

A Saltire in the
German Lands

A Saltire in the
German Lands:
Scottish Benedictine Monasteries
in Germany 1575–1862

Thomas McInally

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Acknowledgments

As an integral part of the work on my doctoral treatise on the Scots colleges abroad during the penal times I examined the records of the seminary established by the Scottish Benedictine monks in Regensburg in 1713. At the time, although I did not have the opportunity, I resolved to learn more about these Scottish monks who had established their monasteries in southern Germany. This book is the result of my later enquiries and therefore it is appropriate that I start this list of acknowledgements with my doctoral supervisors, Professor Allan Macinnes and Professor Peter Davidson. Both have moved on and are now concentrating on their well-earned retirement but their earlier support and encouragement have added immensely to my continued enjoyment of this research. Furthermore, I must thank Professor Paul Dukes who has encouraged me in my researches and writing and has been kind enough to provide a foreword to this text.

Part of my enjoyment has been derived from visits to overseas archives and in this I have benefited enormously from the help and hospitality of many. In Rome my visits to the Archivio Segreto Vaticano were facilitated by the secretary to the prefecture, Dr. Marco Maiorino and I was greatly helped with essential guidance on its relevant records by retired ASV archivist, Mgr Charles Burns. In the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Rev. Ambrogio Piazzoni and his staff were extremely kind in helping me negotiate the catalogues to find material. The staff of the Archivio Storico of the Congregatione Per L'Evangelizzazione Dei Popoli could not have been more helpful or understanding of someone with so little knowledge of the Italian language. Their good humour made the visits truly enjoyable as well as profitable. The Archivium Romanum Societatis Iesu had just relocated to a newly built facility the month that I arrived but again I met only with helpfulness. The then director of archives, Rev. Thomas Reddy S.J., took time out of his busy schedule helping identify the various provinces of the society where I might find Scottish references and correspondence. I am indebted to him for his help.

My visits to Germany were equally enjoyable but surviving material relating to the Scots Benedictines is not only sparse but spread through a number of archives. In Würzburg the assistance given by the archivist of the city's university, Dr. Günter-Schmidt, and his staff, particularly Angelika Pabel, was not only helpful but extremely professional for which I am grateful. The researches into the archives of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Bavarian Academy of Science) would not have been possible without the generous help of its archivist, Dr. Genoveve Rausch. The guidance she provided on the work of the academy's first secretary, the Scottish monk, Ildephonse Kennedy, was invaluable. Negotiating one's way through German palaeographic archives is not to be recommended without a competent guide and I could not have had a better one than Dr. Rausch. I must also thank her colleague at the academy, Professor Dr. Dr. Hans Georg von Manz, for sparing time to discuss the wider significance to the eighteenth century academy of the Scottish contribution.

A particularly interesting period of my research was during my visits to the Deutsche Museum in Munich. Here I have to thank Dr. Johannes-Geert Hagmann, curator of scientific instruments, and Dr. Benjamin Mirwald of the museum staff who gave freely of their time to discuss my project and to show me the museum's collection of early scientific instruments which originated with the Bavarian Academy of Sciences including those pieces which had a direct connection with Kennedy: also for providing me with access to the museum library which allowed me to consult a number of rare German publications related to my research.

Archives in Scotland have also yielded valuable material for this book. During the period I have taken to carry out my research the Scottish Catholic Archives have moved from their long established home in Edinburgh to the new facilities in the Special Collections of the library of the University of Aberdeen. In each location I have been given every assistance possible – in Edinburgh from Dr. Andrew Nicholl, archivist, and in Aberdeen from Dr. Siobhán Convery, head of collections, and their staff. Also Judith Cripps, former archivist of Aberdeen City Archives and her successor, Dr. Fiona Tusk, deserve thanks for their help. I was warmly welcomed at the Aberdeenshire Museum Service Archive in Mintlaw when I visited to view the Arbuthnot papers in their care. I am extremely grateful to Dr. David Bertie of the

Aberdeenshire Museums Service for drawing the existence of this important material to my attention.

Although archival research and extensive reading formed the basis for this book I have also benefited greatly from discussions with colleagues at the University of Aberdeen and elsewhere. It is perhaps unfair to single out any one, however, I must especially thank Professor Karin Friedrich of Aberdeen and Professor Ulrich Lehner of Notre Dame University, Indiana, for the invaluable support I received through our discussions and email chats. My colleague, Alexandra Brehme, has given me invaluable help in translating texts in German. I am particularly grateful to her for deciphering eighteenth century Fraktur. For different reasons my grandson, Stuart McNally, has my gratitude for producing the design shown on the book cover. In creating it he was using the simpler skills he has developed while working for his finals of a degree of B.A. in Computer Art and I am delighted to report that he graduated with Honours from the University of Abertay in July 2016.

Finally a big thank you must go to my wife. Friends and family have been at pains to impress on me (not that it was needed) the immense patience she has shown. She has put up with my near obsession with this work at a time in life when she thought we were heading for retirement. It has had its compensations, however, since it has involved our going on trips to delightful places - Rome in September, Regensburg and Würzburg in June. It was wonderful to have her company but she drew the line at Munich in February. It was the time of year not the city that didn't appeal.

A Saltire in the German Lands: Foreword

Over recent decades, there has been an impressive amount of publication concerning the activities of Scots in Europe, not to mention the wider world. As an outsider to Scottish history, I once had the impression of a certain reluctance on the part of some specialists to contemplate breaking the national borders. That impression was reinforced by my study of Russian history. There appeared to be as many colleagues reluctant to look beyond the Neva as the Tweed. Of course, we must recognise that to achieve a full knowledge of the history of one country demands many years of hard labour, but, arguably at least, a fuller understanding is to be gained by looking outwards to see it in its wider setting. Many books and articles have reinforced that argument.

My own firm belief that all history is ultimately world history has persuaded me, to accept, albeit with some trepidation, the invitation to write this Foreword, to write these few words as a welcome to a work which advances a worthy cause by a considerable measure. Its author, Tom McNally came to Aberdeen University as a mature student after a career in business. He had already acquired a BSc from Glasgow University in Pure Science and a BA from the Open University in European Humanities. His Aberdeen PhD was converted into a book, *The Sixth Scottish University: The Scots Colleges Abroad, 1575 to 1799*. It is now followed by *A Saltire in the German Lands*, which takes us through nearly four centuries of the history of Scottish Benedictines. I particularly enjoyed the description of the survival of monastic life through the tempest of the Thirty Years War and its adaptation to the secular breezes blowing in with the Enlightenment. Several individuals stand out, Thomas Fleming and Andrew Gordon among them. The continuous interaction with the homeland is a reminder of the inadequacy of the study of one country in isolation.

I should like to add one more observation. My closest acquaintance with the researches of Tom McNally has been the article that he wrote on the education of Patrick Gordon, whose six-volume diary describes his journey

from obscurity in Auchleuchries in Buchan to fame as the right-hand man of Peter the Great of Russia. Tom clearly showed how omission of certain details concerning Gordon's years in Jesuit College in Braunsberg, Prussia (now Braniewo, Poland) was caused not by loss of memory but by reticence stemming from concern for the security of fellow Roman Catholics back in Cromwellian Scotland. This article clearly demonstrates the combination of acuity with scholarship that is a characteristic of Tom McNally's approach to all the subjects with which he has been concerned.

A warm welcome, then, to *A Saltire in the German Lands*, and may it be followed by other books from the same author. In the immediate future, the prospect is opening up of a full-length study by him of the career of the early-modern Orientalist, George Strachan, whose faith and curiosity took him much further than the Benedictines in Germany, from the Mearns to Persia and beyond.

Paul Dukes,
Emeritus Professor of History,
University of Aberdeen

Part One

The Beginnings

1 Origins of the *Schottenklöster*

A visitor to Vienna might be surprised by the number of places in the old city which bear the name *Schotten* (Scots). The university is serviced by the underground station of *Schottentor*, named after the gate in the old city walls that once stood on the site. The street which leads from the gate into the old city still survives with its name *Schottengasse*. It runs into a large square named *Freyung* which is dominated by two prestigious buildings: the *Hof* (the old imperial palace) and the *Schottenkirche*. Although the church is a fine example of the baroque style, it is of very old foundation having been established as a monastery by Scottish monks in the twelfth century and remodelled to its present form in the sixteenth and seventeenth. For centuries the church dominated that part of the city leading to the appellation *Schotten* being attached to the nearby city gate and thoroughfare. Vienna is only one example where the legacy of early Scottish monasticism in the German speaking lands can be found. Others exist in Bavaria, Swabia, Thuringia, the Rhineland and elsewhere. The evidence of this early presence of Scots in Germany is widespread.

Scottish monastic involvement was not restricted to one period but had a long history stretching from the earliest dark ages to the middle of the nineteenth century. It occurred in three phases and to a certain extent each initiative grew out of the preceding one. The first wave began in the sixth century when Irish monks, in their attempts to spread Christianity, established monasteries outside of Ireland, first in the west of Scotland but afterwards in England and further afield in western and central Europe. The missionaries were drawn from the Gaelic speaking *Scotti* of Ireland and those of their kinsmen who had settled in the western isles of Scotland and were consequently known as Scottish not Irish. By the late sixth century they had begun evangelising in the Frankish empire. One of the earliest, Columbanus (540–615), led a group of monks who set up monasteries in what are now France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and Italy. Columbanus died at his monastery in Bobbio in the north of Italy in 615.

The early history of Christianity in Germany has many references to these *Iro-Schotten* who in the centuries following the death of Columbanus established monasteries in Cologne, Baden, Alsace, the Rhine Palatinate and Bavaria.¹ Initially they followed the rite of St Columbanus but later changed to that of St Benedict of Nursia (480–543). A key feature of the method of evangelisation adopted by the missionaries was to attempt the conversion of the local nobility.² Early accounts of the activities of the monks are for the most part hagiographic and full of tales of miracles. Some recorded incidents, such as the martyrdom of St Kilian (d. c. 689), however, do have a ring of truth about them. The saint brought Christianity to Franconia in the seventh century. He succeeded in converting the prince in Würzburg and required him to adopt a monogamous lifestyle. The ruler was happy to get rid of most of his wives, keeping only the youngest one. The most senior wife took exception to this highhanded treatment and had Kilian murdered. The saint's relics were kept in the church he had built and were venerated for centuries. Despite such personal setbacks the Irish approach to the introduction of Christianity proved very successful. They offered material as well as spiritual benefits to their hosts. Among other advantages they could provide the rulers with literate administrators, who through the network of their monastic communities were able to communicate throughout Europe. In return the monks received land on which to build and protection while carrying out their missionary work. Their monasteries were open to German novitiates and over time became German institutions. Iro-Scottish monks continued to work in Germany but the second phase of their involvement came in the eleventh century when an opportunity presented itself which allowed them to establish monasteries specifically for themselves.

At that time a dispute arose between the German emperor and the papacy over the right to appoint bishops, including the bishop of Rome, the pope himself, in the territories of the Holy Roman Empire which included Germany, Bohemia and much of Italy.³ Known as the Investiture Controversy it centred

¹ In all, four monasteries were established in Cologne – St Martin, St Clement, St Symphorian and St Pantelon. In Baden the monastery was at Sackingen. It is reputed to be the earliest in Germany, founded by St Fridolin (d. c. 540) at the end of the fifth century. There were two monasteries in Alsace: at Ebersmunster and Murbach, and in the Rhine Palatinate at Disibodenberg. ‘*Schottenklosters*’, *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, New York, 1911.

² Dilworth, *Scots in Franconia* (Edinburgh and London, 1974); hereafter *Franconia*, 13, 212–17.

³ The emperors were trying to re-claim the power that Otto the Great (912–73) had

on the control of patronage over land and wealth and the Iro-Scottish monks were able to benefit from the problems which arose. Monasteries were self governing institutions which elected their own abbots, originally without papal approval.⁴ As such they presented no direct challenge to the authority of the emperor or the pope. Until the conflict was resolved expansion of ecclesiastical activity was achieved more easily through monasteries than bishoprics. In encouraging the establishment of a monastery in their territory, nobles and clergy were not seen as offering a direct challenge to the authority of either Church or State. The importance of this expansion in Church activities lay in the fact that the eleventh century in Germany saw the start of a period of major increases in population through the clearing of forest lands for agriculture and the growth in size and numbers of cities and towns stimulated by commerce. Monastic houses were able to help greatly in these developments by offering hospitality to travellers, not only pilgrims but merchants. Visiting merchants valued the security which they afforded. Monasteries could offer sanctuary to anyone threatened by nobles or civic authorities.⁵ Being secure from external control, monasteries were able also to offer services akin to banking and pawn-broking which were extremely useful to merchants trading in foreign cities. By facilitating trade in these ways monastic hospices were of significant value to the wider community.

The first of the new Iro-Scots monasteries to be established was in Regensburg in Bavaria. It was founded by a monk from Donegal named Muiredach MacRobertaig, known as Marianus Scotus (d. 1088), who arrived there about 1075 with two companions, Iohannus and Candidus.⁶ They had set out on a pilgrimage to Rome but had rested for several months at the Benedictine monastery in Bamberg. There they would have been made aware, if they had not already been, of the political situation in Germany. Although they resumed their journey, when they came to Regensburg they decided to stay. The city is situated on the Danube at its confluence with the river Regen,

exercised over the popes in the tenth century. In 964 he had Pope John XII (r. 955–64) deposed by a papal conclave and had it elect as his successor Otto's candidate, Leo VIII (964–65). On Leo's death he again had his choice, John XIII (965–72), appointed. In each case he crushed any opposition and took control of all Italy north of the territory of the eastern Roman Empire. *History Today*, Vol. 62, Issue 2 (February 2012), 8.

⁴ Royal abbeys were exceptions. They were, like bishoprics, under the control (and within the gift) of the German king/emperor.

⁵ The square in front of the *Schottenkirche* in Vienna is still known as the Freyung (the free place); a reminder of the time when the monastery could offer sanctuary.

⁶ 'Schottenklosters', *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

and controlled all river trade (importantly that of salt) not only north-south but east-west through central Europe. The city is one of the most ancient in the German speaking lands and when Marianus and his companions arrived it still had much of the stone fortifications built by the Roman emperor, Marcus Aurelius, in the second century. A bishopric had been established by St Boniface in 734 and by the tenth century the city had grown as a trading centre under the protection of the Carolingian monarchy. A substantial community of Jews had grown up which facilitated an increase the city's prosperity. The city's bishop, Otto von Reidenburg (1061–89),⁷ had been a canon of the cathedral in Bamberg and, although he was a staunch supporter of the German emperor, control of the city was divided between the imperial party and supporters of the pope. Temporal power was held by the burggrave, Henry von Ratisbon,⁸ who was Bishop Otto's brother and another imperial appointee. The von Reidenburgs were a noble family whose estates were approximately thirty miles from Regensburg and although they were important to its commercial life there was a third politically powerful presence in the city. The abbot of the ancient Benedictine monastery of St. Emmeram's, 'Blessed' William of Hirsau (d. 1091), was a strong advocate for the papacy and upheld the rights of Pope Gregory VII (1073–85) against the emperor. With the growth of the city new monasteries had been established⁹ and the conflicting interests being played out by the imperial and papal protagonists allowed the Iro-Scottish monks to establish a community of Benedictines independent of that of St Emmeram's. By siding with the emperor they were assured of local patronage.

On their arrival in Regensburg they were taken under the protection of the abbess of one of the convents in the city¹⁰ who gifted them the small

⁷ He had resigned his position as canon of the cathedral which was a foundation of Emperor Henry IV to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. On his return the emperor had appointed him bishop of Regensburg to bolster imperial support there. He died in battle in 1081 supporting Henry against the papal candidate for emperor.

⁸ The Roman name for Regensburg was Ratisbonus which was used in all formal documents.

⁹ Bishop Gebhard I (995–1035) had founded the Abbey of Pruhl; his successor Gebhard III (sic) (1036–60) continued monastic expansion with the Abbey of Kempten, the collegiate chapter of Ohringen and the Convent of Geisenfeld. In addition to these monastic properties which were under the control of the bishop there was the ancient Benedictine monastery of St Emmeram (founded seventh century) which predated the establishment of the city's bishopric and was independent of the bishops.

¹⁰ No name has been recorded but it was probably Heilka II von Franken, abbess of Neidermünster in Regensburg, which was the principal Benedictine convent in the city. Abbess Willa of the associated smaller convent of Obermünster could also have been the benefactress.

church of Weih-St-Peter. With the income from the parish they were able to be self supporting and over time they gained the favour of the burggrave. Under his protection they prospered as a Benedictine community supporting the emperor and secure from any attacks by Abbot William of St Emmeram's. The monks established a hospice within the monastery for pilgrims and travellers. By being useful to the commercial life of the city the monastery prospered materially. Soon larger cloisters were needed. Following the death of bishop Otto, Burggrave Henry granted the Iro-Scots land outside the city in 1089 and built a monastery specifically for them. Since these Gaelic speaking monks were known as *Scotti* (*Schotten*) their new monastery, dedicated to St James, the patron saint of pilgrims, was known as *Schottenklöster*¹¹ (Scottish cloisters). Over the next century as the city expanded the monastery was included within the city walls beside a gate which is still known as the *Schotten Tor*. Due to the Investiture Controversy Otto's replacement as bishop, Gebhard IV, who, like his predecessor, was appointed by the emperor did not receive papal ratification nor was he consecrated in his office.¹² His relatively weak position allowed the Iro-Scots to develop their influence in Regensburg free from interference from him. When he died in 1105 his successor, Bishop Hartwich I (1105–26), issued St James' monastery with a foundation charter formally recognising its position within the diocese.¹³ In 1120 the Scots were formally awarded 'the privilege of exemption' by Emperor Henry V whereby they were recognised as being free of any authority of the bishop of Regensburg. Thereafter the Iro-Scots built on their success in Regensburg by establishing monasteries elsewhere in Germany, eventually resulting in a network of *Schottenklöster* with St James' as the founding institution.

¹¹ Alternative terms were *Schottenkirche* (Scottish Church) and *Schottenstift* (Scottish religious community). The plural of *Schottenkloster* is *Schottenklöster* or less commonly *schottenklosters*.

¹² Emperor Henry IV had tried to depose Pope Gregory VII and had ordered his bishops to renounce recognition of Gregory's authority over them. The pope excommunicated the emperor, a move which encouraged a number of Henry's vassals to rebel and appoint an alternative emperor, Rudolf of Rheinfelden, Duke of Swabia (c. 1025–80). Henry was forced to seek reconciliation with Gregory in order to restore his own authority. During this period the position of Germany's bishops was ambiguous, initially supporting Henry but on his excommunication recognising the papal authority.

¹³ Bishop Gebhard IV, even though not formally consecrated, had continued with the establishment of monasteries in his diocese – Oberalteich Abbey – but Bishop Hartwich accelerated the pace of construction and when he took office he founded a further four as well as issuing the *Schottenkloster* with its charter. 'Diocese of Ratisbon', *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

In 1134 shortly after the formal granting of their charter the then abbot, Christian (d. 1172), sent a group of brothers from St James to Würzburg in Franconia to set up a second monastery under the leadership of an Irish monk named Macarius (r. 1139–53) who became its first abbot. Christian had acted on the invitation of the bishop of Würzburg, Emicho von Leiningen (r. 1125–46), who on the arrival of the Iro-Scots presented them with the foundation charter for their new *Schottenkloster*, St Jacob zu den Schotten. Würzburg had had a long association with Irish monasticism having been converted to Christianity in the seventh century by the martyred Iro-Scottish monk, Kilian (640–89), who had built a church there. Like his counterpart in Regensburg Bishop Emicho did not hold temporal power in the city. This was formally in the hands of the Hohenstaufen, Conrad Duke of Franconia (1093–1152), who had been given the title twenty years earlier by his uncle, Emperor Henry V (1086–1125). By inviting the Iro-Scots to Würzburg, Bishop Emicho was intent on helping the commercial life of the city but also he was attempting to strengthen his control over civic activities in his diocese. The duchy remained a Hohenstaufen stronghold until 1168 when the family formally transferred temporal power to the then bishop, Herold von Hochheim (r. 1165–70) for the whole of East Franconia and thereby established the city as a prince-bishopric and centre of an important duchy.

The Investiture Controversy had been settled by the terms of the Concordat of Worms in 1122 but the Iro-Scots' support of the emperor had ensured that they retained imperial favour. Before the creation of the prince-bishopric they had securely established themselves in Würzburg. Commercial considerations were the strongest influence in their success. It is likely that Würzburg merchants were involved at the outset in encouraging Bishop Emicho to invite the Iro-Scots to establish a monastic rest house in their city. Like Regensburg, Würzburg on the River Main was an important merchant city on the main north-south river trading route and the two cities had strong commercial connections. This became a more important factor when, in 1146, the citizens of Regensburg completed their stone bridge across the Danube which ensured its commercial dominance of the region. The bridge eased travel between the north of Europe and Venice and allowed Regensburg to dominate this route which gave access to trade with the Orient. The city's merchant families became very wealthy and built themselves mansions which still form much of the mediaeval old city. Regensburg's importance was formally recognised in 1245 by Emperor Frederick II (1194–1250) when he made it an Imperial Free City granting its burgesses autonomy from all religious or state authority other

than his own. By establishing a daughter house of an important Regensburg monastery in his city Bishop Emicho had reinforced trading links between Würzburg and one of the most successful commercial centres of Germany.

The growing importance of Regensburg can be seen also in the next step taken by the monks of St. James'. Only two years after the foundation of their monastery in Würzburg they sent another group of monks to Erfurt to establish a third monastery also dedicated to St James. Situated in the Thuringian basin fifty miles north east of Würzburg it, too, was an important trading centre. Erfurt prospered by having a monopoly in woad, the blue dye used in the cloth industry. The Iro-Scots' drive to expand continued and in less than ten years they had increased their Benedictine community from the mother house in Regensburg to four daughter houses – Würzburg 1134, Erfurt 1136, Nuremberg 1140 and Constance 1142. Although religious devotion helped by commercial interests was their driving force, greater German politics also played a part in the expansion of the *Schottenklöster*.

The Investiture Controversy had frequently led to open warfare between the rival powers which resulted in popes excommunicating emperors and emperors in turn invading Rome and setting up rival popes. When the conflict was ended by the Concordat of Worms the resolution to the problem was a diplomatic compromise. It was recognised that both powers had to cooperate to build a more harmonious civil society and that the emperor's right of conferring lay investiture on bishops did not constitute the bestowal of sacerdotal powers, only the consecration by fellow bishops with papal sanction could achieve that. Nevertheless, the emperor continued to have his candidates appointed as bishops. Furthermore, the emperor ennobled the bishops of key dioceses giving them the dual role of prince-bishops, thereby emphasising the duty they held to him in all temporal matters. Papal authority merely ratified what had already been decided by the emperor. In this key respect the popes had gained nothing. Control of the allocation of the Church's wealth and land in the German empire remained in the emperor's hands. Later in the sixteenth century and onwards, all Scottish claims to monastic property in Germany, even although they were fully supported by the pope, had to be made to the emperor personally.

