CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Assistant at St Mary's, Pollokshaws 1860
- St Mary's, Pollokshaws 1860 – 1880
- St Thomas', Neilston 1880 – 1893
- St John's, Barrhead 1893 – 1912
- Died 25 Feb 1912 at Barrhead<sup>1847</sup>
- Buried at Old St John's Churchyard, Barrhead<sup>1848</sup>

## OTHER

- Founded a total abstinence society at Pollokshaws<sup>1849</sup>
- Was adamant at fighting proselytisation of orphan and poor Catholic children by the Protestants; compiled the *Blue Book Report* (1870), presenting on the House of Commons 'Select Committee' investigating the effects of Poor Law Acts and amendments of 1845, on behalf of the Catholic Poor School Committee<sup>1850</sup>
- Interest in history in addition to social affairs and the youth<sup>1851</sup>
- '[B]y the noble simplicity of his life and heroic devotion to Irish National ideals has cast a lustre on the country he hails from. Than Father Tracy there is no Catholic priest of Irish blood in Scotland more sincerely esteemed'.<sup>1852</sup>
- 'There was no movement that was for the good of the people in which he did not take part. From both platform and pulpit his voice was unceasingly heard and his pen was not less busy in writing to the press'<sup>1853</sup>
- 'He had the unique distinction of being the first priest in this country elected to place on a school board'<sup>1854</sup>
- 'The schools of the parish always greatly occupied his mind. His delight was to be with the little children. For them he composed several hymns, one especially to St Conval, was sung for years in the district'<sup>1855</sup>
- 'The material advance of religion was no less dear to his heart. [...] Gifted with all the talents that go to form a good citizen and a thorough citizen, Dean Tracy was not sparing in his use of them. He took great interest in all that affected the advancement of Church and State, giving to them both his time and labour [...]. Above all he was "the priest". It was his holy calling that chiefly employed all his thoughts'<sup>1856</sup>
- 'After his love for his faith came his love for his native land. And Ulster man and a Derry man, he had all the enthusiasm of a native of the North. In

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<sup>1847</sup> Johnson, 'The Western District', 138.

<sup>1848</sup> Canning, *Irish-Born Secular Priests*, 370.

<sup>1849</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1850</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1851</sup> Ibid., 372.

<sup>1852</sup> *The Glasgow Observer*, 21 Jan 1899, 4, quoted in *ibid.*, 371-372.

<sup>1853</sup> *The Glasgow Observer*, 2 Mar 1912, 2, quoted in *ibid.*, 373.

<sup>1854</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1855</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1856</sup> Ibid.

youth he took a prominent part in all National celebrations and in old age his heart still burned with as strong an affection as ever for his beloved Ireland'<sup>1857</sup>

- One of the rebellious 'twenty-two' in 1864 expressing a vote of no-confidence for Bishop Murdoch.<sup>1858</sup>

## Turner, John (1853-1938)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 4 Mar 1853 in Croftbain, Glenlivet, Banff<sup>1859</sup>
- Mother: Joanna Stewart<sup>1860</sup>
- Father: John Turner,<sup>1861</sup> farmer of 30 acres<sup>1862</sup>
- Cousin to Michael J. Turner<sup>1863</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1867 – 1872
- Douai 1872 – 1873
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1873 – 1874
- St Sulpice 1874 – 1877
- Ordained priest at the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Northern Burma in 1878, after which returned to Scotland<sup>1864</sup>

### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- St Mary's, Dundee 1878 – 1883
- Doune 1883 – 1885
- Perth 1885 – 1902
- Administrator at St Andrew's Pro Cathedral, Dundee 1902 – 1938
- Monsignor; Provost; 1895 member of the cathedral chapter, provost on death of Mgr Butti; 1917 Vicar General of the Dunkeld diocese and Domestic Prelate; 3 years later created Protonotary Apostolic<sup>1865</sup>
- Died in Dundee 5 Nov 1938

### OTHER

- Canon Turner was appointed to negotiate with the French in 1907 about the French properties.<sup>1866</sup>
- 'The Turners applied to Dr Shaw for permission to go to Issy a month before their time. His Lordship consented provided that the superior of Issy & Douai consented. I must say the young men had the laudable object of learning French before their yer at least so they told me. I gave my consent

<sup>1857</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1858</sup> McClelland, 'Irish Clergy and Archbishop Manning's Apostolic Visitation', pt. I, 11, footnote 18.