In 1125 shortly after his success at the Concordat of Worms the emperor, Henry V, died childless. The noble families of Hohenstaufen and Welf were both related to the late emperor and started to contend with each other for the imperial throne. The matter was settled in 1138 when the supporters of the rivals, as senior nobles of the empire, met in conclave and appointed

themselves electors effectively forming an electoral college. They then proceeded to elect the Hohenstaufen, Conrad III (r. 1138–52), as emperor.¹⁴ One of his first actions as emperor was to deprive the leader of the Welf faction, Henry the Proud (1108–39), of his dukedoms of Bavaria and Saxony.

He gave Bavaria to Henry Babenberg (1107–77)¹⁵ and it was under his protection that the Iro-Scots built their monasteries in Nuremberg and Constance. The new duke was intent on establishing control and improving trade in his territories. As well as exerting a military presence he encouraged the foundation of additional monasteries in his new possessions. Warfare continued in the German lands with temporary truces until the death of Conrad when the new emperor, Frederick I Barbarossa (1122–90), another Hohenstaufen, attempted to bring peace by reinstating in 1157 the dukedoms of Bavaria and Saxony to Henry the Proud's son, Henry the Lion (1129–95). In compensation, Henry Babenberg was made duke of Austria¹⁶ which became independent of Bavaria as a consequence. One of Henry's first actions as duke was to invite the Iro-Scots at Regensburg to set up a monastery in his new capital of Vienna. At the time Vienna was not as commercially important as any of the other cities where the *Schottenklöster* were based but Duke Henry wished to change that and in order to do so the provision of a secure monastic hospice for merchants was required.

In another move to establish peace in the imperial lands, Frederick made his uncle, Welf (1115–91), duke of Swabia and of lands in Italy and Sardinia. As Welf VI he founded the city of Memmingen in 1158 in an attempt to rival the trading centres of Bavaria. Its location in South Swabia was on a junction of the salt road through Austria and the pilgrim route from Germany through Switzerland to Italy. When Welf's son was killed in 1167, he decided

¹⁴ Conrad was never crowned by the pope and was not recognised as Holy Roman Emperor. He was, nevertheless, King of the Germans. This marked the beginning of the German Crown being elected rather than inherited. Hereditary principles still applied – the position of Imperial Elector was inherited or bestowed ex-officio. There had, however, been at least one precedent set for the election of a German monarch. Duke Henry of Saxony (876–936) had been elected king by other German dukes in 911. Their decision was driven by the necessity of creating a united German front against attacks by Magyars, Slavs and Danes. Henry's son, Otto the Great, inherited his father's title but went on to extend greatly the territory under German control and have himself crowned as Emperor of the Romans. *History Today*, Vol. 62, Issue 2 (February 2012), 8.

¹⁵ A monument to Henry as Duke of Austria is to be seen on the outside of the church of the *Schottenkloster* in Vienna. It was, however, erected on the reconstruction of the church in the seventeenth century.

¹⁶ Henry had been Margrave of Austria from 1141.

to go on crusade but before leaving he invited the Iro-Scots of Regensburg to set up a monastery in his new town. The monastery in Memmingen was dedicated to St Nicholas and was the penultimate *Schottenklöster* established in Germany. The last was in Eichstätt in 1194. Eichstätt was a pilgrimage centre in Bavaria less than fifty miles from Regensburg and was already well endowed with churches and monasteries when the Iro-Scots set up their monastery of Holy Cross. Its principal purpose was to provide a hospice for pilgrims but the Iro-Scots also constructed a replica of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem beside their church, thereby making it a pilgrimage destination in itself.¹⁷ By its establishment the Iro-Scots were making a strong statement about their place among German ecclesiastical institutions. At this point they had *Schottenklöster* in nine German cities and were benefitting significantly from donations of money and land. Their monastic buildings were substantial and as well as their hospices they had started monastic schools in at least five of the cities.¹⁸ This was in keeping with the traditions of the Benedictines. Although it is a contemplative order where its members remain by choice within the walls of the monastery, it has always seen education as part of its vocation and it is likely that there were schools in all of the *Schottenklöster*.¹⁹

With this impressive record the abbot of St James's in Regensburg applied to the pope to have the *Schottenklöster* recognised as a discrete community of Benedictine monasteries. The Lateran Council of 1215 had decreed that Benedictine monasteries in each kingdom should combine into congregations which legislated for all their members. In his papal bull of that year, Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) recognised the *Schottenklöster* as independent from the rest of the Benedictine congregations in Germany, thereby ensuring their survival as distinct Iro-Scottish institutions. In consequence their constitution was changed from that of a group of individual monasteries to a full

¹⁷ Saladin (1138–93) had captured Jerusalem in 1187 and effectively denied Christian access to the city's holy sites, the most important of which was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. By the Treaty of Ramla in 1192 between Richard I of England (1157–99) and Saladin, Christians were once again allowed access to the holy places. This toleration was never entirely reliable, however. The decision of the Irish monks to build a replica of the Holy Sepulchre at their new *Schottenkloster* of the Holy Cross in Eichstätt was, no doubt, influenced by these contemporary events and intended to imply that a pilgrimage there was almost as pious as a trip to Jerusalem.

¹⁸ Vienna, Erfurt, Würzburg, Regensburg and Nuremberg.

¹⁹ In 1392, in conjunction with the German Augustinians of Erfurt and with the support of the city council, the *Schottenkloster* of St James' transformed its school into the University of Erfurt, making it the third oldest in the German speaking lands after those of Heidelberg (1386) and Cologne (1388).

Benedictine congregation with Regensburg as the mother house and its leader as abbot-general. The abbot-general had the authority to appoint the abbots of all the daughter houses together with the responsibility to ensure that they were well run. By the terms of the same bull Regensburg became a consistorial abbey whereby the pope held the power to appoint the abbot-general. Any appointment, however, also required the approval of the emperor in keeping with the Concordat of Worms. These changes placed the *Schottenklöster* on an equal footing with the German Benedictine congregations. The abbots of Regensburg (Ratisbon), thereby, became mitred prelates of the Holy Roman Empire with their arms and seal bearing, by imperial prescript, the Imperial Eagle insignia in the lower half of the shield.²⁰

This was almost the high-water mark of the Iro-Scots' achievements in Germany. Their mother house in Regensburg possessed one of the most impressive neo-Roman churches in Southern Germany. The portal of its North door which faces onto the main street is elaborately carved with allegorical scenes of heaven and hell which still have the power to startle. Pilgrims travelling through Regensburg were sure to visit the abbey even if they lodged at another of the city's monasteries. By serving the needs of travellers the monks helped the city's economy to thrive thereby ensuring the support of the civic authorities. The Iro-Scots astutely had retained the favour of the ruling elite of Bavaria and at times of the emperor.²¹ After the *Schottenklöster* received the papal bull granting them the status of a unique community they continued to expand. There were no more new monasteries but they established three or more additional priories – one in Kiev and at least two in Ireland. The Kiev house was established from Vienna and was probably opened as a hospice in response to requests from Viennese merchants who traded with that city. The establishment of the priories in Ireland indicate a problem, however: one which eventually was to cause the decay of the *Schottenklöster*. They were experiencing a shortage of Iro-Scottish monks and were unable to fill all of the ten continental monasteries and their associated priories. For this reason each of the monasteries in Germany appears to have opened an Irish priory. That of Roscarbery in County Cork recognised the abbot of Würzburg as superior. By opening their new houses in Ireland the monasteries hoped to increase recruits into their community. The final stage in the growth of the

²⁰ Humphries, Walter R., "Abbot Placid", *Aberdeen University Review*, Vol. XXX (Aberdeen, 1944; hereafter "Abbot Placid"), 316.

²¹ This was particularly true of Henry IV and Henry V when the Investiture Controversy was at its height.

Schottenklöster came in 1231 when they established a priory at Kelheim, a small community less than a day's journey from Regensburg. From this point the monasteries went into decline.

The following century saw the problem of the shortage of monks become acute. As well as a drop in numbers, the commitment and standard of behaviour of those who were recruited fell and reports began to be made of great laxity in discipline among the Iro-Scots. This may have been accompanied by a loss of trustworthiness in their dealings with merchant visitors. At the same time the growth of a money economy began to have an effect on urban development which increased across Europe. Both these factors encouraged the setting up of commercial inns which competed with monasteries for the custom of travellers. As a consequence donations to the monasteries lessened and in 1332 the Iro-Scots sold the property of St Nicholas' in Memmingen to the German Benedictines of Augsburg.²² The monastery of the Holy Cross in Eichstätt was abandoned about the same time.²³ By 1418 the Iro-Scots' presence in Nuremberg and Vienna had disappeared and those monasteries were taken over by German monks. The monastery in Constance was neglected and its buildings were allowed to fall into ruin. When it was finally abandoned its land was appropriated by the city authorities to be used as the town cemetery. The last Iro-Scots abbot of Würzburg died in 1497 and from that time on the Würzburg *Schottenkloster* was occupied by monks from the German monastery of St Stephen's in the city. By then only the Regensburg monastery had any Iro-Scots in occupation and that changed a short time later.²⁴

In 1514 the abbot-general, Walter (r. 1499–1515), who was the last Irish monk in residence, was in dispute with the bishop of Regensburg, John III of the Palatinate (r. 1507–38), and jointly they appealed to Pope Leo X (r. 1513–21) to adjudicate.²⁵ The pope's decision the following year was to depose the

²² Even before it was sold the buildings were in decay with the library and communion plate having been disposed of. The German Benedictines kept the monastery until the buildings were destroyed by the Turks in the sixteenth century. The land on which it stood then became the town cemetery. It still exists as the old cemetery.

²³ *Schottenkloster zum heiligen Kreuz* retained its name but the property was requisitioned by the prince-bishop when the Iro-Scots left. It was granted to the Capuchins in 1623 and still survives, having been re-built in the twentieth century, but retains remnants of the Romanesque art of the original monastery.

²⁴ For a fuller account of the history of the *Schottenklöster* up to the decline of the Irish involvement in the fourteenth century see: Flachenecker Helmut, *Schottenklöster/Irische Benediktinerkonvent im hochmittelalterlichen Deutschland* (Paderborn, 1995).

²⁵ The cause of the dispute is not known but it is likely to have been regarding the bishop's claim that he should receive taxes from all of the Regensburg clergy. Walter

abbot on the grounds that he was not a Scot. Included in the papal adjudication was the appointment of a Scottish secular priest as abbot of Regensburg. This perverse decision was influenced by a petition from the large Scottish community of merchants who were then resident in Regensburg.²⁶ Unlike all of his predecessors the new Scottish abbot-general was not a Gaelic speaker but, like the Scottish merchants, he spoke in the Scots tongue. After nearly four and a half centuries the Iro-Scottish presence in the *Schottenklöster* had ended but a third phase of Scottish involvement in the monasteries was about to begin driven by the upheavals caused in Scotland by the Reformation.

would have claimed the *Schottenklöster's* 'privilege of exemption' which had been awarded by Emperor Henry V in 1120 denying the bishop any authority over them.

²⁶ A fuller account of this history is contained in Dilworth, *Franconia*, 11–21.

2 The New Founders

The Reformation in Scotland was a revolution in religion, political power, international relationships and land ownership. The protagonists' struggles were carried out through theological disputation, by enactment of new laws and by force of arms. When in 1542 James V (1512–42) died leaving his baby daughter, Mary (1542–87), as queen, Scotland had been allied to France against England for centuries. In the seventeen years which followed the king's death the regents attempted to protect the kingdom from encroachment by the English. In consequence of "The Rough Wooing" – the invasion of Scotland by Henry VIII of England (1491–1547) by which he attempted to force a marriage between the infant Mary and his son, Edward (1537–53) – Mary was sent to the court in France for her protection. As regent, the queen's mother, Mary of Guise (1515–60), relied heavily on French military support. Scottish Protestants acted with their English co-religionists against their sovereign but English support was curtailed during the reign of the Catholic Queen Mary of England (1516–58) only to be intensified after the accession of her half-sister, Elizabeth (1533–1603), in 1558. In France Queen Mary of Scotland had been married to the dauphin and in 1559 became queen of France on the accession of her husband as Francis II (1544–60). When Mary of Guise died in the summer of 1560 the pro-French party in Scotland was leaderless. The parliament passed the Treaty of Edinburgh whereby the war ended on condition that both English and French forces left Scotland. In addition Catholicism was outlawed and the Calvinist Confession of Faith was required to be sworn by all Scots.¹ The foreign troops withdrew but the matter of religion was far from settled.

Iconoclasts had been destroying religious imagery and church property for years but large scale confiscation of church land and wealth began after the passing of the treaty. In many ways the confiscation of Church lands

¹ Only three Scottish nobles voted against the anti-Catholic measures in the Reformation Parliament.

was a continuation of a process whereby abuses were perpetrated on Church property rights. The Church was the largest landowner in Scotland, owning more than even the monarch. Monasteries were very wealthy and the positions of abbot were competed for by monks and bishops. (See commendators below) Often candidates succeeded by buying off their rivals with the award of sizable pensions. Formal recognition of the new abbot by the papacy and the king or local nobility required large one-off payments to all (annates). Raising these sums required the monastery to incur debt. It was illegal under the terms of the benefactors' endowments for Church land to be sold but a system of feuing developed whereby the feuer paid the monastery a sum for the perpetual rights to the land. This payment was in addition to any annual feu paid. In addition the monasteries often sold the privilege of collecting the annual feus to a baillie. Frequently the baillie-ship was bought by a local noble family who in turn exerted influence over the appointment of the abbot who, not uncommonly, was a member of their own family. In this way, although the monastery maintained legal title to the land, it no longer derived any income from it. When the reformers attempted to take over monastery land they often found that benefiting from it was legally beyond their reach. As the Reformation became more firmly established the monarch – who had taken over the papal role of confirming appointments to abbacies – gave lay persons (invariably nobles) these positions which then tended to become hereditary, something which had been impossible prior to the Reformation Parliament of 1560. In this way Church lands were absorbed into the estates of the nobility and gentry.²

The property of the Church was not the only aspect of its position in society which was in contention. Matters of dogma were hotly debated. Religious polemicists of all persuasions flourished and in order to try to resolve the contentious issues arising, the Lords of the Congregation called preachers and academics to attend a disputation in Edinburgh in 1561 in which the arguments regarding the required degree of reform to religion were debated. A deputation of Catholics from the University of Aberdeen attended. They were led by the sub-principal, Alexander Anderson (fl. 1538–70), and included in their number a canon and prebendary of St Machar's Cathedral, John Leslie (1527–96). The Lords of the Congregation named Leslie specifically to debate directly with the principal Protestant protagonists, John Knox (1514–72), minister of St Giles Cathedral in Edinburgh, and his deputy, John Willox

² Dilworth Mark, *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1995), 23–44.

(1515–85). The debates were not restricted to theological issues. Knox derided Leslie for his illegitimacy.³ In turn Knox was accused of being an English puppet by another Catholic apologist, Ninian Winzet (1518–92). Winzet had been the schoolmaster of Linlithgow and provost of the collegiate church of St Michael there, but had been ejected from both posts by the reformers.⁴ Winzet mocked Knox for his use of English liturgy and the Anglicisation of his speech. “Gif you throw curiositie of novations has forgot our auld plane Scottis quhilk your mother lerit you: in tymes cuming I sall write to you my mynd in Latin; for I am not acyquynted with your Southeroun.”⁵ Despite the personal nature of the attacks the legal outcome of the disputations was never in doubt. The Protestant Lords of the Congregation were effectively in charge of the country and continued to pursue their policy of suppression of Catholicism and sequestration of Church property.

Nevertheless Leslie had come to prominence and subsequently was appointed a commissioner in the delegation sent to France by George Gordon, 4th earl of Huntly (1514–62), and John Stewart (d. 1579), 4th earl of Athol, to bring Queen Mary home. Her husband, King Francis, had died prematurely the previous winter and the commissioners were directed to persuade her that she was needed to take over the governance of Scotland. Leslie showed total loyalty to the queen who on her return to Scotland made him a privy councillor. Under the queen’s protection Aberdeen unlike the two other Scottish universities remained Catholic. Leslie was appointed a professor of Canon Law and later in 1565 was appointed to the senate of the College of Justice: in 1566 he was made commendator⁶ abbot of Lindores and in 1567 became bishop of Ross.

Queen Mary was unable to hold power in Scotland and when she attempted to return to France by fleeing through England in 1568, her protection for the

³ In 1558 he had received papal dispensation of illegitimacy in order to be ordained.

⁴ In his own words “schott out of the kindly toun of Linlithgo”. Humphries, “Abbot Placid”, 315.

⁵ Winzet’s vernacular writings have been collected in two volumes edited by J. Hewison and published by The Scottish Text Society in 1888 and 1890. See also Ninian Winzet, *Tractates*, Maitland Club, 1835.

⁶ Commendators, who prior to the Reformation Parliament had to be ordained priests, were allowed to hold the position of abbot or prior without becoming monks. This provided them with the benefice without the requirement to perform any duties in return. Lindores was a wealthy abbey. As well as the income from the abbey’s lands it had income from seventeen parishes which it had appropriated in return for providing religious services. Leslie would have received a substantial income as commendator abbot with few duties required; Dilworth Mark, *Scottish Monasteries*, 44.

University of Aberdeen as a college for Catholics ceased. Anderson and his colleagues on the senate refused to subscribe to the Confession of Faith and were removed from office and replaced by reformed clerics. Bishop Leslie had earlier followed the queen to England where she had been detained at Bolton on orders of Queen Elizabeth. Mary delegated Leslie to speak on her behalf at the conference in York which the English queen had convened to decide how Mary should be dealt with. She was forbidden to continue her journey to France and the queen sent Leslie to Elizabeth's court as her ambassador with instructions to have the decision reversed. It soon became clear to him that Elizabeth had no intention of letting Mary leave England and he started on a series of actions to attempt to free his queen.

With additional ambassadorial credentials supplied by Mary, he went to the court of Phillip II of Spain (1527–98) to seek help. As the pre-eminent Catholic monarch the king was sympathetic but he had political as well as doctrinal reasons for wanting Mary restored to her throne of Scotland and to replace Elizabeth as queen of England. The Protestant rebels in the Spanish Netherlands were receiving help from the English and he wished to see that removed. In 1559 shortly after Elizabeth's accession he had offered her marriage but she had declined. Such a match would have been unacceptable to the majority of her subjects. Philip did not, however, abandon plans to take control of England⁷ but Bishop Leslie's request for help presented the king with the difficulty of achieving a military intervention which would not result in the death of Mary. The Duke of Alva (1507–82), Philip's governor in the Spanish Netherlands from where any attack would have to be launched, advised the king that it would be impracticable. Rather than give him an outright refusal Philip sent Leslie to Rome to discuss the matter with pope Pius V (1504–72). Pius involved an Italian financier named Roberto Ridolfi (1531–1612) in the discussions. Ridolfi was keen to organise and provide financial

⁷ Philip was later to persevere with a *Scottish Enterprise* by which he would try to convince James VI of Scotland to convert to Catholicism in return for Philip's support in gaining the English throne. In this he received papal support and a number of Jesuit embassies were sent to the Scottish court to effect the conversion of the king. The policy had its best chance of success when James was under the influence of his cousin, Esmé Stewart, from 1579 to 1582. When this proved unsuccessful Philip pursued an *English Enterprise* whereby he asserted his own claim to the throne by virtue of his descent from John of Gaunt and as widower of Queen Mary. The failure of the Armada ended his attempts. Papal attempts to convert James continued until the end of the century, however, as James tried to keep negotiations open with all parties until he achieved his goal of the English throne. He considered this necessary since Elizabeth never acknowledged him as her heir.

support for an attempt to overthrow Elizabeth and replace her with Mary using English Catholics and a Spanish invasion force from the Netherlands. The plan received Mary's approval and Leslie played a key role in persuading Thomas, Duke of Norfolk (1536–72), to take the lead role among the English Catholics with the promise of marriage to Queen Mary. By the time the plan was in place in 1571 Elizabeth was aware of the details. Leslie was arrested and tortured to provide proof against Norfolk who was then executed. Leslie was held in the Tower of London until 1573 when he was freed and exiled.

On his release Queen Mary gave him another commission. Scotland now lacked any provision for the education of Catholics particularly in the training and ordination of priests. Leslie was sent to Rome to seek the pope's permission to establish a college for Scots in a Catholic country. He went first to Paris to meet with James Beaton (1517–1603), archbishop of Glasgow. Beaton had gone into exile in 1560 on the signing of the Treaty of Edinburgh. Queen Mary had appointed him her ambassador to the court of her brother-in-law, King Charles IX (r. 1560–74), and also made him trustee of her dowry lands in France. Beaton was the pre-eminent ecclesiastic of the Scottish Catholic Church in exile. This grouping had grown significantly since Beaton had first gone to France. Prior to the Reformation there had been eighty-eight monasteries, priories and friaries and eleven nunneries in Scotland. After the signing of the Treaty of Edinburgh monks and nuns continued to occupy these houses and receive their allowances from the income of the monasteries. Most clergy – monks, nuns and parish priests – conformed to the reformed religion but the crown levied a fine equivalent to one-third of their stipend on those who did not subscribe to the Confession of Faith. The proceeds of these fines were divided between the king and the Kirk. Fines, physical abuse and threats of execution caused many of those religious who would not conform to the new order eventually to flee to France and Rome. John Hunter, head of the Dominican priory of Glasgow together with William Henderson, his counterpart in Stirling, who had clung on to their priories openly expressing their Catholicism, finally had to go into exile in 1573.⁸ Another notable exile in France was Ninian Winzet who had fled from Scotland in 1562 as a consequence of Protestant hostility to his campaign of

⁸ The head of the Dominican order gave them formal permission in a document dated 5 September 1573 to leave their priories and seek refuge on the continent. *Archivium Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Priory of Santa Sabina, Rome) IV 39f 112. Hunter was received into the Dominican priory in Bordeaux and until his death in 1590 played a part in maintaining communications across the network of Scottish Catholics in continental Europe.

pamphleteering against the reformers. He had gone to Douai, in the Spanish Netherlands, where he gained a doctorate in theology before joining the University of Paris in 1565 and being appointed head of the German Nation there.⁹ In 1571 at the request of Queen Mary¹⁰ he had accompanied Leslie to England on his mission to involve Norfolk in the Ridolfi Plot but after Leslie's imprisonment in the Tower he returned to Paris.

Leslie's purpose in seeking out the archbishop in Paris was to discuss the queen's funding for the new college. The money was to be provided from the income of her French estates which Beaton controlled as trustee. However Beaton also wanted to discuss the location of the college. There were a number of possibilities. Rome was clearly a strong preference. The new pope, Gregory XIII (1502–85), had started on a programme of establishing colleges in the Eternal City for students from the northern nations. As well as enlarging the German College in the city he strengthened the Jesuit University, *Collegio Romano*. A Scots college in Rome would have benefited also from being located at the heart of the Church's organisation under a pope who was committed to providing educational facilities for exiles. Nevertheless, there was a case to be made for locating the college in Paris. For centuries the city had been the home of a great university with numerous colleges. There had been a Scots college at the University of Paris from the early fourteenth century. Known as the College of Grisy it consisted of an endowment which provided bursaries for four scholars but had no college buildings. Archbishop Beaton saw additional benefits for the location of the college in his city of exile: it was closer to Scotland, would use existing revenues and would allow him a role in overseeing the venture. When Leslie set out for Rome it appeared that the preference for Paris over Rome had been agreed and it was decided that Ninian Winzet should accompany him; the implication being that Winzet would be appointed as the college's first principal.

Cardinal Ugo Buoncompagni had been elected pope in May 1572 and from his installation as Pope Gregory XIII he had a clear vision for reform of the Catholic Church. Although he was seventy years of age at the time of

⁹ The university body was organised in four "Nations" – France, Picardy, Normandy and Germany. (Prior to the Hundred Years War the fourth Nation had been England not Germany) All university members – staff and students – who did not qualify by birth for the first three Nations were assigned to Germany; hence Winzet's position which was one of the most senior possible for a non-Frenchman.

¹⁰ In a letter of recommendation to emperor Rudolf II, Mary described Winzet as her confessor; see below. It is not clear, however, when he held this post – before he fled Scotland in 1562 or during his participation in Leslie's mission in 1571.

his election, immediately he embarked on an energetic campaign of reform. Earlier in his career he had been a professor of jurisprudence at the University of Bologna where he inspired a number of his students with his vision of the need for reform. Later, as cardinals of the Church, this grouping spearheaded the Catholic Reformation in Italy, Germany, Poland and England.¹¹ Shortly before his appointment as pope, Buoncompagni had been legate to the court of Philip II of Spain. While there he formed a close friendship with the king which later he used to help promote his reforms. He had served as a papal jurist at the Council of Trent and was passionate in implementing its key directives: rooting out corrupt practices and improving the standard of education among priests. When Leslie and Winzet arrived in Rome in 1575, Gregory was pursuing a number of initiatives aimed at achieving those ends. He had already dispatched a friend and fellow delegate at the Council of Trent, Feliciano Ninguarda (1524–95), to Germany to conduct visitations of the abbeys, monasteries and convents of all the religious orders and to report on their state of reform or lack of it. Cardinal Ninguarda was vicar general of the Dominican order in the German speaking lands and had shown himself to be vigorous in exposing corrupt practices. It was Ninguarda's report to Pope Gregory in 1575 which first brought the *Schottenkloster* of St James in Regensburg to the attention of Bishop Leslie and Ninian Winzet and which was to alter the course of their mission in Rome.

As part of his efforts to improve the standard of education of priests Gregory had embarked on a programme which was to result in the establishment of twenty-three new colleges. The pattern of how this was to be carried out had already been set. In 1552 Pope Julius III (1487–1555) had established a college in Rome for German nobility who did not want to be educated in the reformed religion of their homelands. The teaching was supervised by Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556) and his followers. Initially reluctant to become involved in education Loyola went on to embrace this work and, by improving on the methods then in use, placed the Jesuits in a dominant position in higher education in Europe and beyond. Their reputation was such that Protestants sent their sons to Jesuit colleges and the Society gained the name of “Schoolmasters of Europe”.¹² The pope had firm views on how

¹¹ Alessandro Farnese (1520–89), Cristoforo Madruzzo (1512–78) and Carlo Borromeo (1538–84) in Italy: Stanislaus Hosius (1504–79) in Poland: Otto Truchsess von Waldburg (1514–73), Prince-Bishop of Augsburg in Germany: Reginald Pole (1500–58), Queen Mary's Archbishop of Canterbury in England. Pole's reforming work was swept away after his death and the accession of Elizabeth.

¹² Fitzpatrick Edward A (ed.), *St Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum* (New York, 1933), 24.

his new colleges should be ordered and the Jesuits were to play the key part in running them. Gregory's former pupil, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, Prince-Bishop of Augsburg, had set up the University of Dillingen in Swabia and given responsibility for its running to the Jesuits in 1564. Another of his former students, Bishop Stanislaus Hosius, with Gregory's help set up the University of Braunsberg in Poland which again was run by Jesuits.¹³ One of Gregory's first acts as pope was to enlarge the German College in Rome such that it had provision for more than one hundred students at a time. All of his papal seminaries as well as three colleges which he founded in Japan were given to Jesuit teachers to supervise. Gregory believed the Jesuits' proficiency in the provision of education was a powerful tool in his work of reformation of the Church and he acted on this belief.

When Bishop Leslie arrived in Rome on his mission to gain the pope's permission to establish a college for Scots he was received warmly but his request that it should be in Paris and run by a secular priest did not accord with Gregory's plans. In itself the location did not present a problem but even though, as can be seen by his later actions, the pope judged Ninian Winzet to be sound and held him in high regard, colleges were to be run by Jesuits and Winzet was not considered for the post of college principal. Adding to Leslie's difficulties in negotiations was Lord Alexander Seton¹⁴ (1555–1622), a prominent Scots Catholic, who was in Rome at that time studying law at the German college. Seton involved himself in the discussions and argued that the Scots should site their college in Rome using the medieval Scots hospice as accommodation. The hospice had been used by Scots pilgrims to the city and its use not only would reduce the cost of setting up the college but also would be immediately available. The discussions with the pope were protracted and Leslie wrote to Beaton and the queen to inform them of developments and to seek their guidance. It was during this delay that the Scots became aware of the situation at the *Schottenkloster* in Regensburg.

In 1514 Pope Leo X had deposed the last Iro-Scottish abbot of the monastery. In July 1515 he appointed John Thomson (r.1515–23), a Scottish priest, as abbot. Thomson had been recommended to the pope by the community of Scots merchants settled in Regensburg. The Irish abbot

¹³ Braunsberg was never formally recognised as a university. It consisted of a number of colleges and worked in cooperation with the Jesuit run University of Vilnius. This was a pattern followed by many of the Catholic colleges abroad for students from Protestant lands such as the Scots, English, Germans and Swedes.

¹⁴ Later as Earl of Dunfermline he was Lord Chancellor of Scotland under James VI and guardian and tutor to the king's son, Charles, later King Charles I.

continued to dispute this decision but by 1520 the Scots under Thomson were in complete control. Monastic rules normally required that abbots are appointed for life and on Thomson's death he was replaced by another Scot.¹⁵ This situation continued until the time of Ninguarda's visitation in 1574. In his report Ninguarda informed the pope that the monastery was occupied by its current abbot, Thomas Anderson, with his son and nephew and that none were following any monastic observances.¹⁶ Shortly afterwards Gregory received a communication from a Scots Jesuit, John Hay¹⁷ (1546–1608), who informed him that Abbot Anderson had died and the city council of Regensburg had taken possession of the monastery and wanted to use it as a school to be run by Jesuits. The Scottish mercantile community in the city openly appealed to the pope. They wanted the monastery to remain in Scottish hands and requested that he appoint, as abbot, William Chalmers, a Scottish secular priest resident there. The possibilities that this situation presented to Gregory required consideration. The monastery was consistorial and therefore the appointment of its abbot was the pope's responsibility. At face value the request of the Regensburg council would have fitted in well with his overall plans of founding colleges run by Jesuits. There were, however, two major disadvantages to this proposal. A significant number of the citizens of Regensburg had adopted Lutheranism in 1542 and legislated that only Protestants could have full civic rights. This position was contested and Catholics continued to be enrolled as burgers but the city council was dominated by Lutherans. Their proposal that Church property should be confiscated to serve as a college was an attack on the Catholic Church. In suggesting that it be run by Jesuits they appear to have been applying enlightened self interest. A new city college with the acknowledged best teachers available would have been a major boost to

¹⁵ Thomson ruled as Joannes VI and was replaced by Andrew Ruthven (r.1523–25). The series of Scots abbots continued with David Cuming (r.1525–48), Alexander Bog (r.1548–56), Balthazar Dawson (r.1556–66) and Thomas Anderson (r.1566–76). Fischer T A, *The Scots in Germany* (Edinburgh, 1902), 289.

¹⁶ Hammermeyer Ludwig, *Deutsche Schottenkloster, Schottische Reformation, katholische Reform und Gegenreformation in West-und Mitteleuropa (1560–1580)* (Munich, 1963), 176–221.

¹⁷ Hay was well known to the papacy. Both he and his brother Edmund were Jesuits. In 1567 Edmund had accompanied his fellow Jesuit, Nicholas de Gouda, as papal emissary to Mary Queen of Scots in Edinburgh. He was afterwards appointed Jesuit Provincial for France. John had helped establish the Jesuit academy in Vilnius in Lithuania in 1570. He taught philosophy there until 1575 when he went to Germany for health reasons. It was at this point he became involved in the future of the *Schottenkloster* in Regensburg. Roman Darowski, "John Hay, SJ, and the Origins of Philosophy in Lithuania", *Innes Review*, Vol, 31 (1980), 7–15.

the city. The second disadvantage of the council's suggestion was that the disestablishment of a monastery even to provide a school could not be viewed as reforming practices among monastic orders but rather as their abolition. Cardinal Ninguarda's mission, in conducting visitations to abbeys in Germany in order to see them improved, would have been compromised if Gregory had decided to close St James'. The number of monasteries in Germany had already been greatly depleted through confiscation by Lutheran town councils. The pressing need was for the reformation and rejuvenation of the remaining ones rather than their dissolution. Pope Gregory decided to allow the monastery to continue as a reformed institution.

The choice of abbot to carry out any renewal of monastic life in the Regensburg *Schottenkloster* would be crucial to its survival. William Chalmers' suitability to be abbot was attested by the Scots community in Regensburg. They had also been able to elicit the support in this of the papal nuncio, Zaccaria Delfino (1527–84), and through him the newly established prince-bishop of Würzburg, Julius Echter (1545–1617). During his papacy Gregory deliberately kept records of priests whom he considered to be suitable for promotion by virtue of their enthusiasm for reforming the Church. Chalmers was unknown to him whereas he had had time to assess Winzet and considered him capable of succeeding at St James' as the new abbot. However, before making the appointment Gregory required to consult others. Principal among these was the emperor, Maximilian II (1527–76). Maximilian had pursued a policy of religious neutrality in his efforts to ensure peace in his empire following the destructive religious wars of his uncle, Charles V. The wars had been ended by the terms of the Treaty of Augsburg which the emperor's father, Archduke Ferdinand (1503–64), had negotiated. Application of these terms required even-handedness from the emperor. In his youth Maximilian had been suspected of wanting to convert to Lutheranism. His father had threatened him with disinheritance to prevent his taking such a step. Although the pope's attempts at reform in Germany needed to have the political support of the temporal powers he was by no means guaranteed any help from the emperor. Before the matter could be resolved the emperor died while he was in Regensburg preparing for an invasion of Poland. The decision on the appointment of an abbot for the *Schottenkloster* passed to his son, Rudolf II, who held similar views to his father regarding co-existence between his Catholic and Protestant subjects. Regensburg was a particularly sensitive place for the emperor. It was an Imperial Free City and, therefore, under his direct protection. The city government was separate in administration from the

bishop of Regensburg. The installation of a new abbot would be controversial and Rudolf's major concern was to avoid disturbance between the religious parties in the city. His ideal candidate for the post would be as neutral as possible in matters of dogma and he knew nothing regarding Winzet's views.

Fortunately Bishop Leslie was known personally to the new emperor. While petitioning Philip II on Queen Mary's behalf in 1569 Leslie had met the young prince who at the time was resident at the court of his uncle, the king. At the same time Ugo Buoncampagni, while serving as papal legate to the Spanish court, had also met Rudolf. With the approval of the pope, Leslie used his acquaintanceship to petition the emperor on behalf of Ninian Winzet. He received help in this from Queen Mary who, from her prison in England, wrote to Rudolf recommending Winzet as a worthy candidate stating that he had previously been her personal confessor.¹⁸ The petition was successful and in 1577 Winzet was appointed abbot of the Regensburg monastery of St James.¹⁹ He was inducted into the Benedictine order and set off with a small group of fellow Scots to take possession of the *Schottenkloster* in Regensburg.²⁰ Thus began the new phase of involvement of Scottish monks in Germany which was to last nearly four centuries.

¹⁸ State Papers, Scotland, Mary Queen of Scots, xi. 8. The relevant extract of the letter is quoted in Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, 296.

¹⁹ The emperor sealed the legal document granting the Scots possession of St James' in Prague on 8 October 1578. Scottish Catholic Archives, SK 3, folio 32, *Litterae Rudolphi II Imp. pro restitutione monasteriorum Scotiae nationis per Germaniam*.

²⁰ The issue of establishing a college for the Scots, which had been the prime purpose of the journey to Rome of Leslie and Winzet, was not resolved until 1581. Permission was given to set up a college in Paris and Archbishop Beaton began to make provisions in 1580, funded from the queen's dowry lands. However, no students were enrolled and possibly because of the worsening relations between the Valois monarchy and Mary's uncles, the Duke of Guise and Cardinal Guise, the college was moved to Pont-à-Mousson in their Duchy of Lorraine under the principal-ship of William Crichton, a Scots Jesuit who previously had been rector of the Jesuit College in Lyons.

3 Gaining Political Support

While he was delayed in Rome, John Leslie busied himself on a number of matters. It was important that he gained as many useful contacts within the hierarchy of the Church as possible and as well as meeting Roman dignitaries he obtained introductions to others with whom he built up a correspondence. He was acting in his role as the ambassador of the Queen of Scots and in presenting the queen's case his intention was to gather as much support for her as possible. He had earlier written a history of Scotland in the Scottish language which he had dedicated and presented to Queen Mary. In Rome he took up this work again and expanded it to take into account the most recent events but wrote in Latin in order to gain an international readership. The history was in part derivative of those of Hector Boece (1456–1536)¹ and John Mair (1469–1560)² but his account of the history of Scotland in Mary's reign gave a different perspective on the events which John Knox in his writings had used to blacken the character of the queen.³ Leslie's history was completed and published in Rome and did much to counter Protestant propaganda.⁴ It helped to ensure that a good opinion of the queen was held by readers on the continent such that in 1587, when the news of her execution spread, the general reaction was one of revulsion with overwhelming sympathy displayed towards her in particular and the cause of Scottish Catholics in general. Leslie could not know that the queen's fate would be so tragic but his actions while

¹ Boece, *Historia Gentis Scotorum*, 1527.

² Mair, *Historia Majores Britanniae, tam quam angliae Scotiae* (Paris, 1521).

³ Knox wrote his *History of the Reformation in Scotland* in five books. The fifth book (which has also been ascribed to George Buchanan) covers the last years of the queen's reign, 1564–67.

⁴ Leslie, *De origine, moribus, ac rebus gestis Scotiae libri decem* (Rome, 1578). The earlier work was in seven volumes entitled *History of Scotland*, and presented to the queen in 1571. Leslie repeated the errors and exaggerations of the earlier historians and even surpassed them in their over patriotic emphasis.

in Rome were directed to supporting her and the cause of Catholicism in Scotland.

With these aims in mind while still in Rome he researched the origins of the *Schottenklöster* and drew up a list of all the monasteries in Germany which had been daughter houses of the original Benedictine community in Regensburg. His researches went further and included other foundations which had been set up by the Iro-Scottish monks who had first brought Christianity to Germany but which had had no Irish connection for centuries. While making his case to Pope Gregory for Winzet to be made abbot of the Scots monastery in Regensburg, Leslie presented him with this list and petitioned that all of the monasteries be “returned” to the Scots. He hoped that if he were successful in his request ecclesiastical livings could be provided for other Scots who, like himself and Winzet, had lost their benefices and been forced out of their homeland through refusal to subscribe to the Confession of Faith. One of the provisions of the Council of Trent, held from 1545 to 1563, had been to forbid the holding of benefices by foreign clerics. This had been done to try to prevent the pluralist abuses which previously had grown up whereby prelates held multiple posts for which they provided no services. Absentee priests and bishops gained additional income but their vacant charges suffered through neglect. An unintended consequence of the council’s ruling was that religious exiles like the Scots had no realistic prospect of gaining a benefice. They had few choices open to them by which they could survive as clerics. Their most fruitful recourse was to join a religious order but as these were organised largely along national lines even this could be difficult for foreigners. Ad hoc arrangements which allowed Scots entry to orders such as the Dominicans and Franciscans were formalised when, in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, those orders decided to incorporate Scotland into their Irish provinces. However, immediately following the Reformation when the Scottish provinces of these religious orders were extinguished there was no specific provision for Scots. Bishop Leslie’s vision was that, if possession of the former Iro-Scottish monasteries could be gained, part of the Scottish Catholic Church would be retained with its own identity even though in exile in the German lands.

It is significant of the number of refugees in Rome at the time Bishop Leslie was making his plans that Ninian Winzet had no difficulty in collecting a group of five other Scottish priests to accompany him to Regensburg and form the renewed Benedictine community. For some time Scots had been drawn to the German college in the city and new graduates and ordained students provided

a reservoir of talent which Winzet could draw upon. One such was John James Whyte (d. 1629) who travelled with him to Regensburg and eventually succeeded him as abbot. Other graduates of the German college were also attempting to follow careers in mainland Europe. A contemporary of Whyte's was the Englishman of Scottish descent, Robert Turner (d. 1599), who taught at the college in Rome. Afterwards he moved to Germany where he joined the staff of the newly founded Jesuit University of Ingoldstadt and later became its rector. The university represented a major advance in the German counter-Reformation and during his period as rector Turner corresponded regularly with Winzet and Whyte. Through cooperation they tried to enhance the effectiveness of the Scottish contribution in education and thus to the counter-Reformation in Germany.⁵ The maintenance of contact with other Scots in Germany and elsewhere helped Winzet in the enormous task he had undertaken to re-establish St James monastery in a truly reformed manner in accordance with Pope Gregory's wishes.⁶

This was exacting in itself but it had to be achieved while he worked to restore the "lost" *Schottenklöster*. In their scale, Leslie's demands for the restoration of these monasteries were as impractical as they were impertinent but Ninian Winzet felt obliged to attempt to achieve some of what the bishop of Ross sought.⁷ In addition while trying to satisfy the pope and the bishop, Winzet needed to be mindful of the emperor. Rudolf II expected Winzet to respect his Protestant subjects and encourage harmony in religious relations in the city. Regensburg was no longer the commercially dominant centre that it had been from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries and its wealth had diminished but its political importance to the emperor remained due to its

⁵ Turner was one of a number of Scots Jesuits who played important roles in establishing Catholic colleges and universities. Others were Robert Abercromby (1536–1613) at Braunsburg University in Poland, William Crichton (1535–1617) who worked at French universities before setting up the Scots College at Pont-à-Mousson and later at Louvain and Douai. Turner later in life published an account of the imprisonment and execution of Mary Queen of Scots presenting her as a Catholic martyr. It was published under the pseudonym of Obertus Barnstapolis and had great public appeal. Thomas Duff (see chapter 4) hand copied parts of it to read to his fellow monks at the *Schottenkloster* in Würzburg. Dilworth, "Ninian Winzet: Some new material", *Innes Review*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (1973), 125–33.

⁶ Winzet even corresponded with James VI, in Scotland. James responded: this was a time when the king was keeping all options open as to support in his ambition of succeeding Elizabeth on the throne of England. In a letter to Winzet dated 17 March 1587, James starts his message with the words "we greet you most heartily well". *SCA*, SK/3/38.

⁷ Letter from Leslie to Winzet dated 28 August 1579. *SCA*, SK/3/36.

position as an imperial free city surrounded by the territory of the elector of Bavaria. The emperor's requirement to maintain good relations within the city was made more difficult for Winzet by virtue of the resentment caused within both the city council and the Scottish merchant community of Regensburg. The council had been frustrated in its desire to use St James cloisters as a school and the merchants had failed to have the abbot of their choice appointed. With both of these groupings having opposed Winzet's appointment it is clear that he faced difficult challenges and the degree to which he succeeded in overcoming them speaks highly of his abilities. Unsurprisingly his priority was to meet the pope's demands. His efforts in this were successful from the start. When Cardinal Ninguarda carried out his first inspection of the monastery in March 1580, two and a half years after Winzet and his companions took possession, he was able to present a satisfactory report to Pope Gregory stating that there were seven monks including the abbot in residence and that religious observance was good.⁸ He also reported that although the monastery was poor they had established a college for local youths.⁹

Setting up the college had been almost the first action of the monks and within six years it had grown to accommodate one hundred students.¹⁰ This success was due in large part to Winzet. Although he was in his sixties at the time of his appointment, he had brought a wealth of knowledge and experience to his role as a college principal. As well as having been schoolmaster in Linlithgow he had held important teaching positions at the University of Paris. His efforts in this regard helped greatly in creating a good relationship between

⁸ The religious observance which Cardinal Ninguarda would have reported would have been that part of the Rule of St Benedict known as the *Horarium*, a timetable of the eight canonical hours when the whole monastic community comes together in the chapel to pray. Their day begins at midnight with the office of *Matins* followed at 3 am with *Lauds* and at 6 am *Prime*. Following *Prime* the monks gather in the chapterhouse to receive their instructions for the day. At 9 am the fourth hour *Terce* is observed followed by high mass. After the service at noon, *Sext*, they eat their midday meal while one of their number reads to them from Scripture. At 3pm they observe *None* and afterwards perform any manual work which they have been assigned. In Regensburg this would have included operating the horse-mill at which the monks ground their own and citizens' corn. *Vespers* are observed at 6pm and the hours are completed at 9pm with *Compline*. Since Ninguarda gave Winzet and his brethren a satisfactory report it would appear that they followed the observance. The rule does, however, allow for variations to take account of other duties such as teaching. The running of his school would, therefore, have allowed Winzet to modify the strictness of the *Horarium*.