<sup>1859</sup> SCD 1879 (ordination note).

<sup>1860</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1861</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1862</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Auchbreck, RD 152-02, 006-010.

<sup>1863</sup> SCD 1930 (obituary).

<sup>1864</sup> SCD 1879 (ordination note).

<sup>1865</sup> SCD 1939 (obituary).

<sup>1866</sup> See SCA: CA/1/49-56, files containing documents relating to yet further wrangles over the Scottish Foundation's properties in France (1907-1933).



& wrote to the superior of Issy asking him to allow the young men to go there. He replied that after consulting the Sup. General of the Lazarit he thought it would be much better if the young men remained with us until the 2nd of October, as he had learnt by experience that the “regime” of vacations at Issy was productive of no moral good to the new students. It gave them habits of liberty which rendered subjection to rule more difficult & Now I am quite of the Superior’s opinion. I have always thought so but never liked to take the initiative in the matter. Much I am anxious that they should learn French. I should always have preferred to keep them here until the beginning of studies at Issy.’<sup>1867</sup>

- In 1908 when a ‘desperate situation’ arose in the textile trade, ‘One helper [...] who worked like a Trojan, was a Roman Catholic priest called Turner. He was out day and night working; and never a needy case was turned away.’<sup>1868</sup>
- ‘But the Monsignor was made of stern stuff; his energy knew no bounds. He took an active part in the affairs of the city. Not only did he serve many years on the Old Parish Council and the Education Authority but he was also a zealous member of several voluntary bodies such as the Charity Organisation Society and the Council for Community Service in Unemployment. Dundee knew no more loyal son.’<sup>1869</sup>

## Turner, Michael Joseph (1855-1928)

### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 29 May 1855 in Penrith, Cumberland, England<sup>1870</sup>
- Mother: Margaret Strain<sup>1871</sup>
- Father: Michael Turner<sup>1872</sup>
- Cousin to John Turner<sup>1873</sup>
- Nephew to Bishop Strain<sup>1874</sup>

### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1867 – 1872
- Douai 1872 – 1873
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1873 – 1875
- St Sulpice 1875 – 1876
- Forced to return to Scotland due to ill health<sup>1875</sup>
- Blairs 1876 – 1877
- St Sulpice 1877 – 1878
- Ordained 26 Jan 1879, Edinburgh

<sup>1867</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/5, Letter by A. E. O’Gorman to [unknown], Douai 1 Sep 1873.

<sup>1868</sup> R. Stewart, *Breaking the Fetters* (London, 1967), 45, quoted in W. M. Walker, ‘Irish Immigrants in Scotland: Their Priests, Politics and Paochial Life’, 658, in *The Historical Journal* 15/4 (1972), 649-667.

<sup>1869</sup> SCD 1939 (obituary).

<sup>1870</sup> SCD 1930 (obituary).

<sup>1871</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1872</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1873</sup> SCD 1930 (obituary).

<sup>1874</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1875</sup> SCD 1880 (ordination note).

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Junior priest at St Mary's Pro Cathedral, Edinburgh  
1879 – 1882
- Cramond 1882 – 1887
- South Queensferry 1887 – 1890
- Kilsyth 1890 – 1903
- Lennoxton 1903 – 1912
- Missionary Rector, St Francis Xavier's, Falkirk  
1912 – 1919
- Health began to give in in 1919
- Peebles (easy Mission) 1919 – 1927
- Retired at Musselburgh and in St Mary's Hospital, Lanark, in 1927
- Died 14 Dec 1928 at Barnton, Davidston's Mains, Edinburgh

#### OTHER

- 'The Turners applied to Dr Shaw for permission to go to Issy a month before their time. His Lordship consented provided that the superior of Issy & Douai consented. I must say the young men had the laudable object of learning French before their yer at least so they told me. I gave my consent & wrote to the superior of Issy asking him to allow the young men to go there. He replied that after consulting the Sup. General of the Lazarit he thought it would be much better if the young men remained with us until the 2nd of October, as he had learnt by experience that the "regime" of vacations at Issy was productive of no moral good to the new students. It gave them habits of liberty which rendered subjection to rule more difficult & Now I am quite of the Superior's opinion. I have always thought so but never liked to take the initiative in the matter. Much I am anxious that they should learn French. I should always have preferred to keep them here until the beginning of studies at Issy.'<sup>1876</sup>

## W

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### Wallace, R. (c. 1802-18xx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born c. 1802<sup>1877</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- St Sulpice 1824

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- 'Perhaps I did wrong in admitting A Fletcher & not very right in admitting R Wallace. I candidly confess that he does not answer altogether in my

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<sup>1876</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/5, Letter by A. E. O'Gorman to [unknown], Douai 1 Sep 1873.