⁹ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 27.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 31.

the monastery and the city council. Cardinal Ninguarda was able to help him in this. In 1582 Philipp of Bavaria was created prince-bishop of Regensburg. Philipp was only three years of age when his father, the duke, established this new position for him. The duke appointed Ninguarda as his son's regent and he was thereby in a unique position to help Winzet by facilitating his introduction to the ducal court and in smoothing over difficulties with the city councillors. By 1588, however, Ninguarda had moved on and his successor as regent, Jacob Millar, invited the Society of Jesus to set up a college in the city. Winzet's college continued but its importance to the city had lessened and shortly after Winzet's death in 1592 it ceased to function. Nevertheless the Scots had built up a store of goodwill with the burghers in the first ten years of their occupation of St James.

Despite this success problems of lack of money beset the *Schottenkloster* for the whole of Winzet's abbacy and beyond. Much of the monastic property had been lost or sold by the earlier abbots and in the first few years the income from the school represented a great part of what the monks had to live on. The community of Scottish merchants in the city appears to have helped very little. Failure to have their own priest appointed as abbot no doubt would have induced a reluctance to assist but it is likely that the merchants did not have the financial resources to offer significant help. Scots merchants in central and eastern Europe at this time were, for the most part, pedlars. They made their living by travelling to remote communities selling cheap items, often German-made tin ware, which they carried in packs on their back. They dominated this trade to such an extent that in many areas the name Scot was applied to all itinerant pedlars.¹¹ Regensburg, as a manufacturing centre and communications hub, was where they could replenish their stocks and meet up with fellow countrymen. A number of them were successful enough to be able to trade in Regensburg itself and were enrolled as burghers.¹² However, these were a

¹¹ They were not always welcomed in the communities they served. A number of towns in Eastern Europe had specific by-laws which forbade "Jews, Gypsies and Scots" from remaining inside their walls after dusk when the gates had been closed. In these cases the term "Scots" was being used as a synonym for itinerant pedlars. Jaroslav Miller, *Urban Societies in East-Central Europe: 1500–1700* (Aldershot, 2008) 69.

¹² The city archives have records of seven Scots who were burghers at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Winzet's brother Claude is recorded as a burgher in the city records when he pursued a legal action in the courts in 1607. *Ratisbon Stadtarchiv*, Jurid I, 16, Fs 3R, 5R, 5VbR. There is no information as to whether Claude preceded or followed Ninian to Regensburg but it is perhaps too much of a coincidence that Ninian should be appointed abbot to the city in which his brother lived. It is more likely, therefore, that Claude followed his brother

minority and in civic life itinerant traders were not rated highly and normally would not be allowed to become burghers with the attendant rights which that status brought.¹³ The majority of Scottish merchants in Regensburg were unable to be benefactors of their *Schottenkloster* and the Scottish monks were largely reliant on their own meagre resources.

In light of this poverty Winzet's other great challenge of attempting to "regain" the lost *Schottenklöster* posed immense difficulties. Many others had an interest in the properties and those in possession were not to be easily dislodged. And yet the first attempt to regain other monasteries was made even before Winzet arrived in Regensburg. In 1576 when it became clear that he would not be appointed abbot of Regensburg, the disappointed claimant, William Chalmers left the city and travelled to Erfurt and on arrival there declared himself abbot. His act was almost an empty gesture. The situation Chalmers found was not encouraging. Legally the monastery was supervised by the Catholic prince-archbishop of the diocese of Mainz but in reality it was under the control of the Lutheran city council. Its property was much degraded. In 1532 the last abbot had rented out the monastic lands to a local Catholic family for a peppercorn rent. He had done this in order to avoid their being confiscated by the Protestant council.¹⁴ The school building was very dilapidated and the council had turned the main body of the monastery into an alms house. Chalmers found that there were still three elderly German monks in occupation who, like the others in the almshouse, were living on charity. Even as the self proclaimed abbot Chalmers was no better placed than the other residents of the almshouse and as an outsider and foreigner he also faced hostility. Within two years he left for Prague where he hoped for imperial preferment. Emperor Rudolf was setting up court there having declared the city as his new capital.

Bishop Leslie continued to involve himself in attempts to regain possession of the monasteries and, like William Chalmers, in 1578 he too travelled to Prague to petition the emperor for his help. Leslie's original

to Regensburg. Claude's two sons joined the monastery in the 1590s while their uncle was abbot. Dilworth, "Ninian Winzet: Some new material", 128.

¹³ Although trade restrictions were imposed on non-burghers the Scots pedlars derived a cost advantage in petty trading by being free of fraternity membership fees and other costs associated with higher social status.

¹⁴ Pradel Johan, 'Studium und wissenschaftliches Streben' (Erfurt, 1924). There is a copy in Scottish Catholic Archives, KC 42-3. This was similar to what was happening to Church land in Scotland at that time. See Chapter 2 for information on the feuing of monastic lands in Scotland.

appeal to Emperor Maximilian two years earlier had included a request for the return of the properties on his list, especially that of Vienna. At the time, the elderly German abbot of the monastery in the old imperial capital had a community of four or five monks and Leslie suggested that when the abbot died the monastery should be handed over to the Scots. According to Leslie, Maximilian promised “restitution” of the Viennese *Schottenkloster* but no decision had been taken on the others before the emperor died. Up to that point, Bishop Leslie’s interactions with Maximilian and his son Rudolf had been by letter combined with appeals through intermediaries such as Cardinal Morone (1509–80), the papal legate to the Diet of Ratisbon.¹⁵ In 1578, however, the opportunity arose for Leslie to meet with Emperor Rudolf and pursue the return of the monasteries on a personal basis. This came about because Pope Gregory had appointed Leslie as his ambassador to the court of King James VI. After Queen Mary fled Scotland in 1568, that country had been ruled by a series of regents. In 1578, at the age of fifteen, James came under the influence of his charismatic cousin, Esmé Stewart (1542–83). The control that the fourth regent, James Douglas, Earl of Morton (c. 1516–81), had over the king was thereby weakened. Morton’s enemies seized the opportunity and forced him to resign. Esmé Stewart became even more powerful. He had been brought up in France as a Catholic and, although he had converted to Calvinism in order to gain access to the king, he was prepared to use his influence to strengthen the position of Catholics. It was this change in the affairs of Scotland which decided Pope Gregory to send John Leslie on a diplomatic mission to Scotland.¹⁶ On his way home Leslie travelled through

¹⁵ Cardinal Giovanni Morone was at that time a highly respected elder statesman of the Church. He had been deputed as one of three cardinal legates to supervise the opening of the Council of Trent. The decision to hold the council in the neutral alpine city was largely that of Morone who had spent the greater part of his life trying to maintain good relations between the Church and the Empire. Later his efforts in this regard aroused the suspicion of Pope Paul IV (1476–1559) that Morone was secretly a Lutheran and he consequently had him arrested. In 1560 Pius IV (1499–1565) cleared him of all charges and used him to preside over the closure of the Council of Trent eighteen years after overseeing its opening. Subsequently the pope used him as ambassador to the Hapsburgs. Leslie’s ability to gain the help of someone of such stature was highly beneficial to his cause. ‘Giovanni Morone’, *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

¹⁶ Jesuit emissaries from Philip of Spain were at the Scottish court at the time attempting to convert James by offering Philip’s help to depose Queen Elizabeth and place him on the English throne as a Catholic monarch. For a time it appeared that this approach might be successful but was thwarted when, in what became known as the Ruthven Raid, Protestant noblemen abducted the king and held him prisoner. Stewart was forced to return to France where he died the following year.

Germany to pursue his hopes of recovering the monasteries. Since he went with the approval of the pope it is also likely that he had been instructed to discuss his mission with Rudolf and especially sound out his views on the Scottish claims to the English throne. His authority for being involved in this enterprise was strengthened by his status as Queen Mary's ambassador.

Leslie's first port of call on his journey was Innsbruck to meet Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria (1529–95), the uncle of Emperor Rudolf.¹⁷ Unlike his nephew, Ferdinand was an ardent Catholic committed to the counter-Reformation in his lands. Leslie came with a letter of recommendation from the pope and received letters of recommendation from the archduke to Albrecht V, the Duke of Bavaria (r.1550–79), and the emperor. When he arrived in Prague in September 1578 Leslie presented to the emperor letters of recommendation from Queen Mary, Pope Gregory and Archduke Ferdinand. Whatever Rudolf's reaction to the Spanish plan to put a Catholic King James of Scotland on the English throne¹⁸ he received favourably the request for the return of the *Schottenklöster* and wrote to Queen Mary promising that he would help.¹⁹ Leslie sought to capitalise on this piece of good fortune but his time was constrained due to his need to be in Scotland. He delegated the negotiations regarding the Viennese abbey to another exiled Scottish cleric, Thomas Guthrie.²⁰ Guthrie came from a family of minor nobility from the northeast of Scotland. A relative of his, John Guthrie, had held the bishopric of Ross earlier in the century prior to Bishop Leslie's appointment and it was possibly this connection which persuaded Leslie to entrust the negotiations to him. Guthrie made no headway in gaining Vienna for the Scots but he appears to have arranged that the Scots in Regensburg be notified of the death of the old abbot when that occurred.

¹⁷ Leslie was anxious to expand his network of influential contacts. While in Innsbruck he wrote to Cardinal Morone asking that he inform Carlo Borromeo, the archbishop of Milan, of Leslie's intention to travel to France once he had completed his business in Germany. His objective was to maintain widespread support in the Church for his other causes while he was engaged on the pope's mission.

¹⁸ It is not known that this was included in Leslie's mission from the pope but it is difficult to imagine another matter in which Leslie could be used as emissary. Rudolf is likely to have acquiesced in the plan of his uncle, the king of Spain especially since it would have been strongly opposed by Valois France.

¹⁹ *Diploma Rudolphi II Imperatoris in favorem Scotorum*, Reich Archiv, Munich, Baillie MSS, (as quoted in Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, 296–7).

²⁰ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 26.

While still in Germany Leslie took the opportunity of trying to gain possession of four more *Schottenklöster*.²¹ Accompanied by Winzet he went to Eichstätt to negotiate with its bishop for the return of the Holy Cross abbey. There they discovered that ten years earlier in 1568 Abbot Anderson (r. 1566–76) had accepted a small annuity in return for renunciation of any claim to the abbey or its lands. The bishop was using the income from the abbey lands to fund the diocesan seminary and he was obdurate in his refusal to countenance any other arrangement than the continuation of the payment of the annuity to the Regensburg abbot. They then moved on to Nuremberg where Leslie's petition to the civic authorities for the return of its *Schottenkloster* was even less successful. It had been in Lutheran hands since 1525 and recompense, let alone return, was refused outright.

Leslie set off for Scotland in late 1578 but on his way he called on the prince-archbishop of Würzburg, Julius Echter (1545–1617), and Daniel Brendel von Homburg (r. 1555–82),²² prince-archbishop of Mainz, to press his case in person for the return of the Scottish monasteries in Würzburg and Erfurt. Both men were sympathetic but it was left to Ninian Winzet to try to achieve progress. He had little choice but to attempt this over a lengthy period and key to any success was to be the acquisition of as many allies as possible. He devoted his energies to putting the abbey in Regensburg on a sound reformed footing and establishing his college, but at the same time he cultivated a good relationship with the Duke of Bavaria, Albrecht V, and members of his household particularly his private secretary, Erasmus Vendius (1532–85). Vendius was a noted humanist scholar and he and Winzet had many interests in common. They developed a personal friendship which helped the abbot overcome a number of the initial difficulties he faced in establishing the Scots in the monastery. Their friendship became even more important when in April 1580, a little over a year after Leslie had left for Scotland, Emperor Rudolf issued a decree ruling against the return of any more monasteries to the Scots. Despite his earlier promise to Mary Queen of Scots the arguments of his German clergy caused him to change his mind. The Scots were clearly not going to gain any of their objectives through imperial diktat but Winzet continued his efforts. In 1581 he re-visited the prince-archbishops of Würzburg and Mainz and the city councils of Nuremberg and Erfurt. The Lutheran authorities in Nuremberg were as adamant in their refusal as

²¹ *SCA*, SK/3/36.

²² Von Homburg was strongly placed at the imperial court. As an elector he had voted for both Maximilian and his son, Rudolf, to be emperor and crowned each in turn.

they had been three years earlier. However, in Erfurt, with the support of the prince-archbishop of Mainz he was able to claim that the Scots had not abandoned their monastery, given that Thomas Chalmers had been in residence as recently as three years before. The city council presented no obstacle to the Scots repossessing the derelict building but there was no property or income with which to support a community. The prince-archbishop of Mainz was sympathetic to the Scots but he was unprepared to give any practical financial help to allow them to re-occupy the monastery and Winzet had to defer further action until money was available. Despite this difficulty he had obtained a concession which would be exploited later.

He experienced a similar reception in Würzburg. Archbishop Julius Echter was sympathetic to the Scotsman's objective of the "return" of St James' *Schottenkloster* but only as part of his own counter-Reformation plans. Echter was newly appointed to his diocese and faced a formidable challenge in reforming it. Würzburg was half Lutheran and half Catholic but the remaining Catholic institutions were unreformed. The new prince-archbishop was relatively young and full of reforming zeal. He was a member of a Franconian noble family, the von Mespelbrunn, and understood the need to enlist the support of local nobility to the Catholic cause. Being temporal as well as spiritual leader of his diocese helped greatly in dispensing patronage to the nobility and winning them over. His success in this allowed him to apply the principle of *Cuius regio, eius religio* which had been incorporated into the terms of the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. Echter did not pursue this policy, which required subjects to adopt the religion of their ruler, by crude force. He won over the nobility by favours and privileges and attempted to ingratiate himself with the Lutheran civic council by greatly improving the provisions for the townspeople. He confiscated two monasteries in which religious practices had all but ceased and rather than reforming them he (re)founded the city's university in one and turned the other into a hospital. Through his strong and determined rule he provided East Franconia with political and social stability which allowed Würzburg to thrive commercially. Over time he succeeded in consolidating his territory as Catholic.

When he met Winzet, Julius Echter was at the beginning of his programme of reform. He was impressed by the quality of the Scotsman and saw that he could use him to establish a reformed community in the old *Schottenkloster*. But there were problems. The monastery's buildings had been in the possession of the German monks of the abbey of St Stephen in the city for nearly a century. Furthermore Echter's auxiliary bishop had appropriated the abbey's

land rents to supplement his income. The prince archbishop could not afford to upset any vested interests so despite his sympathy for the Scots and his wish to use their skills for his own ends Echter could only offer Winzet possession of the abbey building on the condition that the Scots support themselves from income derived from Regensburg or elsewhere. This was an even greater financial challenge than that of Erfurt and so when the abbot returned to Regensburg he was relatively empty-handed.

Nevertheless, the Scots were determined to expand their community. Immediately on Winzet's return from Würzburg the chapter decided to attempt the "repossession" of Erfurt. John Hamilton (d. 1585), the abbey's prior, was elected abbot of Erfurt by the monastic community. Hamilton had been a monk of Paisley Abbey and his appointment re-established the subordinate relationship of the Erfurt abbot to that of Regensburg. The mother-house was duty bound to support its dependent and Hamilton was able to survive in Erfurt without reliance on local charity as Chalmers had been forced to do. In 1582 from this position of relative strength Hamilton was able to start on a course of legal actions to regain the lost monastic property of Erfurt. Progress was slow and little had been achieved before Hamilton died but gradually his successors were able to gain control of the buildings and some of the land together with its income. By the 1620s, after more than forty years, the Scots had recovered enough to be almost self-supporting. For much of the following forty years a Scottish presence of one or two monks was sustained.

Further progress in the repossessions was slow and difficult. In the summer of 1583 Winzet received word from Vienna that the old abbot of the *Schottenkloster* had died. Immediately he wrote to his friend Erasmus Vendius asking him to persuade the Duke of Bavaria, to support his claim for the Viennese abbey and without waiting for a reply set off for Vienna.²³ Despite having the duke's support, Winzet failed to persuade the archbishop of Vienna to cede the *Schottenkloster* to the Scots. Furthermore he fell seriously ill and although he was able to return to Regensburg and survived for nine years he never fully recovered his health. Efforts to regain other properties on Bishop Leslie's list of *Schottenklöster* were abandoned but the Scots kept pursuing the recovery of the Würzburg abbey. However, it fell to Winzet's successor as abbot, John Whyte, to make the breakthrough which gained the

²³ The old duke had died and been succeeded by his son, William (r. 1579–97). The letter, *Commendatio Niniani Guilielmi, Ducis Bavariae ad Rudolphum pro recuperatione Monasterii Viennensis*, was addressed to the emperor. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, 297–8. Original held in *Scottish Catholic Archives*, SK 3/37.

Scots this prize. In the last year of his life in 1591 Winzet wrote to Archbishop Echter again making his case for the return of St James' in the city. His action was prompted by news of the death of Echter's suffragan bishop²⁴ whom the archbishop had chosen not to replace. Echter's reforming programme had progressed greatly in the intervening nine years and his authority was much more secure. This time his negotiations with the abbot of St Stephen's centred around compensation to the German monks for the money they had spent on maintaining the fabric of St James's. When Echter travelled to Regensburg in 1593 to attend the imperial diet called to address the feared Turkish invasion by Sultan Murad III, he had gained full possession of the *Schottenkloster's* property. While staying in the city he had discussions with the new abbot, John Whyte (r.1592–1623), regarding establishing a community of Scots in Würzburg. Echter's terms were generous but in one respect they disappointed Whyte. The new community was to be under the control of the archbishop himself and not a dependent of the Regensburg mother-house. Whyte agreed and after the details were finalised in 1595 three monks left Regensburg to set up their new community in Würzburg.²⁵ It is clear that from the outset Echter intended to use the Scots in his counter-Reformation plan. All members of the new community were scholars of distinction. The charter of the monastery stated that one of them should hold a chair in theology at Echter's newly re-founded University of Würzburg.²⁶ Echter helped the Scots by including St James in his extensive programme of renewal of Church property in his diocese. The monastery was rebuilt with the addition of a pair

²⁴ This was not the assistant bishop who had been using the abbey's revenues at the time of Winzet's visit in 1582. He had died in 1583 but at that time Echter could not convince the abbot of St Stephen's to relinquish that community's claim to the buildings; Dilworth, *Franconia*, 28.

²⁵ The men he sent were Richard Irvine, the abbot of Erfurt (r.1585–95) and former novice master at Regensburg, who became the first abbot of Würzburg (r.1595–1602), Francis Hamilton who succeeded him as abbot (r.1602–09) and John Stuart. Irvine had graduated MA from the University of St Andrews in 1574 and Hamilton is recorded in the matriculation roll of St Salvator's College of that university. *Ibid.*, 31–2, 41.

²⁶ A less attractive feature of Echter's use of the Scots was that the monastery grounds were the scene of his witch burning activities. In the course of his long reign of forty four years he executed over 1000 witches who, for the most part, were no more than doctrinally suspect. There is no evidence that the Scots played any active part in this work and it is difficult to conceive that they would have consented to this use of the monastery grounds if it had been a daughter house of Regensburg.

of “Julius” towers.²⁷ The community was placed on a secure financial footing and quickly increased the number of monks it could afford to house.

Würzburg marked the last acquisition for the Scots. By the end of the century they had gained possession of three *Schottenklöster*. Regensburg was able to support an establishment of eight to ten monks. At Erfurt they had regained only enough of the property to provide minimum support for one monk. It took a further eighty years before they were able to establish a viable religious community there. In Würzburg the initial community of three grew to exceed that of Regensburg and for the greater part of the first half of the seventeenth century it was the most prosperous of the regained *Schottenklöster*.²⁸ Bishop Leslie’s vision of a Scottish religious community in exile had been achieved. The original community had consisted largely of churchmen, like Ninian Winzet and John Hamilton, who had previously held posts in Scotland but before the end of the century that grouping had been replaced by young men who had been educated and ordained on the continent without ever having held any Scottish benefice. For some the Benedictine life in Germany had been their first choice but others took up the monastic life only after attempting missionary work in their homeland. At this time the Scottish Catholic Church was in grave danger of losing its identity. All of the pre-Reformation hierarchy had died.²⁹ Secular priests had been placed under the authority of the arch-priest of England with no recognised separate Scottish structure. All of the orders of monks and nuns in Scotland had been dissolved. In the 1620s the Franciscans and Dominicans formally gave jurisdiction of Scottish matters to their Irish province. The Society of Jesus which recruited significant numbers of Scots never established a Scottish province. Scots who joined the Society were inducted predominantly into the German province. Later, in the second half of the seventeenth century, they were directed to join the English province. Only two distinct Scottish identities remained in the Catholic Church: the Benedictine communities of the *Schottenklöster* and the

²⁷ The towers, which have distinctively shaped spires, were given Julius Echter’s name. He had such towers added to all the major ecclesiastical building work he carried out in Würzburg. Those attached to the cathedral and *Schottenkloster* still survive.

²⁸ The numbers of monks recorded do not include novices or monastic servants. There were sufficient novices in Regensburg by 1584 to require Richard Irvine (born before 1560, died 1623) to be appointed novice master. Dilworth, *Franconia*, 279. By 1600 it is likely that the three Benedictine communities held upwards of 30 ordained monks, lay brothers and novices.

²⁹ The last was James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, who died in Paris in 1603. Bishop John Leslie had died in exile in 1597, having been appointed as Bishop of Coutance by the French king in recognition of his services to Queen Mary.

collection of Scots colleges established in Rome and Douai (later in Paris and Madrid) for the training and ordination of Scots. In the following centuries both these sets of institutions were to contribute hugely to the survival of the Catholic community in Scotland. They achieved this through their individual inherent strength but also through a high degree of cooperation which they gained largely through the social integration of a dwindling Catholic community at home and the reliance placed on the Scottish communities in Europe. The Benedictine monasteries were invaluable to Scots Catholics but shortly after their establishment central Europe and especially Germany was subjected to a prolonged and devastating war and the Scots' safe havens were put in jeopardy.

Part Two

Self-Inflicted Wounds

4 Surviving the Maelstrom

From their secure bases in Germany the Scots Benedictines should have been well placed to help with the counter-Reformation in Scotland. For the first hundred years of their existence, however, their role in this work was almost entirely passive. Over the quarter of a century which followed the execution of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587, colleges for Scots were established in Douai, Paris and Rome¹ and it was to these establishments that young men interested in training for missionary work were attracted. The *Schottenklöster* took on a secondary role by providing those missionaries with refuge when they were forced into exile. A number of the students from the Scots colleges on completion of their studies transferred to Germany and entered the Benedictine order but only a few of these expressed the desire to engage in missionary work. For most, the intention was to follow the contemplative Benedictine life. However if the Jesuits are to be believed, those who came were not, for the most part, the cream of the college alumni. The Jesuits who ran the colleges in Douai and Rome were adept at influencing the best students to join their society and could be patronising to those who did not measure up to their standards. The Jesuit principal of Douai college, Fr. Gall (1603–66), in 1649 described Archibald Alexander as “a pious youth but slow to learn”. This comment was entered in the college register along with a note that the twenty four year old had left to join the Benedictines in Würzburg after having studied at Douai for less than a year.² The suggestion that the intellectual quality of recruits to the *Schottenklöster* was lower than the high standards that Winzet and his companions had shown was not always true. The schoolmaster of Linlithgow had impressed his German hosts with his scholarship: some of his successors were able to emulate him in intellect and piety. A number of their names feature in the matriculation rolls of the Jesuit run University

¹ The College in Madrid was founded later, in 1626.

² Anderson, J. M. (ed.), *Records of the Scots Colleges* (New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1906) (hereafter *RSC*), 39.

of Würzburg. Francis Hamilton and John Stuart in 1598 were early students; Hamilton being awarded a bachelor's degree.³ Later, in 1620, John Sylvanus Mayne, who had studied at the University of Glasgow before attending the Scots college in Douai, joined the community in Würzburg. The supply of new recruits from the Scots colleges continued. Although contemporary records are sparse, the names of eight have survived from the first two decades of the seventeenth century.⁴

The Scots of the *Schottenklöster* also interacted with the wider Catholic intellectual world. In 1618 Benedict Algeo (r. 1618–30), abbot of Regensburg, joined with the German Benedictine abbots in signing an agreement on selection of professors for the University of Salzburg which they were in the process of establishing as a Benedictine foundation in competition with the numerous south German universities and colleges which were controlled by the Society of Jesus.⁵ James Brown, a Würzburg monk, in writing his *Germania Sancta*,⁶ which he did while at St James monastery, quoted extensively from the work of the Scottish Catholic humanist, Thomas Dempster (1579–1625). At the time Dempster was a professor at the University of Bologna and was engaged in writing his much acclaimed history of Scotland. But among the Scottish community in Germany Brown's work was eclipsed by that of Thomas Duff. Duff was, like Brown, a monk at Würzburg where he produced his *Liber Spiritualium Exercitiorum*⁷ for the use of his fellow brethren. For more than thirty years from his initiation as a monk in 1614 he indulged his love of poetry by composing Latin verse for his own enjoyment and that of his fellow monks. As well as religious subjects he wrote secular poetry eulogising local German dignitaries by comparing them to classical heroes. Many of these works were specially commissioned to celebrate important ecclesiastical and

³ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 42. This was a more impressive achievement than it seems. At this period few students graduated after completing their studies at universities in Europe. Some graduation rates were as low as 5% and few exceeded 10%. Unless they were entering professions such as law or medicine the cost of graduation was rarely justified. Frijhoff Willem, 'Graduation and Careers', de Ridder-Symoens Hilde (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe*, Volume II (Cambridge, 1996), 378–9.

⁴ RSC, 2–3.

⁵ Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, 147.

⁶ Dilworth, "'Germania Christiana': A Seventeenth-Century Trilogy", *Innes Review*, vol. 18 (1967), 118–40.

⁷ Manuscript M.ch.q.51, Würzburg University Library, written around 1616. As well as spiritual exercises the manuscript contains prayers with sung parts to be used by the community. This was the work of Duff as a relatively young man. In a submission to Bishop Echter dated 1617 from the Scottish monks six names are listed, the last of whom is Duff who is described as a novice (Dilworth, *Franconia*, 62).

civic occasions. They were intended to be read out in public and were often printed as pamphlets to be distributed to a wider readership.⁸ This, no doubt, helped St James monastery engage with its host city and improve the standing of the Scots.

Notwithstanding these Scots of intellectual distinction the generally lower standard of entrants to the Benedictine community was to cause major problems. These arose initially in Regensburg but quickly involved all three of the Scots abbeys. The abbot of Regensburg, John Whyte, Ninan Winzet's old friend and successor, had made a number of foolish decisions in his administration of St James's. In his prime Whyte had been a well respected scholar and had been a popular choice to replace Winzet as abbot but he had never been a good administrator. In 1611, when he was nearly sixty years of age and felt that he needed help in carrying out his duties, he forced through the appointment of Benedict Algeo (Auldjo) as his coadjutor abbot.⁹ In doing so he handed over all day to day running of the monastery and acted in defiance of the wishes of the rest of the monks in Regensburg. By overlooking the rest of the monastic community Whyte was not necessarily making the wrong decision. As their later behaviour showed it would appear that none of them was the right person to help Whyte as coadjutor. Nevertheless Algeo was a disastrous choice. Although essentially a good man he had a serious drink problem. Within a year Whyte had realised his mistake and fell out with him. He made a second serious blunder in 1615 when the abbot of Erfurt, William Ogilvie, was elected abbot of Würzburg (r. 1615–35). Whyte proposed Hugh Wallace (r. 1617–34) as his successor at Erfurt and when he wrote to the archbishop of Mainz, Johann Schweikhard von Kronberg (r. 1604–26), to this effect he stated that the three Scots monasteries formed a Benedictine community under his

⁸ In his book of poems, Manuscript, M.ch.62, Würzburg University Library, F.17 R. Duff has written an address in Latin to the abbot of St Stephen's Monastery in Würzburg, Erhard Irthelius, celebrating his consecration as abbot. The poem is ingeniously represented in the shape of an abbot's mitre and is followed by a ten verse poem which praises the abbot by taking the dedication "*Dominus Erardus Irthelius Abbas Sancti Stephani*" and converting it into an anagram "*Hanc inhibet sua spes, duris mors lurida abstineat*". Duff's learning, wit and inventiveness made his poetry much sought after. Other monks at St James' in Würzburg attempted to ingratiate the community to their hosts. In 1610 James Brown dedicated his *Scotia Antiqua et Nova*, Manuscript M.ch.q.58, Würzburg University Library, to Prince-Archbishop Julius Echter. For a fuller assessment of the work of Thomas Duff see Dilworth, 'The Latin Translator of *The Cherrie and the Slae*', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, Vol. 5 (1967), 77–82.

⁹ Algeo's family were prominent Catholics in the south-west of Scotland. The modern spelling of the name is Algie. Whyte lived for almost another twenty years but was senile for much of that time.

control as abbot-general of Regensburg. This claim related to the position of the original Iro-Scottish control of the *Schottenklöster* but had been superseded in the case of Würzburg by the agreement between Whyte and Julius Echter. The prince-bishop, was not pleased by the claim made to the archbishop of Mainz.¹⁰ He had previously been on good terms with Whyte but declared him *persona non grata* in his city. Abbot Ogilvie complied with Echter's ruling and distanced himself from Whyte.

Meanwhile the atmosphere within the community at Regensburg had become poisonous. Algeo used the abbey's resources to his own ends and mortgaged the property to the city council. At this point the bishop of Regensburg, Albrecht IV von Törring-Stein (r.1613–49), tried to take advantage of the deteriorating situation to gain control of the monastery.¹¹ Abbot Whyte was rapidly becoming senile and realising that it was only a matter of time before Algeo completely ruined the monastery's finances, which would give him the opportunity of confiscating St. James', von Törring ordered the monks to accept the dissolute coadjutor as abbot. They refused and the bishop imprisoned them all with the exception of old abbot Whyte. One monk escaped from the bishop's custody and appealed to the Protestant city council. It intervened, no doubt to protect its financial interest in the mortgaged abbey. The burghers secured the release of another monk who promptly tried to kill Algeo by stabbing him. Algeo survived and the papal nuncio in Cologne, Pier-Luigi Carafa (1581–1655), threatened the whole community with excommunication if they did not fall in with the bishop's wishes. The Scots appealed directly to Rome and sent Alexander Armour as their representative. Armour presented his case well and succeeded in having

¹⁰ Apart from Whyte's attempt to deny Echter's authority regarding St James's in Würzburg, the prince-bishop would have been particularly aggrieved that Whyte had made such a claim to Schweikhard. The two men had been rivals for the position of prince-archbishop of Mainz in 1604. Mainz was the most important Catholic diocese in Germany and Echter failed in his bid because his rival was the candidate preferred by the emperor, Rudolf.

¹¹ He was able to intervene in the affairs of the *Schottenkloster* by virtue of collusion with the papal nuncio. The abbot-general of St James was independent of all religious authority other than the pope but the papal nuncio had papal jurisdiction in Bavaria and had delegated it to the bishop in the case of St James' monastery. Their behaviour may have been underhand but it would, in part, have been motivated by the desire to rid Regensburg of such undeserving clerics. The nuncio was noted for his zeal in promoting Catholicism in those parts of Germany where Protestant influence still pervaded. The interference in the affairs of St. James' monastery occurred when the Thirty Years War had progressed to the point where it seemed that Catholic interests would be triumphant throughout Germany. Dilworth, *Franconia*, 54.

Algeo displaced and himself named as coadjutor but the bishop and nuncio ignored this judgement from Rome. They enlisted the help of Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria (r.1597–1651), who banned the monks from his territory thereby effectively imprisoning them in Regensburg which, although it was an Imperial Free City and beyond his jurisdiction, was an enclave within Bavaria. Algeo then left Regensburg city and lived nearby in Stadt am Hof under the protection of the duke. Algeo proceeded to appropriate all of the monastery's income for himself and his drinking problem got worse. He was reported as dissipating the abbey's resources as much through inebriated generosity to strangers as on personal benefit. The monks were left destitute and most left the abbey. With the support of the nuncio in 1618 Rome re-judged Algeo's case and found in his favour. The few monks remaining at the abbey reluctantly accepted the judgement and on Algeo's re-appointment as coadjutor, abbot Whyte retired leaving him in undisputed charge of the monastery. By 1623 finances had so far deteriorated that the council decided to foreclose on the mortgage it held on the monastic property as security on its loan. The nuncio then raised the sum of 8000 florins from Catholic lenders to pay off the city council. But still the finances of the monastery were in complete disarray. There was an attempt by Algeo to sell the Erfurt monastery behind the back of its abbot, Hugh Wallace. Because of the absence of any financial support from Regensburg, Wallace at this time was living in the Würzburg *Schottenkloster*. He heard of the petition which Algeo and the monks of Regensburg had sent to the archbishop of Mainz asking for permission to sell. Wallace in turn wrote asking that permission be refused. Johann Schweikhard von Kronberg, Elector-Archbishop of Mainz (r.1604–26) was the superior of all religious establishments in Erfurt and his permission was needed for the disposal of the abbey. He decided in Wallace's favour. There is little doubt that he was acting in the best interests of the Church since the events in Regensburg had made the Scottish Benedictines notorious. Far from being a bulwark of the counter-Reformation their behaviour was urgently in need of reform.

These developments in Regensburg were being followed with great concern in Würzburg. In sharp contrast to abbot Algeo, William Ogilvie was a strong and competent leader of his monastery and he tried to retrieve the disastrous situation in Regensburg. He was gifted in a number of ways. Intellectually acute he was also politically extremely adept. His family were gentry, the Ogilvies of Deskford in the northeast of Scotland, and he had been brought up as a Calvinist. When and how he converted to Catholicism is not known but he was elected abbot of Erfurt in 1611 as successor to Ninian Winzet's nephew,

James.¹² He had been given this responsibility at an early age and Abbot Whyte had added to it when he made Ogilvie administrator of Regensburg abbey when Algeo had been temporarily dismissed by Whyte from his duties as coadjutor. When Francis Hamilton (r. 1602–14) retired as abbot of Würzburg in 1614 Ogilvie was elected in his place. His appointment was most likely strongly influenced by Julius Echter with whom he had developed a cordial working relationship. When Echter died in 1617 after ruling for more than forty years as prince-bishop Ogilvie developed an equally good relationship with his successor, Johann Gottfried von Aschhausen (r. 1617–22), who, however, reigned only for five years. It was with von Aschhausen's successor, Philipp Adolf von Ehrenberg (r. 1622–31), a nephew of Julius Echter, who was appointed in 1622 that Ogilvie became truly influential in the life and politics of the region.

The scandals of St. James' in Regensburg so concerned the papal nuncio, Pier-Luigi Carafa, that he conducted a visitation of the monastery in 1623. What he found alarmed him and after discussing the matter with William Ogilvie he arranged that Alexander Baillie, a dependable monk from the Würzburg monastery, be appointed prior in Regensburg. It is significant, given Abbot Algeo's addiction to drink, that Baillie also was given the job of cellarer, a task that put him under great strain. Baillie was soon at breaking point and indicated that he wanted to return to Würzburg. The papal nuncio and German ecclesiastical authorities lost all patience with the Scots and matters could easily have developed to the point where they deprived them of their monasteries in Regensburg and Erfurt. Only by the decisive action of Abbot Ogilvie was such a catastrophe averted.

With this fiasco being played out it is not surprising that the monastic communities had done little to advance the cause of the Catholic mission in Scotland and that their good standing within their host community was being destroyed. Furthermore the Holy Roman Empire had become engulfed in the religious conflicts which came to be known as the Thirty Years' War. The Peace of Augsburg in 1555 had ended the religious wars of the time and provided a half century of relative calm. However, over time the terms of the peace began to be ignored in some parts of the empire. Matters had taken a serious turn in 1606 in Danauwörth, an Imperial Free City in Bavaria, when the Lutheran council deprived the Catholic minority of significant rights. In 1607 after warning the burghers the emperor, Rudolf II, withdrew the city's free status and

¹² Dilworth, "Ninian Winzet: some new material", 29.

sent troops to enforce his orders. The following year the northern Protestant states formed the Protestant Union, a military alliance to protect what they saw as the erosion of their rights by the emperor. To counterbalance this threat the Catholic League was formed under the leadership of Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria. The driving forces behind the establishment of this ‘Christian legal defense’ were the prince-bishops of a number of states including Wolfgang II von Hausen (r.1600–13) of Regensburg and Julius Echter of Würzburg. Echter was appointed as one of four special advisers to the duke, who, in effect, acted as war council to the Catholic League. Austria joined the League in 1613 and from that point onwards the principalities of the Holy Roman Empire, Protestant and Catholic, were on a war footing. Julius Echter died in 1618 a few months before the incident of ‘The Second De-fenestration of Prague’ which was the spark that started hostilities. By ejecting the emperor’s ambassadors from the windows of Prague castle the Bohemians effectively declared that they would not accept his successor as king. Emperor Matthias (r.1612–19) was childless and his heir presumptive was his nephew, Ferdinand II (r.1619–37). Unlike the previous three emperors Ferdinand was strongly Catholic and believed in uniformity of religion. Matthias’ ambassadors had been sent to Prague to obtain confirmation from the Bohemian nobles that on his death they would accept Ferdinand as their king. When Matthias died the year after the maltreatment of his ambassadors, the Bohemians, who were predominantly Hussites, held to their earlier decision. They refused to accept the Catholic Ferdinand II as their king and instead appointed a Protestant, Frederick V Elector Palatine (1596–1632). In 1620 the emperor’s forces led by Johann Tserclaes, Count of Tilly (1559–1632), gathered at Würzburg and the Protestant Union, in the face of the superior military advantage of the imperial army, was forced to agree that it would not intervene in the dispute in Bohemia. Tilly crushed Frederick’s Bohemian army at the Battle of White Mountain in November of that year and the initial phase of the war was over.¹³

The emperor’s forces then turned their attention to the Protestant Union and the north German states. Initially the Catholic League suffered defeats but in 1622 Ferdinand appealed for help from his uncle Philip IV, king of Spain (1605–65), and his forces were joined by those of the Spanish Netherlands. This turned the tide of war again in favour of the emperor and by 1625 the Protestant armies under George Frederick, the Margrave of Baden-Durlach (1573–1638), and Christian, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1599–1626), were

¹³ Frederick was stripped of his lands which were given to Maximilian I, an action which elevated his Duchy of Bavaria to a Prince-Electorate.

decisively beaten and all Protestant resistance in Germany ended. This was not the conclusion of the war, however, as the Danish king, Christian IV (1577–1648) took up the leadership of the Protestant cause and fought on for a further four years at the end of which time his army was almost totally destroyed by the imperial forces under the command of Count Wallenstein (1583–1634). Christian was forced to sue for peace at the Treaty of Lubeck in 1629 and to withdraw from the conflict. At that point almost all the German territories were under the emperor's control and by his Edict of Restitution of the same year all ecclesiastical assets which had previously been confiscated by the Lutherans were to be returned to the Catholic Church.

In Erfurt the Scottish monks were able to take advantage of this new law to gain the property of the *Schottenkloster* which previously had been denied them by the Lutheran city council. The revenues from the Erfurt properties which the Scots had earlier gained had not been enough to support even the one monk who had been nominated as abbot of this non-existent community. So constrained were its finances that for several years in the 1610s the abbot had had to take up residence at St James' in Würzburg to allow the available revenues to pay off debt accumulated in Erfurt. Even the additional revenue secured through the good fortune of the Edict of Restitution was insufficient to return the abbey to its former glory but it was enough to allow one or two monks to be supported in residence from its own resources rather than relying on the Regensburg abbey.

The success of the Catholic armies encouraged the Scots to attempt another improvement in their fortunes. Prior to gaining increased income in Erfurt they had tried once again to secure the "return" of the *Schottenkloster* in Vienna. In 1624 with the help of a letter of recommendation from the newly elected Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623–44) they sent John Sylvanus Mayne, one of the better educated monks from Würzburg, to petition Emperor Ferdinand for (re)possession.¹⁴ The thrust of their argument was that they had legal and moral claim to the monastery. It had been established by *Scoti* and it was needed by them to train and support missionaries for work in Scotland. The counter arguments from the German authorities stated that the Scots had no claim because the original *Scoti* were Irish and had abandoned the monastery in the fifteenth century since when it had been continuously occupied by German monks. The date of leaving was important since the Edict of Restitution stipulated that only property misappropriated after 1552 was required to be

¹⁴ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 62.

returned to the original owners. The Germans were undoubtedly in the right regarding their resistance to the Scottish claim but even so the Scots had not helped their case by the disgraceful behaviour of Abbot Algeo and his monks in Regensburg.

The emperor's German advisers also argued that the Scots were insincere in their claim that the monastery in Vienna was needed to train missionaries. They pointed out that despite their possession of three monasteries – Regensburg, Würzburg and Erfurt – the Scottish Benedictines were not engaged in missionary work in Scotland. Mayne tried to counter this assertion by stating that he was on the point of recruiting a group of at least six fellow monks to go immediately to Scotland.¹⁵ The emperor was rightly sceptical and, just as Emperor Rudolf II had done four decades earlier, Ferdinand rejected the Scots' petition. Apart from the weakness of their claims the Scots' request constituted a transfer of wealth from German to Scottish hands and despite his military successes Ferdinand was not inclined to be over-generous to foreigners. Nevertheless in response to special pleading by the papal nuncio, Ferdinand offered the Scots 3000 florins in compensation. Mayne took it upon himself to refuse the offer which was never repeated. By his act he further alienated the emperor and the papal authorities.¹⁶

The Catholic ascendancy in Germany, which had been achieved by the end of the first decade of the Thirty Years War, coincided with a truly sinister persecution which was particularly virulent in Würzburg. In 1626 the prince-archbishop, Philipp Adolf von Ehrenberg (r. 1622–31), the nephew of Julius

¹⁵ As a result of a petition to the pope, Mayne received, by a bull of April 1625, authorisation to set up a mission group of seven monks. This was as part of the English Mission since Scotland had not been declared a Missionary country in its own right. This did not happen until 1629. Mayne did not act on this authorisation but on the strength of the approval to set up a mission, in 1627 he requested and received financial support from *Propaganda Fide* in Rome. Urban had established the new congregation of *Propaganda Fide* to oversee missionary activity throughout the world. It provided guidance and financial support but also controlled the activities of all missionaries much to the annoyance of the Society of Jesus. The following year, with the approval of *Propaganda Fide*, Abbot William Ogilvie of Würzburg ordered Mayne to leave on the mission but when he still did not go his papal commission was stripped from him and Ogilvie was appointed as mission superior to the non-existent mission. Dilworth, *Franconia*, 63–4.

¹⁶ The nuncio had been acting under the specific instructions of the pope to take the part of the Scots. Urban VIII had been cardinal Protector of Scotland before his elevation to the papacy and he continued to take a particular interest in Scottish affairs. He had appointed his nephew, Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), as his successor Cardinal Protector and he in his turn tried to further their cause whenever possible.

Echter, resumed his uncle's previous programme of persecution of supposed witches. For almost four years young and old, rich and poor were accused of consorting with the devil and were hanged or burned alive. Von Ehrenberg did not restrict his witch executions to Würzburg and its surrounding district. He also exported his persecutions to the contiguous territory of Bamberg, where he held the post of bishop jointly with that of Würzburg. Nor was he the only German ecclesiastic to be affected by the witchcraft hysteria. Large areas of Germany were similarly infected. Witch trials were held in Eichstätt, Mainz, Coblenz, Cologne, Bonn and many other towns and cities.¹⁷ Accurate records of the victims were not kept but it is estimated that they numbered greatly in excess of 1000.¹⁸ Over seven hundred people were burned at the stake under von Ehrenburg's jurisdiction. The Scots Benedictines in the city, whose community had grown from the original three to more than a dozen, became involved but were saved from the worst excesses. They were fortunate in two major respects. First they were not required to provide the execution site as Julius Echter had required previously of them. Von Ehrenberg conducted the executions in the square outside the *Marienkappelle*, a prominent church in the city centre. More importantly, none of the Scots became a victim of the dangerous allegations. As foreigners they could have been singled out as suspect as was the case with a number of visitors to the city who could not give a satisfactory account of themselves to the authorities. It is clear that von Ehrenberg viewed no-one as being above suspicion as was shown when he put his own nephew to death.¹⁹ Furthermore almost half of the city's seminarians were executed along with nineteen priests and the dean of the cathedral. It was in regard to these deaths that the Scots were most closely involved. Abbot Ogilvie, who had become a close personal friend of the prince-archbishop, was appointed by him to be a member of the tribunal of judges which heard the cases against the accused churchmen and women. William Ogilvie was thereby in a position of authority in the wider community such that he was not only respected but feared. His monastic community was left untouched due, no doubt, to the abbot's role in the witch-hunting. In 1627 von Ehrenberg added to Ogilvie's prestige by appointing his friend as administrator of the German abbey of Schwarzach much to the annoyance of native German prelates.²⁰ His influence at the University of Würzburg had also been growing.