<sup>1877</sup> SCA: CA/1/34/9, 19 Aug 1824 list of Students in France on Scots Funds.

estimation, the very high recommendations, which I received concerning him from very respectable quarters.’<sup>1878</sup>

### Webster, Andrew (1805-18xx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Baptised 8 Jul 1805 in Galloway, Kirkcudbright<sup>1879</sup>
- Mother: Elizabeth London<sup>1880</sup>
- Father: James Webster<sup>1881</sup>

#### STUDIES (Western District)

- St Nicolas 1822 – 1826
- Returned 1826 – ‘turned off’ Nov 1827<sup>1882</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Listed as a lodger ‘coal agent’ in 1851<sup>1883</sup>

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Weir, Peter John (1831-1917)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 5 Jan 1831 in Nether Buckie, Banffshire<sup>1884</sup>
- Mother: Joanna Bennett<sup>1885</sup>
- Father: Peter Weir,<sup>1886</sup> farmer<sup>1887</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1845 – 1847
- Vaugirard 1847 – 1851
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1851 – 1853
- Returned home in bad health<sup>1888</sup>
- St Sulpice 1853 – 1856
- Ordained 21 Jan 1857 at Preshome

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Preshome 1857

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<sup>1878</sup> SCA: BL/5/156/8, Bp Paterson to Bp Cameron, 8 Rue de Monsieur, 3 Oct 1824.

<sup>1879</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Munches, Domestic Chapel, MP005800001-00001-00001-00089-.

<sup>1880</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1881</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1882</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>1883</sup> Ancestry.co.uk: Census 1851: Urr, Dalbeattie, RD 884-00, 010-001.

<sup>1884</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1885</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1886</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1887</sup> SPC: Census 1841: Rathven, RD 164-00, 004-001.

<sup>1888</sup> Johnson, ‘The Northern and Eastern Districts’, 39.

- Fochabers 1857 – 1917
- 1903 Domestic Prelate
- Died 10 Dec 1917 at Fochabers<sup>1889</sup>

#### OTHER

- ‘I never made any impression upon the softer sex, and not one good, bad or indifferent one approached me.’<sup>1890</sup>
- ‘M. l’abbé Weir, élève au Séminaire St Sulpice, ordonné diacre le 20 de ce mois, a été rappelé aussitôt dans son diocèse par son Evêque et a quitté le séminaire avant-hier 27. Son départ a donné lieu à un incident dont je crois devoir vous entretenir, et qui m’a mis dans un certain embarras. Mgr le Vicaire Apostolique du diocèse auquel appartient M. l’abbé Weir, au lieu de fournir aux fras de voyage de ce jeune séminariste, me l’a adressé pour que j’eusse à lui donner la somme nécessaire pour son retour. Or vous savez, Monseigneur, qu’un article spécial des ordonnances qui régissent les Fondations statue que les frais d’aller et de retour seront supportés par l’élève et ne seront pas à la charge des Fondations. Je n’avais donc aucun crédit pour cet objet, et je ne pouvais en demander un au Ministre, qui ne l’aurait certainement pas accordé. Ne voulant pas néanmoins laisser M. l’abbé Weir dans l’impossibilité de partir, et désobliger son vénérable évêque, je me suis entendu avec M. l’économe de St Sulpice, qui a porté cet élève comme présent pendant la trimestre prochain, et lui a remis la somme de 265 l., inscrite pour ce trimestre sur l’état des élèves. [...] les frais du retour, comme ceux de l’arrivée, doivent être supportés soit par leurs familler, soit par leurs diocèses.’<sup>1891</sup>

### Wilson, Alexander (1845-1xxx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 8 Jul 1845 in Aberdeen<sup>1892</sup>
- Mother: Isabella MacKay,<sup>1893</sup> widow bookseller by 1851<sup>1894</sup>
- Father: James Wilson<sup>1895</sup>

#### STUDIES (Northern District)

- Blairs 1856 – 1857
- Douai 1857 – 1862
- In 1859, listed with his progress as ‘satisfactory’, conduct as ‘good’, character as ‘very good, candid’ and health as ‘very good’;<sup>1896</sup> in spring 1861, listed with his progress as ‘satisfactory’, conduct as ‘good’, character as ‘docile’ and health as ‘good’;<sup>1897</sup> in autumn 1861, listed with his progress

<sup>1889</sup> SCD 1920 (obituary).