¹⁷ The persecutions also spread to parts of eastern France.

¹⁸ Baschwitz, Kurt, *Hexen und Hexenprozesse* (Bertelsmann Verlag, Munich, 1990), 252–60.

¹⁹ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 257.

²⁰ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 65–6.

He had supported several of his young monks while they studied there and in 1628 he was elected *Rector Magnificus*, which gave him a position on the senate of the Jesuit run university. Ogilvie had become a powerful figure in the life of the city and the wider region.

It was from this position of strength that Ogilvie acted to resolve the crisis in Regensburg. Abbot Algeo had alienated everyone, even his few former supporters and in 1627 he decided to flee the monastery. The Duke of Bavaria arrested him and handed him over to the bishop of Regensburg who felt at last that he was in a position to dispossess the Scots of their property in the city. He made Algeo sign a deed of resignation and imprisoned him but the Scot escaped and appealed to the new nuncio in Vienna, Cardinal Giovanni Pallotta (1594–1668). Pallotta judged that the bishop had no authority over the Benedictines since St James' in Regensburg was a consistorial abbey and subject only to the Holy See. Algeo had the legal right to be reinstated as abbot. William Ogilvie had, however, been working behind the scenes equally to deny Algeo's return and to thwart the attempts of the prince-archbishop of Regensburg to have himself appointed as administrator of St James' which would have given him control of its income. Ogilvie wrote to Cardinal Francesco Barberini in Rome explaining the situation and asking for his help. As Cardinal Protector of Scotland, his concern for the interests of Scottish Catholics agreed with those of his uncle, the pope, and he was prepared to help the Scottish Benedictine community in Germany. In 1630 a meeting of the imperial electors was convened in Regensburg to discuss the worsening war situation and Bishop von Törring arranged for a decision on the future of the Scots' monastery in the city to be added to the agenda. He had been diligent in canvassing support for his claim among the delegates. Barberini instructed the papal legate to the meeting, Archbishop Ciriaco Rocci (1581–1651), to disregard any decision which went against Scottish interests.²¹ When they decided in von Törring's favour archbishop Rocci ignored them. Ogilvie's actions had saved the day for the Scots but events of greater import were to overwhelm southern Germany. Regensburg began to fill up with refugees from the fighting in the north among whom were Abbot Wallace of Erfurt and Scottish monks from Würzburg. At that time the Thirty Years War was going very badly for the Holy Roman Empire.

²¹ The archbishop had been recently appointed nuncio in Vienna and was, in fact, a cardinal having been elevated the previous year *in pectore tacite* (undisclosed) by Pope Urban. Rocci would have had no reason to listen to any arguments which disagreed with his orders.

After the withdrawal of King Christian from the war, fear of Emperor Ferdinand II's domination of all of northern Europe caused the King of Sweden, Gustavus IV Adolphus (1594–1632), to take up the mantle of leader of the Protestant cause. He invaded Pomerania in 1631 and after initial setbacks he repeatedly defeated the imperial army led by Tilly and advanced southwards capturing cities from Ferdinand's garrisons.²² Gustavus Adolphus led his own troops and those of the Protestant Union in pursuit through sparsely populated Thuringia²³ and after taking the city of Halle marched on Würzburg where the fleeing imperial army had stopped to regroup on its way south. The emperor's army did not remain there long and when it left, the city dignitaries including the prince-archbishop fled with it leaving the city defenceless and leaderless.²⁴ Others left Würzburg on their own initiative. Of the Scottish monks in St James' monastery only three, Prior Edward Maxwell, Thomas Duff and Abbot Ogilvie, stayed behind. Two brothers travelled to the Benedictine abbey of St Galen in Switzerland, three went to Rome²⁵ and others left for St James' *Schottenkloster* in Regensburg. It is indicative of their disinclination to be missionaries in Scotland that even at this critical juncture in Germany only two, the brothers John (Audomarus) and George (Benedict) Asloan, departed for Scotland. In their case, without diminishing the value of the missionary work which they undertook, it is notable that they were returning to their home in the southwest of Scotland where they could be reasonably safe, protected by their family.²⁶

²² Tilly was sole commander since Emperor Ferdinand had dismissed General Wallenstein the year before over doubts regarding his loyalty.

²³ His troops passed through Erfurt which offered no resistance. Abbot Wallace retreated to Regensburg before the advancing Swedish army but John Mayne remained behind as administrator to try to protect the Scots monastery. He was, however, ejected by the city council which had been handed all ecclesiastical property in the city by the Swedes. The existence of the Scottish monastery had been noted by Colonel Robert Munro who, in his journal, commented favourably on the presence of fellow countrymen in a foreign land (see below).

²⁴ The prince-archbishop, von Ehrenberg, had died that summer and his successor, Franz von Hatzfeld, had only been in post for a matter of weeks when he left with the army. With his departure Abbot Ogilvie was one of the few senior ecclesiastics remaining in Würzburg.

²⁵ John (Sylvanus) Mayne, Robert Forbes and James Brown. Dilworth, *Franconia*, 72.

²⁶ They were the sons of the Laird of Garroch near Dumfries and had spent time on the mission there prior to their first period in Germany. Dilworth, "George and Audomarus John Asloan: Monks and Missionaries", *Innes Review*, Vol. 22 (1971), 47; also Dilworth, *Franconia*, 76.

By remaining behind in Würzburg Ogilvie and his two remaining monks were placing themselves in danger. The monastery was situated outside the city walls which were, in any case, incapable of withstanding bombardment. The city lay on the east bank of the river Main but the citadel, which was also the palace of the prince-archbishop, lay on the west bank on the commanding height of the Marienberg. The castellan of the fortress, Captain Kellar, had decided to resist the Protestant army and had provisioned the Marienberg to withstand a long siege. He also destroyed the bridge across the River Main and given that his cannon-fire could reach across the river to the near side of the city, he felt confident that he could hold the fortress against the advancing Swedes. However, the citadel could not accommodate the citizenry whose only choices were to flee or capitulate. Left to their own devices, the city's remaining burghers conferred with the heads of the religious communities and decided to offer no resistance and treat for the best terms of surrender that they could obtain. The burghers of Erfurt had taken a similar decision only a few weeks before and although they had had to pay a heavy tax their city was largely undamaged.

After taking their decision the burgers delegated the important task of negotiation to William Ogilvie, the abbot of St James' monastery. Their choice of the Scot was influenced by the fact that the vanguard of Gustav Adolphus's army was the Green Brigade which consisted entirely of Scottish mercenaries under the leadership of Colonel John Hepburn. Hepburn was one of a number of Scottish Catholics who fought against the emperor for the cause of the Scottish princess, Elizabeth Stuart, who was wife to Frederick, the putative king of Bohemia. The abbot of the *Schottenkloster* met with Hepburn some distance from the city and on condition of an unopposed entry Hepburn gave his assurance that the citizens would not be harmed. The following day Gustavus Adolphus arrived with the rest of his army and met with Ogilvie who formally presented him with the keys to the city in the name of the prince-archbishop and city council.

The army of 8000 men entered the city and were billeted mainly upon the monasteries and convents. The degree to which Hepburn's and Gustavus Adolphus's assurances were kept was limited to the avoidance of gratuitous slaughter of the citizenry. Besieging armies during the Thirty Years War were especially cruel to any city that resisted. In Magdeburg, the previous year, 25,000 out of a total population of 30,000 had been killed by the victorious imperial forces. The Swedish king's reputation for ruthlessness was on the whole little better. The citizens of a besieged town were at the mercy of any conquering

army. In light of this the king's extortion of a tax of 80,000 imperials from the city can be considered merciful. However, in addition the soldiery were given their customary three days of freedom to rape and pillage. In their march south the soldiers had been growing rich on the booty acquired.²⁷ Würzburg was the centre of the Franconian wine producing district and Colonel Robert Munro of Foulis, an officer in the Green Brigade, noted in his journal²⁸ that the soldiers enjoyed pillaging the wine cellars of the city. He also wrote that after four days the nuns of the convents "were placed under the protection of the army". However, after payment of the king's tax, the amount of booty left to be stolen by the soldiers was limited. Much of the wealth of the dignitaries of Würzburg who had fled with the imperial army had been placed in the Marienberg for safekeeping and so the attention of the army turned to taking the fortress as much for self-enrichment as for the removal of a military threat. Robert Munro's journal gives an account of how this was done and illustrates the strength of the rivalries within the army.

In order to capture the citadel the troops had to cross the Main by boat while under fire from the fortress. This difficult and dangerous task was given to the Scots under the leadership of Colonel Sir James Ramsey and Sir John Hamilton. They suffered heavy losses and Ramsey, himself, was seriously wounded. Hamilton led the final assault on the outer defences which the Scots captured. At this point Gustavus Adolphus ordered them to give way to fresh Swedish and German troops. Hamilton was furious. In his journal Munro writes that the Scot was offended that the king did not think his men capable of finishing the job but it appears more likely that the Scots felt that they were being cheated out of the loot held in the citadel which the Swedish troops went on to enjoy.²⁹ After the battle the king rewarded Ramsay with estates in

²⁷ In early 1632 Gustavus Adolphus's armies besieged Mainz and on capitulation the citizens handed over a bounty of 200,000 florins and the Jewish community in the city gave a further 180,000 to avoid despoliation of their property. This money was needed to pay his troops but the king appears to have been resentful of the wealth accumulated by some of his officers. His final disagreement with Colonel Hepburn appears to have been due in part to this. Like other commanders during the war Gustavus Adolphus failed to make any payment to his Scottish mercenaries. The Scots rectified this deficiency by regularly being in the vanguard and taking first advantage of the spoils available.

²⁸ Munro, Robert, *Monro, His expedition with the worthy Scots Regiment called Mackeye's Regiment*, London, 1637. Quoted in Mackenzie, Alexander, *History of the Munros of Foulis* (Inverness, 1898), 73–83.

²⁹ Munro's diary account can be usefully contrasted with the sanitised version given by a cannon of the Church of England more than a century later. Walter, *The Harte History of the life of Gustavus Adolphus* (London, 1807) 61–5. Harte's account was originally

Mecklenburg and made him governor of Hanau.³⁰ Hamilton received nothing and immediately resigned his commission. He took up residence with the monks in the *Schottenkloster* of St James where he stayed for the next three years during the army's occupation of the city.³¹

From Würzburg Gustavus Adolphus marched west to capture Mainz and other major cities while sending Hepburn and his Scottish troops south to take Munich. In 1632 Count Tilly was killed in battle and his remaining forces retreated south. This, however, was the low point of imperial fortunes in the war. The emperor reinstated Wallenstein as commander and the Bohemian with fresh troops besieged Nuremberg. The Swedish army was forced to withdraw to defend the city but in doing so suffered severe losses. The Scottish Brigade was almost annihilated and ceased to function as a discrete unit in the Swedish king's army. Gustavus Adolphus was killed at the Battle of Lützen in November 1632 but the war ground on. Swedish forces captured a number of cities in Bavaria and by November 1633 they had taken Regensburg. Prior to their arrival most of the Scottish monks of St James as well as the refugees from the *Schottenklöster* of Erfurt and Würzburg had fled the city. The exceptions were Abbot Hugh Wallace of Erfurt who had been appointed administrator of Regensburg in the absence of Abbot Algeo, who had not returned to Regensburg for fear of re-imprisonment by the bishop, and Alexander Baillie, the former prior and cellarer who had sheltered there after fleeing from Würzburg. The Swedish troops imprisoned Wallace and the archbishop of Regensburg in the hope of extracting a ransom from the ecclesiastical communities for their release. After eight months the city was

published privately in 1759 and mentions the part played by the Scots in breaching the castle's defences but gives the final glory to the Swedish Blue Brigade. The first action of the Swedes was to locate the vault where the treasure was kept. The ordinary soldiers then looted it for their own benefit. The Swedish king was unable to stop them or recover any of it.

³⁰ Mecklenburg had been captured by Gustavus Adolphus in his march south from Pomerania, largely with the help of the Scots (Robert Munro – a different officer from the journal keeping Colonel Munro – had taken the Castle of Bloc in Mecklenburg with his troops while on his way to join the Swedish army in July of 1631), and needed a strong occupying force. Ramsay's appointments were as much to relieve the king of such strategic problems as they were to reward Ramsay. Without resources, however, Ramsay was unable to hold either of his rewards. He never took possession of Mecklenburg and his heroic defense of Hanau ended with betrayal by his Protestant allies followed by his imprisonment and murder.

³¹ When he eventually departed he left the monastery a gift of a portrait of himself painted by the artist, Anthony van Dyck. "Scottish Catholic Archives 1580–1978", *Innes Review*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (1977), 101.

recaptured by imperial troops and Abbot Wallace was released from prison but died shortly afterwards from plague which he had contracted while incarcerated. At that time, of all the Scottish Benedictines only William Ogilvie and his two companions in Würzburg and Alexander Baillie in Regensburg were still occupying the *Schottenkloster*.

By spring of 1635 all Swedish forces in the south of Germany had been driven north and the imperial and Protestant German protagonists were able to achieve a compromise in the Peace of Prague (1635). The treaty gave concessions to Protestant rulers but provided for the unification of all German armies into that of the Holy Roman Empire. In this way the Hapsburg position was strengthened and the religious aspects of the war were largely ended.³² Political dominance of the continent became the major objective and the war continued for another thirteen years but the Scots Benedictines were spared further major disruption. The communities in which they were based had changed fundamentally, however, and the way in which they viewed Scots had changed also. The itinerant pedlars were gone and the image which most Germans had of Scots was that of rapacious mercenaries. The position of the occupants of the *Schottenkloster* had been weakened by their own behaviour and the terrible events of the war.

³² The French were not pleased with the strengthening of the Hapsburgs in Central Europe and the war was reignited by the French when they declared war on Spain in 1635 and on the Holy Roman Empire in 1636. Much of the fighting took place in France, the Low Countries and North Germany. The war ended with the treaty of Westphalia in 1648 after the Swedes and French had inflicted several defeats on the Imperial forces and advanced as far as Prague. But the real catalyst for the peace was the exhaustion and near bankruptcy of all the protagonists.

5 Under the Hammer

On conclusion of the Peace of Prague (1635) the opportunity arose to recover from the disruption and devastation of the war. The Scots were again free to take possession of their property but were poorly placed to do so. The monasteries were almost deserted. Abbot Ogilvie and Prior Maxwell had died leaving only Thomas Duff in occupation of Würzburg and Alexander Baillie in Regensburg. It was imperative that the refugee monks should return to their abbeys as soon as possible but as they were scattered throughout Europe – Rome, Switzerland, Scotland, Ireland as well as Austria and southern Germany – this would take some time. On Ogilvie's death the auxiliary bishop of Würzburg wrote to Baillie asking him to recall the monks of Würzburg to elect a new abbot for St. James' monastery in that city.¹ At once Baillie sent letters to all the monks of the *Schottenklöster*. Within four months six brothers had returned and proceeded to elect Robert Forbes (r. 1635–37) as their abbot in Würzburg. Forbes was one of the monks who had fled to St. Galen in Switzerland. By the following year more monks had returned to St. James' in Regensburg. Abbot Algeo had still not resigned his position and John Sylvanus Mayne was appointed administrator. They also elected Alexander Baillie as abbot of Erfurt in place of the late Hugh Wallace. At that point all of the abbeys had Scottish principals thereby avoiding for the time being the danger of the sequestration of their properties by the Germans. To hold the view that their trials were over, however, would be mistaken.

They faced monumental difficulties. Abbot Baillie argued with the city council in Erfurt for the return of his abbey. Despite the declaration of peace the Swedish garrison still occupied the city and Baillie was forced to go to Würzburg until the situation improved. Abbot Forbes' community in Würzburg numbered fewer than a handful and in 1637, only a year after his election, he died. Audomarus Asloan (r. 1638–61) was recalled from his mission in Scotland

¹ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 72.

to replace him. He was elected abbot in 1638. The community was, by Asloan's own account, very poor.² The Bishop of Würzburg, Francis von Hatzfeld und Gleichen (r. 1631–42), who had overall responsibility for the Scots monastery was sympathetic but despite the abbot's appeal for financial help the bishop offered only moral support.³ Nevertheless, this was of value in October of the following year when John Mayne, the administrator in Regensburg died. The community had already received the news of Abbot Algeo's death in an Austrian monastery in May and the absence of leadership which this presented was the opportunity that the bishop of Regensburg had been waiting for to try again to take control of the *Schottenkloster*. Only one young monk, Gilbert Macarius Chambers of Durn, remained in Regensburg. Alarmed by the danger threatened Asloan acted and armed with a letter of recommendation from Francis von Hatzfeld to Albrecht von Törring in Regensburg he immediately set off with two monks to defend the Scottish position in St. James. The small community of Scottish monks which he had thus managed to gather in Regensburg postulated (proposed) Asloan as abbot of Regensburg as well as Würzburg. An ordinary election was not possible since anti-pluralism rules drawn up by the Council of Trent forbade anyone from holding more than one abbacy at the same time unless given express permission by the pope. The Scots duly applied to Urban VIII to approve the postulation of Asloan for his second abbey. The pope rejected their submission but he still had affection for the Scottish nation of which he had been cardinal protector. His response consisted of informing the Regensburg Scots that since they had not elected a suitable abbot within the required time, the appointment of a successor to Algeo fell to him, as Regensburg was a consistorial abbey. He then appointed

² *Ibid.*, 78.

³ The war had rendered almost every community and institution destitute. No doubt the bishop had many calls on whatever resources still remained to him. However, the greatest expense came with the decision to build new city walls. The trauma of the Swedish occupation of the city during the war was such that it was decided that greater resistance to attack would be shown in future. The plan for the new walls was not simply to strengthen the old ones. The prince-bishop decided to enclose the city and take the new fortifications across the river to the west bank encompassing the monastery of St. James and linking it to the citadel of Marienburg and returning to the river upstream. The project was massive and resulted in an enclosed area approximately twice the size of that defended by the old city walls. Bishop Francis appears to have gone no further than discussions of the plan. It was left to his great successor, Prince-archbishop John Philip von Schönborn (r. 1642–73), to carry out the major part of the work. Its new defences were never put to the test and secure behind the new walls the commercial life of Würzburg was able to prosper.

Audomarus Asloan as abbot (r.1638–46), thereby giving the Scots what they had asked for.

The pope's generosity did not remove the difficulties facing them. They were met with two further problems. First Bishop Francis of Würzburg instructed Asloan to return to his duties there. He did so but appointed as administrator of Regensburg Abbot Baillie of Erfurt who otherwise had no monastery and no community. Another danger for the Scots arose in the summer of 1640 when Emperor Ferdinand III (r.1636–57) held a diet in Regensburg to deal with a number of pressing issues arising from the war. A subsidiary issue was that of the *Schottenkloster*. He personally requested that the pope merge the Scottish Benedictine community of Regensburg with that of Würzburg so that the vacated property could be given over to the Spanish Discalced Carmelites. In doing this there is little doubt that he was acting at the behest of Bishop von Törring. The bishop of Regensburg was a major force in the continuing counter-Reformation in Southern Germany and he sought to gain every support possible in this work. The Spanish Carmelites under his direction had been helping greatly in the diocese for more than five years. On the other hand, the Scots who were not under his control had presented nothing but problems. They had brought disgrace on the Catholic community through the actions of Algeo and others. Furthermore they had turned to the Lutheran city council for loans rather than submit to his authority as bishop. Von Törring wanted, at no expense to himself, to reward one group of clergy, the Spanish, and chastise another, the Scots. The pope was slow in responding to the emperor's letter and in December the bishop wrote to Urban saying that he supported the emperor's request and explained, in his opinion, why the Scots should be dispossessed. In his turn Abbot Asloan wrote two letters: one to Francesco Barberini, the pope's nephew and cardinal protector of Scotland, asking for his support and the other to the emperor pleading that the Scots be given the chance to rebuild their communities. The pope and his nephew stood firm, the emperor withdrew his request and once again Bishop von Törring was frustrated in his efforts to evict the Scots. The following year he built suitable accommodation for the Carmelites elsewhere in his diocese but he did not give up his ambition of taking possession of St. James'.

The Scots remained vulnerable and needed time to rebuild their communities. In a letter written home to Scotland from Vienna in 1641, Boniface Strachan, a monk from Würzburg, described the condition of the monasteries. Regensburg had an income sufficient to support only one or two monks, Erfurt could not support even one monk and although Würzburg

was the best placed of the three, the monastery's revenues were very small and had been severely diminished by the ongoing war. The buildings were in a poor state and there was no money to carry out repairs such as mending the roof of the church of St. James in Regensburg.⁴ Their lack of resources was compensated to some extent by the determination to survive shown by the Scots. With Asloan as abbot of both Würzburg and Regensburg the Scots were united in a way that they had never been before.⁵ They were prepared not only to defend their monastic houses but to add to them. To this end Strachan had been sent to Vienna in yet another attempt to gain control of its *Schottenkloster*. The German abbot had died but Strachan's efforts were unsuccessful in part because the Scots could not support themselves financially but also because they had insufficient brothers to form a new community in Vienna.

The Scots were not alone in suffering from a shortage of novices. Most German monasteries were in a similar state due to the effects of the war which had been in progress for a quarter of a century. Various religious communities such as the Spanish Discalced Carmelites in Regensburg were intent on gaining monastic premises by ejecting incumbent communities which had been reduced in numbers and fallen on hard times. To protect themselves monasteries tried to revitalise larger groupings (congregations) whose members could provide mutual support. One such was the Bursfelde Congregation, a German Benedictine grouping, which, several centuries earlier, had been large and important and it was from this quarter that the Scots faced their next challenge. Prior to St. James' in Würzburg being taken over by the Scots in 1595 all of that city's monasteries had belonged to the Bursfelde Congregation.⁶ In 1642 the president of the congregation demanded that they return. The German communities were not against such a move in principle but Abbot Asloan could see the danger for the Scots of being absorbed into a large and otherwise entirely German congregation. Fearing a gradual expropriation of the monastery by the Germans he refused. The argument continued for two years and the threat passed only when the new prince-bishop, Johann

⁴ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 84.

⁵ The archbishop of Mainz also recognised that the monastery of Erfurt was a daughter house of the Regensburg abbey and that Asloan therefore had authority over all three *Schottenklöster*. Dilworth, *Franconia*, 149.

⁶ The Bursfelde Congregation at its height consisted of 136 Benedictine monasteries in Germany and the Low Countries. At the Reformation its headquarters, the monastery of Bursfelde in Lower Saxony, was taken over along with forty others by Lutherans. However, the congregation survived in a weakened form. For further details see Heutger, Nicholas, *Bursfelde und seine Reformklöster* (2nd rev. edn, Hildesheim, 1975).

Philipp von Schönborn (r. 1642–73), exerted his authority and forbade any of his monasteries in Würzburg joining the congregation. The bishop's decision had been influenced by Audomarus Asloan who had been able to cultivate a friendship with the new bishop as he had done with his predecessor. This friendship became even more important when in 1645 Von Schönborn was appointed archbishop and elector of Mainz as well as prince-bishop of Würzburg making him one of the most important men in the empire. Asloan gained an increased importance in the city and among other preferments in 1646 he was elected rector of the university.

That same year he decided that the governments of the *Schottenklöster* should revert to their old form with each being controlled by its own abbot. Asloan remained at Würzburg while Alexander Baillie (r. 1646–57) was elected abbot of Regensburg.⁷ Gilbert Macarius Chambers, the young monk who had been left in sole occupation in Regensburg after the death of John Mayne, was appointed abbot of Erfurt. This appeared to strengthen the Scots' position but it disguised the poor quality of candidates which again they had to choose from. Baillie tried to employ Chambers as his assistant at Regensburg but the young man was incompetent and he was encouraged to go to Erfurt to attempt to regain this abbey for the Scots. The city council was still ignoring the Scots' claims to their property but with the end of the war in 1648 it could no longer place obstacles in the way of repossession.⁸ Asloan and Baillie were both anxious to strengthen the position of their monasteries by attracting new members to their order. In 1647 Baillie attempted to recruit Scots from the Scots College in Paris. Although he was successful the two novices were forced to enrol in Würzburg due to the fact that Bavaria was again embroiled in war and it was unsafe to travel to Regensburg. The numbers of monks in the Würzburg community began to reach a healthy level but Regensburg

⁷ Baillie's election in 1646 was confirmed by the bishop of Regensburg although he had no authority over a consistorial abbey. This was a dangerous precedent which von Törring later sought to exploit. Dilworth, *Franconia*, 93.

⁸ Chambers reoccupied the buildings which were largely in ruin but lived in a state of near penury. He was reliant on charity, some of which came from Abbot Asloan in Würzburg. Dilworth, *Franconia*, 93. The attitude of the city council changed after 1664 when Johann Philip Schönborn annexed Erfurt into his principality of Mainz. As subjects of the principal Catholic Prince-archbishopric of the empire the Lutheran council were forced to take a more relaxed approach to their relationships with Catholic authorities. Even so the situation had not improved by the 1670s when William Ephraim Reid was in occupation. He could afford to eat in the monastery only two days each week. On the other five he was required to seek a *mensam ambulatorium* among his friends. Humphries, "Abbot Placid", 318.

remained seriously depleted despite the fact that Baillie was slowly improving the monastery's finances.

The limited number of monks in the Scottish communities continued to cause concern and, although they did not want to be a small part of the German congregation of Bursfelde, the Scots could see the additional security that belonging to a larger congregation would bring. This caused them to turn instead for mutual support to the English monastery of Lamspringe near Hanover. It was the only one of its kind in Germany and, therefore, did not present the same threat to the independence of the Scots that Bursfelde did. Abbot Baillie especially hoped that in forming an association some of the monks from Lamspringe could be lodged in Regensburg allowing it to conduct the full range of monastic observances required of a viable community.⁹ The English abbot, Placid Gascoigne (r.1651–81),¹⁰ viewed the approach favourably and even sent some monks to Regensburg to assess the practicality of the proposal. The English, however, decided not to throw in their lot with the Scots and for the time being remained a separate community.¹¹

The shortage of monks in Regensburg was a weakness which others could exploit. No sooner had Asloan fended off the danger from the Bursfelde Congregation and while he was still in discussion with the English Benedictines of Lamspringe, the Scots came under a surreptitious attack from a new quarter. The Spanish ambassador to the Imperial court, Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz (1606–82), approached Alexander Baillie to suggest that he would be able to help supply some Irish monks to Regensburg to augment his community. Caramuel had a personal interest in Britain. He was a Cistercian monk who in 1634 had persuaded his order to appoint him as abbot of Melrose in Scotland, a property which the order had lost in the Reformation nearly a

⁹ It would appear that the community was unable to observe the full eight canonical hours of the *Horarium*.

¹⁰ John Gascoigne was the president of the English Benedictine Congregation when Asloan first raised the suggestion of cooperation between the Scots and the English. He was elected abbot of Lamspringe in 1651.

¹¹ The English Benedictines later changed their minds. By 1660 a working agreement had been arrived at such that some English monks resided at Würzburg and Scottish novices were trained at Lamspringe. The missionary faculties held by the English abbot were extended to the Scots and their missionaries were under the authority and to a certain extent the direction of the English. As a result two Scots worked on the mission in England in the late 1660s. At that point the abbot of Würzburg tried to obtain missionary faculties from Rome separate from the English. This was not achieved until the late 1670s (see Chapter Seven), Dilworth, *Franconia*, 107.

century earlier.¹² This decision was taken at a time when it was believed that the more lenient policy towards Catholics shown by King Charles I (1600–49) might lead to his re-instating monasteries in his kingdoms. After events in Britain had removed this hope completely, Caramuel was appointed in 1645 as Spanish ambassador to the imperial court. In making his offer to Abbot Baillie Caramuel's true intention was to arrange that the *Schottenkloster* should be taken over by the Irish. He sent Columbanus Duffy, an Irish monk from a monastery in Vienna, to Regensburg and when Baillie offered Duffy the hospitality required to be shown to any visitor Caramuel wrote telling him that he should keep Duffy as his coadjutor. Although Duffy stayed for two years Baillie did not cooperate with Caramuel's plan. The Irishman returned to his monastery in Vienna without having gained control of St. James'. But the threat had not disappeared. The good relationship between Baillie and Asloan had been strained by Baillie's support of some of the Würzburg monks who had laid formal complaints against their abbot. The complaints had been taken to the bishop of Würzburg who viewed them as being without substance and he dismissed them. The issues involved may have been trivial but the outcome was not. Alienated from his fellow abbot Baillie fell victim to another approach from Juan Caramuel. In 1652 Baillie agreed to his suggestion that Duffy be made coadjutor provided that the arrangement was kept secret from his brother monks. Baillie was in failing health and sought to have the matter of succession arranged while he was still able. This was outside his powers, however, since his successor required to be elected by the abbey community. Nevertheless, Baillie had placed the Scots in a dangerous position. In 1653 Duffy made it known that he was coadjutor. Baillie regretted his earlier compliance with Caramuel's wishes and appealed to von Törring to declare the appointment invalid. The bishop was as anxious as the abbot to see off the Irishman and he succeeded by enlisting the support of the emperor and the Church authorities in Rome. The Irish then launched a formal request to both Rome and the emperor for the return of their monasteries on the basis that they had been the original founders.¹³ Asloan and Baillie were actively engaged

¹² The general chapter of the order also appointed him vicar-general of the Cistercians in England, Scotland and Ireland. Dilworth, *Franconia*, 90.

¹³ This was part of a wider initiative by Irish Benedictines planned in Spain. The claim covered not just the Germany monasteries but also those in Ireland which had originally been priories of the *Schottenklöster*. As part of this process Duffy took to describing himself as prior of St. John's in Waterford. Dilworth, *Franconia*, 94. Abbot Placid Fleming later wrote a history of the dispute which survives in manuscript: *On the dispute of Irish and Scote Benedictines for the Ratisbon Abbey in 1653–1655*, National

in refuting these claims as well as fending off an attempt by von Törring to set up a college for German seminarians in St. James' in Regensburg.¹⁴ These matters were settled in favour of the Scots in the Diet of Ratisbon in 1654 but Baillie died later that year and was replaced as abbot by the incompetent Macarius Chambers who retained his position as abbot of Erfurt.¹⁵

There was little alternative to appointing Chambers since the numbers of monks had dropped even further. Abbot Asloan was in no doubt that with the appointment of Chambers the position of the Scots continued to be weak. He resolved to draw up proposals which would reunite the three monasteries formally as a discrete Scottish congregation with himself as abbot general and Chambers, as abbot of Regensburg and Erfurt, under his direct control. To succeed, the proposal required the agreement of the pope, as superior of Regensburg, and the prince-archbishops of Würzburg and Mainz, as superiors of Würzburg and Erfurt respectively. Despite being a friend of Asloan, Johann Philipp von Schönbrun, who held the archbishoprics of both Würzburg and Mainz, did not give his consent and the proposal was abandoned. When Abbot Asloan died in 1661 there appeared to be little prospect of a settled future for the Scots in Germany. It is of interest, therefore, to read an account in the journal of James Fraser of his visit to St. James' in Regensburg in 1659 in which he describes the monastery buildings, the residents and his dealings with "Good Abbot Chamber and our other Country Scotsmen".¹⁶ James Fraser of Kirkhill (1634–1709) was a graduate of King's College Aberdeen and a Calvinist. As a young man after graduation he undertook a tour of Europe. He was particularly interested in meeting with fellow "countrymen"¹⁷ on his travels. After a stay at the Scots College in Douai where he was received hospitably but not allowed close access to the residents¹⁸ he travelled to Rome

Library of Scotland, Ms. 29. 7. 1. (A. 5. 35).

¹⁴ St. James in Regensburg today houses a major German seminary established in the late nineteenth century after the Scots were finally dispossessed.

¹⁵ This was by special permission of the archbishop of Mainz who saw Erfurt abbey as no more than a priory – a position it retained for the rest of the Scots occupation of the monastery.

¹⁶ Unpublished manuscript. MS 2538, Special Collections, University of Aberdeen.

¹⁷ He referred to the English and Irish he met as countrymen. He was travelling during Cromwellian rule when the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland had been abolished and replaced with a single Commonwealth of Britain. His inclusion of all the nationalities of Britain in his term "countrymen" may have been no more than a precaution in case his journal fell into the hands of government agents.

¹⁸ He listed the names of the students who were resident there at the time of his visit. These names, however, do not correspond with those in the college records; neither the correct ones nor the aliases which the students used while at college. These

where among others he met William Leslie, the agent for the Scottish Mission and future archivist of *Propaganda Fide*. Leslie provided him with a letter of introduction to the abbot in Regensburg and armed with this he arrived at the monastery in May. Initially his reception was very guarded. Abbot Chambers wanted to be sure that Fraser and his travelling companion, an Englishman named Godfrey Hartley, were not Irish. Leslie's letter and the fact that one of the monks, William Reed from Tain in Ross, had been a fellow student of Fraser's at Aberdeen in 1653 ensured that any suspicion was removed. The description of the community which Fraser gives would lead one to believe that it was relatively sound. Apart from Abbot Chambers there was a prior, John Alexander from Aberdeen, and seven monks.¹⁹ In addition there was a lay brother, John Robertson who is described as porter and miller: there was also a number of Scots acting as servants – a carpenter and a shoemaker who lived outwith the monastery – and two boys who may have been novices but acted as errand boys for the community. The monastery grounds had a large orchard with wall-trained fruit trees, a vegetable garden and a fish pond. It had a horse mill with which the monks ground their own corn as well as providing that service to others on a commercial basis. There was also a brew-house and Fraser was at pains to make the point that with these facilities the Scots were largely self-sufficient.

Fraser's description is in many ways diplomatically couched. He is conscious of the old Scottish Highland tradition of hospitality whereby any visitor is welcomed no matter how straitened the circumstances of the host and in return the guest lavishes praise. The abbey set "a well furnished table". They were served beer in silver tankards and invited to eat heartily.²⁰ The main course was, however, "the Cale towered up high in a dish or large platter Curiously sauced" and although Fraser was served meat the abbot and monks ate only of the kale. The monks rationed their beer to one tankard each although their guests were served more. A nuanced reading of Fraser's account tells a story of a community which was struggling to support itself. The abbot confided in him that the monastery revenues were greatly reduced

precautions were taken for the protection of their families in Scotland and it is clear that the staff and students colluded in keeping important personal information from Fraser.

¹⁹ Thomas Jenson (Johnstoun) from Aberdeen, George Wedderburn from Montrose, Alexander Gordon from Aberdeenshire, James Sanderson from Perth, Patrick Blair from Dundee, William Jamison from Strathbogy (Huntly) and William Reed. MS 2538, 10v, Special Collections, University of Aberdeen.

²⁰ MS 2538, 9r, Special Collections, University of Aberdeen.

from the 3,000 crowns per annum due. Almost 1,000 crowns were alienated for the repayment of debts. Nor was this the only problem which beset the community. The prior, John Alexander, sought out Fraser's company to complain to him that the monastic community was corrupt and in need of reform. He and Thomas Johnstoun were making plans to accomplish this.²¹ The impression which his journal gives is one of a community which on the surface was well ordered but in reality suffered from internal divisions. In a number of respects Prior Alexander was correct in his assessment of the community. Despite the privations endured by the monastic community the abbey was getting deeper into debt. Chambers through bad husbandry had squandered much of the good work done by his predecessor, Abbot Baillie. He had achieved this through pandering to his own vanities. Fraser describes how Chambers entered the refectory accompanied by "his litle spanniel Doggs wt their gingling bells" and that when he went about the city he was accompanied by one of the young boys as his page dressed in livery. The silver tankards used at table were most likely another of the abbot's extravagances. For an abbey already saddled with debt, which had been built up over more than thirty years, Chambers' lifestyle was unaffordable.

The prior had another reason to be concerned about the monastic life of St. James. Alexander Gordon was not what he purported to be. He had arrived the previous year asking to be accepted as a member of the community. He came from Scotland where he had been the Calvinist minister in the Cabbrach in Aberdeenshire before apparently converting to Catholicism and travelling to Europe. With recommendations from Jesuits in Scotland he attempted to enrol at the Scots College in Douai. Its principal was suspicious and refused to accept him. From there he travelled to the Scots colleges in Paris and Rome and was again rejected by both institutions. He presented himself at the *Schottenkloster* in Würzburg where Abbot Asloan also refused him entry. When he arrived in Regensburg Abbot Chambers believed his story and accepted Gordon into the community. Shortly after Fraser left Regensburg in June of 1659 Alexander Gordon removed himself from the monastery and returned to Scotland boasting that he had gone to Europe in order to spy on the Catholic colleges and monasteries.²²

Although Fraser dutifully praised Chambers as his host the abbot was clearly naive, vain and incompetent. By 1666 the situation in the monastery had

²¹ Fraser expressed the view in his journal that they were acting without the knowledge of the abbot. MS 2538. 10 v.

²² Halloran, *The Scots College Paris 1603–1792* (Edinburgh, 2003), 41.

deteriorated to such an extent that Chambers abandoned his charge and left to join the household of the archbishop of Bologna.²³ After this dereliction of duty Bishop von Törring of Regensburg again tried to evict the Scots from St. James'. They were saved by the death of the bishop and Abbot Dixon (r. 1661–79)²⁴ of Würzburg was appointed administrator of Regensburg placing him in control of all three of the Scots monasteries. But they had largely exhausted the patience and goodwill of their host community. The weak position of the Scots was such that it could only have been a matter of time before their luck ran out and one of the many attempts to dispossess them succeeded. Salvation was possible only with a stroke of extreme good fortune. It came in the arrival in Würzburg of a most remarkable man. That man was Thomas Fleming.

²³ The chronicle records that “the buildings going to ruin, the church pervious to the rain in a hundred places, all things in such a condition that ... Macarius Chamers, ‘*re desperata*’, had fled to Italy. *Catalogus Abbatum Monasterii ad Sanctum Jacobum Ratisbonae*, manuscript in Scottish Catholic Archives, as quoted in Humphries, “Abbot Placid”, 316.

²⁴ Abbot Asloan had died in 1661.

Part Three

Regaining Self-Respect

6 “A Lad O’Pairs”

The entry on Abbot Placid Fleming (r. 1672–1720) in the monastery’s *Catalogus Abbatum Monasterii ad Sanctum Jacobum Ratisbonae* states that “This great man was of small stature; he had sparkling eyes and a grave and austere countenance. He sang in a sonorous voice, and when he spoke, he spoke slowly and reflectively.”¹ The entry is unusual in that it gives personal detail regarding Fleming that is missing for other holders of his office. The chronicler clearly knew the man, respected him and tried to convey the sense of presence which struck anyone meeting him for it is clear that he was a most remarkable man.

Thomas Fleming was born on 5 October 1642 in Kirkoswald in southwest Scotland, an area which at the time was a strong centre of covenanting. The majority of the population were Calvinist Presbyterian but the old nobility held to Catholicism. His family was a cadet branch of the Flemings who were earls of Wigton.² Although the Flemings had signed the National Covenant they were not prominent in the movement and during the period of the Commonwealth they took the opportunity of withdrawing their support. They were not as vehement in their Presbyterianism as many in Scotland. Over several generations the family had inter-married with the great Catholic families of the southwest, the Maxwells and the Herries.³ One of Thomas’ boyhood friends, Alexander Moorehead, converted to Catholicism in later life and became a monk.⁴ It is likely, therefore, that Fleming’s upbringing was more sympathetic to Catholic ideology than was normally the case in Ayrshire

¹ *SCA*, also Humphries, “Abbot Placid”, 317.

² Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, 147; also *DNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101067837/Thomas-Fleming> accessed 18/05/2012. In a letter to Charles Whytford in the Scots College in Paris, Fleming refers to the young Earl of Wigton, who had recently enrolled as a student at the college with his brother Charles, as his chief and asks Whytford to give the earl his good wishes. *SCA*, BL 1/101/4.

³ Balfour, James, *Scots Peerage* (Edinburgh, 1904–14).

⁴ Hammermayer, Ludwig, *Placidus Fleming (1642–1720) Abt des Schottenklosters St. Jakob zu Regensburg* (Verlag des Vereins für Regensburger Bistumsgeschichte, 1989), 315.

at the time. Nevertheless, he was undoubtedly Calvinist when he moved to Edinburgh as a youth to take up a pupilage with George Lockhart who, as Sir George Lockhart of Carnwath (c. 1630–89), was later to become Dean of the Faculty of Advocates.⁵ Fleming spent about five years studying law but when he was twenty years of age he decided to change his career completely.

Following the Restoration in 1660 King Charles made his brother, James Duke of York (1633–1701), Lord High Admiral responsible for reorganising his navies. He also sent him to Scotland to provide better governance there. These actions had the additional benefit of keeping the duke, who was Catholic, away from court and possible political attacks on him due to his religion. The duke spent long periods in Scotland dealing with matters at first hand. He impressed the Scottish nobility with his fairness in handling matters of State. In the previous half century, from their court in England, his grandfather and particularly his father had given rise to much resentment in dealing with their Scottish subjects. While in Edinburgh the duke dealt with legal issues and George Lockhart, as one of the country's most prominent lawyers, worked on such matters. In a junior way his clerk also would have been involved but Fleming's interest was moving away from a career in the law. It was the navy which attracted the young man.⁶ One of the improvements which the duke had introduced to the navy was the establishment of an officer corps. Young men of gentle birth were encouraged to join the service by the offer of "king's letters". These were commissions which on being presented to ships' captains required them to treat the holders as gentlemen and to train them in naval skills as officers. It was hoped that by this means not only the performance of the navy would be improved but also its loyalty. It was of concern to King Charles that what had been the Commonwealth's navy should have unquestionable loyalty to the king – a truly Royal Navy. Thomas Fleming gave up a promising career in the law to become a naval officer. Had he stayed in Edinburgh as a pupil of Lockhart, who later became the most prominent lawyer in Scotland, Fleming would have earned a comfortable income and had political influence. The choice seems perverse but, although this was the first, it was not the only such decision that Fleming was to take in his career.

The details of Fleming's early life are sparse and have been gleaned largely from occasional references which he made years later in his voluminous correspondence. In particular he made very few references to incidents which

⁵ *Ibid.*, 315; also *DNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/George-Lockhart-of-Carnwath> accessed 25/1/2013.

⁶ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 316.

occurred in the five years which he spent in the navy following his departure from Edinburgh in 1662. This omission is extraordinary given that during this period events occurred which helped form his character and influenced his behaviour for the rest of his life. Although it is known that he became a naval officer it is not known whether this was in the Scottish or the English navy. Both owed allegiance to the king but the Royal Scottish Navy was small both in the number and size of its ships. At the time of the amalgamation of the two navies on the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, the Scottish navy consisted of three frigates and some smaller vessels. Given what happened later it is unlikely that Fleming joined this force. His earliest reference to his ship, which he did not name, was for the year 1665. It had docked in Dublin and he took the opportunity that the occasion offered to be received into the Catholic Church.⁷ This decision was life-changing for him and he must have been considering the action for some time.

The next reference which Fleming made to his time at sea was that in 1666 he was captured in the Mediterranean by pirates.⁸ The most likely explanation of this development is that Fleming’s ship was part of the Royal Navy’s newly formed Tangier Squadron. On her marriage to Charles II in 1661 the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza (1638–1705), brought a dowry which included the colonies of Bombay and Tangier. The Portuguese crown was no doubt happy to part with them since both had proved to be a drain on their exchequer. They were to prove even more so on that of King Charles. Twenty years later he sold Bombay to the East India Company who successfully used it as a base for trading and for territorial expansion in India. However, Tangier presented the king with a more intractable problem. It was a small enclave on the North African coast entirely surrounded by hostile emirates allied to the kingdom of Morocco. Originally an important trading centre Tangier had become an embattled colony under the Portuguese. On its transfer to Britain the Portuguese merchants departed leaving the British garrison and some Portuguese friars in sole occupation of the town. They were soon joined by a small number of British traders. Their intention was to use it as a naval base to control access to the Western Mediterranean; a plan which the British successfully applied to their use of Gibraltar in the following century. Parliament approved the spending of a great deal of money to improve the harbour but in other ways the enterprise was grossly under resourced.⁹ In

⁷ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 105.

⁸ Humphries, “Abbot Placid”, 316.