<sup>1890</sup> SCA: BL/8/24/11, Peter J. Weir to J. Grant, Fochabers 17 Nov 1882.

<sup>1891</sup> SCA: ED/8/16/13, Duplessy to Gillis, Paris 29 Dec 1856.

<sup>1892</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1893</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1894</sup> SPC: Census 1851: Aberdeen, RD 168-A0, 012-066.

<sup>1895</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1896</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/10: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 24 Jan 1859.

<sup>1897</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/1: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 25 Mar 1861.

as ‘very satisfactory’, conduct as ‘good’, character as ‘young’ and health as ‘good’<sup>1898</sup>

- St Sulpice (Issy) 1862

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- [unknown]

### Wilson, John (1800-18xx)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 31 Jul 1800<sup>1899</sup> in Munshes, Galloway<sup>1900</sup>
- Mother: Anne Young<sup>1901</sup>
- Father: John Wilson, ‘Soldier in the Scots Royals now in Ireland’<sup>1902</sup>

#### STUDIES (Lowland District)

- Aquhorties 1812 – 1818
- St Nicolas 1818 – 1825
- Left<sup>1903</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- [unknown]

#### OTHER

- Wilson ‘had left much to desire’. As he did not have the means to return to Scotland, he had to be funded by the bishop in order to avoid scandal that would result from leaving him somewhere in Paris<sup>1904</sup>

### Woods, Henry (1853-1936)

#### FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE

- Born 5 May 1853 in Edinburgh<sup>1905</sup>
- Mother: Maria Duffy,<sup>1906</sup> born in Ireland<sup>1907</sup>

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<sup>1898</sup> SCA: CA/2/14/2: Quarterly Report of Students for the Dioceses of Scotland, St Edmund’s College Douai, 4 Aug 1861.

<sup>1899</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Ballater, St Nathalan, MP001100001-00002-00001-00198-.

<sup>1900</sup> SCA: CB/4/3 (Aquhorties Student Register).

<sup>1901</sup> SPC: Catholic Parish Registers (Births): Ballater, St Nathalan, MP001100001-00002-00001-00198-.

<sup>1902</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1903</sup> AN: F/17/2722, ‘Fondations écossais: Dépenses de 1825’: ‘Fondations Ecossaises en France: Comptabilité’.

<sup>1904</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1905</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1906</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1907</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Canongate, RD 683-03, 027-005.

- Father: Henry Woods,<sup>1908</sup> master tailor employing two men; born in Ireland<sup>1909</sup>

#### STUDIES (Eastern District)

- Blairs 1870 – 1874
- Douay 1874 – 1876
- St Sulpice (Issy) 1876 – 1877
- Scots College Rome 1877 – 1882
- Ordained 11 Jun 1881 at Rome<sup>1910</sup>

#### CAREER AND LATER LIFE

- Edinburgh Pro Cathedral 1882
- St Francis Xavier's, Falkirk 1882
- Edinburgh Pro Cathedral 1882 – 1884
- Denny 1884 – 1887
- Fauldhouse 1887 – 1890
- Broxburn 1890 – 1891
- St Francis Xavier's, Falkirk 1891 – 1895
- St Patrick's Edinburgh 1895 – 1898
- Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, Kirkcaldy 1899 – 1902
- Chaplain, Poor Clares Convent, Edinburgh 1902 – 1903
- Chaplain, Little Sisters of the Poor, Edinburgh 1903 – 1907
- Forced to take sick leave between 1907 and 1909
- Falkland 1909 – 1914
- Oakley 1914 – 1919
- Chaplain, Little Sisters of the Poor, Edinburgh 1919 – 1921
- Retired 1921 due to ill health
- Died 23 Apr 1836 at Musselburgh<sup>1911</sup>

#### OTHER

- 'his health [...] had always been poor'<sup>1912</sup>

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<sup>1908</sup> SCA: CB/4/1 (Blairs Student Register).

<sup>1909</sup> SPC: Census 1861: Canongate, RD 683-03, 027-005.

<sup>1910</sup> SCD 1883 (note of ordination).

<sup>1911</sup> Johnson, *Scottish Catholic Secular Clergy*, 67.

<sup>1912</sup> SCD 1937 (note of death).