⁹ There were two reasons for this. First, almost immediately after gaining possession

1684, after twenty three years of occupation during which they were often under siege by both land and sea, the British forces abandoned Tangier. They blew up the newly constructed mole which protected the harbour and left the town to be incorporated into the territory of the neighbouring emir.¹⁰ During their years in occupation the British garrison in Tangier had needed to be supplied entirely by sea.¹¹ The merchant ships involved were at great risk of piracy and the sea approaches to the town required naval patrols supplied by the Royal Navy's Tangier squadron. The danger was so great that it was common for merchants to charter warships to carry their cargo rather than use their own vessels. Initially the admiralty licensed Royal Navy ships to carry only bullion but individual sea captains went beyond this and carried any cargo. They were able to set their own rates and took a share of the profit, many becoming wealthy in the process. This practice became wide spread because of the king's tardiness in matters of military and naval pay.¹² It was in the early years of this ill-fated Tangier venture that Fleming's ship, which

of Tangier hostilities with the Dutch were resumed in the Second Anglo-Dutch war – a war which was conducted principally at sea – and naval resources were stretched. Secondly Parliament refused to provide the king with sufficient funds to garrison Tangier adequately in the fear that the garrison would be large enough to constitute a standing army under the control of the king which could be used if needed to suppress the powers of parliament. This was compounded by their suspicion of all things Catholic. By the terms of Charles' marriage treaty the Portuguese friars already resident in Tangier were allowed to remain but their numbers continued to grow throughout the British occupation. In addition Charles had chosen to garrison the port largely with his Irish troops who were predominantly Catholic; *Tangier Papers of Samuel Pepys*, Navy Records Society, lxxiii (London, 1935) xxiii. Although Britain had restored its monarchy the fears and lessons of its civil wars had not been forgotten.

¹⁰ For a contemporary account of the abandonment of Tangier see *Tangier Papers of Samuel Pepys*, Navy Records Society, lxxiii (London, 1935). Pepys (1633–1703) had sailed with the expedition engaged on “the destroying and deserting of Tangier”. He had been sent by the king specifically to negotiate with the king of Morocco on compensation for British property left behind, *ibid.*, xxv.

¹¹ Some supplies came from England but the majority of fresh foods were shipped from Cadiz; *ibid.*, xxxiii.

¹² Samuel Pepys complained in 1684 that he had to wait in Cadiz for many months before he could obtain passage to Tangier because the king's ships were too much engaged in transporting goods elsewhere for profit. This was despite his possession of an admiralty warrant empowering him to commandeer any ship for his transportation on the king's business. On his return to England he persuaded the lords of the admiralty to require that ships' captains keep a daily log of ships' movements so that a check could be kept on their commercial activities. This appears to be the origin of the legal requirement of ships' officers to maintain daily logs. *ibid.*, xxxiii.

appears to have been part of the squadron, was captured by the corsairs off the Barbary Coast.¹³

Barbary corsairs operated out of the ports of Tunis, Tripoli and Algiers. They were pirates in the eyes of the European navies but were licensed privateers in the Ottoman Empire and attacked the shipping of its enemies. For much of the seventeenth century they controlled most of the Mediterranean Sea and Atlantic Ocean along the coast of the Maghreb. The Spanish tried to counter their activities in the west operating from their bases in Seville and Cadiz while further east the Knights of Malta were more successful in curtailing them largely by disrupting Ottoman merchant shipping in the narrow sea-lanes between Sicily and North Africa. Nevertheless Ottoman naval power especially the Barbary corsairs dominated the Mediterranean for the greater part of the seventeenth century. It was at the height of its power in 1669 when after a war lasting almost a quarter of a century the Ottomans defeated the Venetian fleet and captured Crete. Soon afterwards, however, they began to lose their naval dominance. In the Western Mediterranean their disruption of European shipping was severely curtailed when a British fleet blockaded Tunis and Tripoli in 1675 and Algiers in 1682 forcing the pirates to leave British ships undisturbed. The French took similar action in 1686 but at the time of Fleming’s capture in 1666 the English navy was preoccupied with the Second Anglo-Dutch War, which was not going in its favour, and the Barbary corsairs were at their most powerful.¹⁴

Fleming’s comments on the time he spent as a captive were limited to mentioning that he sailed with the pirates for many months along the coast of Spain, around the Canary Islands and even on a voyage to Madras in India and that he was eventually freed by the Spanish and left his ship in Cadiz.¹⁵

¹³ Records of British naval losses prior to the middle of the eighteenth century are incomplete and it is not possible to identify any ship of the squadron which may have been lost to pirates. The responsible commander was the governor of Tangier who at the time was John 1st Baron Belasyse (1614–89). He had been appointed in 1665 but was replaced in 1666 by Sir Henry Norwood (1615–68). It is possible that his dismissal was not unconnected with the loss of Fleming’s ship. There was a long series of governors of Tangier in the two decades the British stayed. One, Colonel Percy Kirke (c.1646–91), was dismissed for lewdness and extreme brutality to his men. It was a harsh posting almost guaranteed to end in failure and many reputations were destroyed. See *Tangier Papers of Samuel Pepys*. x–xxxvi.

¹⁴ For an account of Barbary Corsairs and the degree to which Europeans were involved in these enterprises see Tinneswood, Adrian, *Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests and Captivity in the Seventeenth Century Mediterranean* (New York, 2010).

¹⁵ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 316. Fleming’s release by Spaniards is not surprising. Actions against the corsairs were regular and there are records of British warships

The duration of his captivity is uncertain although it was certainly more than a year. Of what he did during this time, Fleming says nothing. The commercial impetus behind the activities of the corsairs was their involvement in the slave trade. The tenets of their religion forbade Muslims from enslaving fellow Muslims, therefore, European Christians and African Animists were the primary source of slaves for their markets. Often the sole purpose of pirate voyages was the acquisition of slaves. The Moors took many European captives. It has been estimated that from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries more than one million were enslaved.¹⁶ Normally rich captives were ransomed. Others were not so fortunate. Spanish and Portuguese religious orders (Redemptorists and Lazarists were noted for this work), as an act of charity, raised money to pay for the freedom of some Christian captives but the vast majority of them were sold in the slave markets of North Africa and the Middle East. The possibility of ransom was not open to someone like Fleming. Even if he had been able to inform them of his plight his family was not sufficiently wealthy to free him and the limited funds available to the religious orders in Spain were used to ransom fellow countrymen.

While Fleming remained on his ship he must have been forced to serve as a slave on board. The most common use that the Ottomans had for young male captives was as military slaves. The sultan in Constantinople formed his elite regiment of Janissaries from such slaves and the corsairs used them to row their galleys. In capturing an English naval vessel the corsairs would have needed a crew experienced in handling such a craft. Although the Ottoman fleets were using some ships of this type in the seventeenth century most of their vessels were galleys. An educated and experienced officer such as Fleming would have been invaluable to the corsair captain. Whatever inducement he was offered by the pirates – threats or rewards – it is likely that Fleming used his knowledge and skills as an officer to help them sail the vessel on the extensive voyages he later mentioned. He would not have been in any way exceptional in falling in with their wishes in this matter.¹⁷ While he sailed on the pirate ventures, in his own words, “over many months” he must have taken part in actions which he found abhorrent especially if he also was expected to ensure the compliance of the remnant of his crew. Under these circumstances it is understandable

rescuing Spanish captives when they took Barbary ships. The British warship *Adventure* did so and returned the Spanish to Cadiz in 1684. *Tangier Papers of Samuel Pepys*, 249.

¹⁶ Davis, Robert C, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast and Italy, 1500–1800* (London, 2004).

¹⁷ See Tinneswood.

that he made few references to his time spent sailing under the corsairs’ flag and avoided providing any detailed account. His rescue by the Spanish in 1667 must have come as a great relief.¹⁸ Whatever his actions while in the service of the pirates in Spanish waters his rescuers saw Fleming as one of their victims and not guilty of any piratical act against Spanish interests. Otherwise they would not have freed him nor when he stepped ashore in Cadiz would they have allowed him to retain some personal possessions.¹⁹ Also on release he had enough money to set out immediately on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella in the north of Spain. Nowhere in his later correspondence did he make reference to the source of his money. It is unlikely to have been given him by the Spanish since it was not mentioned when Fleming wrote of his thanks for his rescue. Nor did he make reference to the fate of the rest of his crew but it is clear that when he left Cadiz he travelled alone. His pilgrimage may have been undertaken as an act of thanksgiving for his release but it is possible that in was in remorse for offences committed while sailing with the pirates. Again Fleming made no mention of his motives in his correspondence.

On reaching Santiago de Compostella Fleming met an Irish bishop with whom he discussed his intention of becoming a priest. The bishop suggested that he study at the Royal Scots College in Madrid.²⁰ The college was run by Scots Jesuits and had been functioning as a seminary for over thirty years but had continuously struggled to attract sufficient students to be truly viable or financially secure.²¹ He decided against taking the bishop’s advice and instead travelled on to Paris and enrolled in the Scots College there. His choice of Paris was probably influenced by the fact that throughout the seventeenth century the Maxwell family, to whom the Flemings were related, had used the Scots colleges in Douai and Paris to educate their sons.²² As youths

¹⁸ Hammermayer, *Placidus Fleming*, 316.

¹⁹ It is known that he kept his officer’s lash which he referred to euphemistically as his “instrument of correction”. Humphries, “Abbot Placid”, 316.

²⁰ Hammermeyer, 316.

²¹ The students were taught at the nearby Jesuit *Colegio Imperial de San Isidro* and when it closed in 1681 the Scots College was closed to Scottish students and taken over by Spanish Jesuits. The Scots managed to secure its return in 1713 and reopened it solely for the education of their own countrymen. McNally, Tom, *The Sixth Scottish University* (Leiden, 2012).

²² In the 1620s and 1630s the sons of three different branches of the Maxwell family studied there – Maxwell of Herries, of Gripton and of Conhaeth. In the 1660s five students named Maxwell enrolled in Douai two of whom were the sons of Lord Kirkconnel. McNally, Tom, *The Alumni of the Scots Colleges Abroad: 1575 to 1799*, unpublished doctoral treatise, University of Aberdeen, 2008.

they had gone to Douai which was the junior establishment and taught the *Trivium*. Senior students, those aged eighteen and over, who wished to study the *Quadrivium* transferred to the Scots colleges in Paris, Rome or Madrid.²³ Fleming would have known of the Scots college in *Fossés St Victor*²⁴ through his family connections. It had been founded in 1603 with the aid of a bequest in the will of Archbishop James Beaton of Glasgow (1517–1603), the last surviving member of the pre-Reformation Scottish Catholic hierarchy. For the first sixty years of its existence it had been based in the archbishop's former house in *Rue des Amandiers* but in 1665 a purpose built college was opened and it was in this new facility two years later that Fleming enrolled to study theology. He stayed for only one year but his experiences there were to set the direction of the rest of his life.

The greatest influence on Fleming at that time was the college principal, Robert Barclay (1611–82). Barclay had spent a decade reorganising the college's resources to ensure it gave more effective support to the mission in Scotland. As a young priest he had been part of a group of friends who dedicated their lives to promoting the mission. Prominent among this group of young Scots were Thomas Primrose (d. 1671), who led the Dominican missionaries working in Scotland from the 1650s to 1670s, and William Leslie who went to Rome to become the agent (procurator) of the Scottish mission before being appointed archivist to *Propaganda Fide* and helping to direct missionary activity worldwide. Leslie remained in post for nearly fifty years and gained the respectful soubriquet of *Don Guilielmo*. He never lost his special concern for the mission in his native land and was to be another important influence on Fleming as well as a valuable and lifelong ally.

Barclay was in his early forties in 1654 when he became principal of the Parisian college and set about changing its organisation. His primary objective was to boost significantly the number of ordained priests it sent to Scotland. This took time to achieve. The college owned a number of small properties in and around the city and he used their rents to accumulate sufficient money to build a greatly enlarged college. Barclay organised its affairs extremely frugally and had gained the reputation of being parsimonious and a disciplinarian but it was all done to commit as much as possible of the college's resources

²³ The *Trivium* consisted of five years of study covering Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric. The *Quadrivium* required three or four years study of one or more of Theology, Philosophy (Arts), Law and Medicine. A student was required to have mastered the *Trivium* before starting on the *Quadrivium* studies.

²⁴ Now known as *Rue Cardinal Lemoine*.

to the mission. The new college was built to include apartments that were set aside to accommodate missionaries who were exiled or in need of care due to the harsh treatment they had endured while on the mission. Similar refuges had been provided by the religious orders of Franciscans and Jesuits for their missionaries but no help was available for secular priests. Barclay’s new college rectified this deficiency. As well as using the existing resources of the old college Barclay was adept at building political alliances particularly with royalists at the court of Queen Henrietta Maria (1609–69) who was resident in Paris during the period of Cromwellian rule in Britain.²⁵ He astutely used these relationships to gain additional donations from sympathisers to be used to further missionary activities.

When Fleming arrived at the college he was impressed by what he saw and was infected with the enthusiasm which Barclay and his fellow workers applied to their tasks of promoting education and enhancing the missionary effort. The methods which Barclay used to build up the college were ones which Fleming later replicated when faced with his task of rejuvenating the Benedictine monasteries in Germany. However, the example set by the college principal was not the only source of inspiration for the young man. The student population of the college was encouraged to experience life beyond that of the college. As tuition in the *Quadrivium* for the Scots was provided by the larger colleges of the University of Paris²⁶ it required them to spend much of their time outwith the confines of their College which was located in the Latin Quarter of the city. This brought them into contact with a number of the major centres of Jansenism such as the Sorbonne and the convent of Port Royale. Jansenism, which had many adherents in Paris, was a movement which favoured an austere form of worship and devotion. Its practices appealed to many Scots in Paris, particularly those such as Barclay and Fleming who had converted to Catholicism from Calvinism. Jansenism was not heretical but was disapproved of by the papacy and the Jesuits. The Jesuits sarcastically described a Jansenist as “un Calviniste qui dit la Messe”.²⁷ Fleming never

²⁵ For a fuller account of these relationships see McNally Thomas, “The Scots College Paris, 1652–81: A Centre for Scottish Networks”, *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*, Volume 2: Issue 1 (Aberdeen, 2008).

²⁶ The College of Navarre was the one used by the theology students but others were attended by philosophy students. Individuals could find themselves attending more than one of the university’s public schools in the course of their studies at the Scots college; Halloran, 22.

²⁷ A description used by the Jesuit Père Bigné in a conversation in Paris with the Scottish secular priest, Charles Whytford; Halloran, 105.

joined the movement but was influenced by its ideas and took up a number of the practices in particular those relating to austerity and the simple life of devotion. At the same time he also developed an antipathy and distrust of Jesuits. In this he was undoubtedly influenced by Barclay who had been forced to fight off repeated attempts by the Scots Jesuits led by James McBreck to wrest control of the college in Paris from the secular priests who ran it.²⁸ The Jesuits took the view that they were best placed to be the providers of education and had established a near monopoly in running Catholic colleges and universities. Barclay disliked their arrogance in this matter: an attitude which he shared with his friend, *Don Guiljelmo*, the archivist of *Propaganda Fide* in Rome. That organisation faced resentment from the Jesuits to its role in the supervision of the Church's missionary activities worldwide and William Leslie frequently had arguments with the Society of Jesus over their relative spheres of influence.²⁹ When Fleming joined the Benedictines in Germany he found that the Jesuits similarly had caused friction with the Benedictine Order there. He joined with his German Benedictine brethren in opposing them but Fleming's antipathy to the Society of Jesus originated in his experience as a student in Paris.

If Fleming had completed the *Quadrivium* curriculum he would have spent three or four years studying in Paris. During that time Robert Barclay would have required him to sign the "Mission Oath" which would have bound him to spend at least three years working as a missionary in Scotland. Instead Fleming left after his first year of theological studies with the intention of joining the Benedictines in Germany. Why he did this is unclear and ranks alongside his decision to leave his promising career in the law to become a naval officer. It may have been that he was not ready to commit himself to the priesthood or perhaps it was due to the problems he would have faced as a naval officer returning home after abandoning his commission. However, neither of these explanations fits well with the character of the man. It seems more likely, in view of the events which followed, that he was influenced by the dire situation that the Scots faced in Regensburg. News of Abbot Chambers' desertion of his post must have reached Paris about the same time as Fleming enrolled there. Discussions in the college would have taken note of the fact that the procurator of the Scottish Mission in Rome, William Leslie, and the nuncio in Germany were looking for a suitable candidate to replace Chambers as a

²⁸ Halloran, 39–49.

²⁹ Hay, Malcolm, *Failure in the Far East* (Wetteren, 1956).

matter of urgency.³⁰ Shortly after the abbot left, the bishop of Regensburg had tried again to take control of the abbey. At the time the community consisted of three monks and two novices, none of whom was capable of taking on Chambers’ duties. Abbot Maurus Dixon of Würzburg was given a supervisory role but in the first year of Chambers’ absence Dixon was able to spend only two short periods of residence in Regensburg despite the fact that his continual presence was needed to protect the interests of the Scots against the claims of the bishop. By necessity Erfurt was largely ignored leaving its continued tenure by the Scots vulnerable. Before abandoning his charge in Regensburg Chambers had sent one monk to Erfurt to occupy the building but there was no designated abbot or prior. The urgency of the situation lessened when the bishop of Regensburg died but the search for a suitable candidate for the position of abbot remained urgent. Consideration was given to appointing Dixon as abbot of all three abbeys but the nuncio in Vienna considered that the role was too demanding for someone of Dixon’s advanced age. He was fifty years old.³¹

It is likely that *Don Guilielmo* corresponded on the problem with his old friend in Paris asking for advice and possible suggestions as to a suitable replacement for Chambers. Robert Barclay was forming a favourable impression of his new student, Thomas Fleming. Despite his relative youth his earlier experiences had given him a maturity beyond his years. Intellectually capable and of strong character he had many of the attributes needed to take command of the situation in Regensburg. Barclay must have discussed the possibility with him and reported on his findings to Leslie. Whatever the prior discussions may have been, Thomas Fleming in 1669, at the age of twenty seven, set off to begin his new life in Germany. Maurus Dixon was the only person in the Scottish Benedictine community competent to induct a novice and so Fleming travelled to Würzburg to profess his vows to him. Abbot Dixon received the young man into the order on 21 November of the same year. Fleming took the religious name of Placid. This name was one with a venerable tradition within the Benedictine order but given Fleming’s inherent nature and his career up to that point it would suggest that the name was not entirely appropriate. His choice, therefore, can be considered to be based on aspiration rather than a description of himself. While he continued with his studies, he fitted into the community in Würzburg and made friends with his fellow monks. On completion of his theological studies he was ordained in the

³⁰ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 317.

³¹ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 104.

spring of 1671. Normally it would have been unthinkable to propose a newly ordained monk for election as abbot but the nuncio in Vienna saw that the situation in Regensburg was deteriorating from an already unsatisfactory level. Abbot Dixon in his role as supervisor had appointed the delinquent abbot's cousin Fr. Athanasius Chambers to run the monastery in his absence. This was a poor decision since Fr Chambers was cellarer and under his stewardship discipline in the community deteriorated and drinking problems reappeared. Given this added concern, only a year was allowed to pass before steps were taken to have Fleming elected as head of the Regensburg monastery. There was, however, one major obstacle to this: despite the abandonment of his duties Gilbert Macarius Chambers was still abbot. Chambers' resignation was required and this could not be achieved immediately. Dixon wrote to the papal nuncio in Vienna to ask for his help. In turn the nuncio called on the Cardinal Geronimo Boncompagni (r.1651–84), archbishop of Bologna with whom Chambers had taken up service asking him to secure the abbot's resignation. Pressure was applied on Chambers and he resigned in October 1672. Two months later Fleming, at the age of twenty nine, was appointed abbot of St James' monastery in Regensburg.³²

³² Dilworth, *Franconia*, 105.

7 Abbot Fleming

Placid Fleming had plans for his new charge of St James' in Regensburg. The example of the Scots College in Paris inspired him with the idea of creating a seminary to support the missionary work in Scotland but the obstacles to this were formidable. Powerful interests – the German prince-archbishop of Regensburg and the Irish Benedictine order – were intent on dispossessing the Scots and confiscating their property. The abbey buildings were in poor repair and the monastery was deeply in debt with many of its former sources of income having been sequestered. Its community of monks was small and poorly disciplined and had to a great extent lost the respect of the citizenry of Regensburg. Abbot Fleming's task of restoring the *Schottenklöster* of both Regensburg and Erfurt and using them to support the mission was too great to be achieved without help. The abbot of Würzburg recognised this and tried to provide Fleming with some support in his new charge. Abbot Dixon travelled to Regensburg accompanied by Alan Chisholm to attend Fleming's installation as abbot. The intention was that Father Chisholm would remain behind when Dixon returned to Würzburg. Chisholm was to provide the new abbot with support in his attempts to reform the community. The goodwill of his former brethren of St James' in Würzburg was further expressed in a letter from its sub-prior, Bernard Maxwell, who wrote to Fleming saying that his election was “most acceptable and gratefull news unto all and every one of us”.¹

The abbatial election was confirmed by the bishop of Regensburg who exercised this right by stating that he was acting only in his role as the delegate of the Holy See. The new abbot could see the danger of the bishop using this pretext to claim authority over the monastery. No doubt drawing on his training as a lawyer in Edinburgh he decided that this could not be left unchallenged. He made a formal declaration to Rome that he accepted his election only if

¹ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 106.

it was in accordance with the abbey's ancient privilege of exemption from the authority of the bishop. To help in his case he called on three advocates who were able to provide him with support in this as well as on many other occasions later in his career. William Leslie and Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), the cardinal protector of Scotland, were Fleming's natural allies but so too was the papal nuncio in Vienna.² He had been closely involved in his appointment as abbot and viewed him to some extent as a protégé. Fleming's approach proved successful. The Scottish network in Rome prevailed in the ecclesiastical argument and the nuncio in Vienna ensured that the bishop of Regensburg had no recourse to the emperor. Fleming's confirmation as abbot by the bishop was annulled and replaced with his direct appointment by the Holy See.³

Fleming had protected the Scottish rights against any future claim by the bishop of Regensburg but still the matter was not fully resolved. New abbots on election were subject to annates – election taxes levied by the papacy which had originally been equivalent to one year's income for the abbey. The abbatial blessing would not be conferred until the annate had been paid. Fleming had taken office with financial resources which were inadequate to maintain the community even without having to pay taxes to Rome. He refused to pay and wrote on the tax demand the words “O avaritia Curiae Romanae”.⁴ He had to wait until 1692 before, with papal approval, the auxiliary bishop of Regensburg, Count Wartenberg, conferred the blessing in recognition of the transformation he had made to St James' and his *de facto* position as abbot of the *Schottenkloster*.⁵

While this issue was being decided, Fleming was forced to deal with another pressing problem; that of the lack of discipline within his monastic community. The chronicler in *Catalogus Abbatum Monasterii ad Sanctum Jacobum Ratisbonae* wrote that Fleming “disciplinam introduxit” and that “he was regular in discipline and most observant in daily rule seeking rather to

² Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 317. Fleming saw four cardinal protectors of Scotland during his rule as abbot, all of whom he relied on for help. Following Barberini came Philip Thomas Howard (1629–94), the posthumous son of the Duke of Norfolk, Alessandro Caprara (1626–1711) and Giuseppe Sacripante (1642–1727).

³ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 105.

⁴ “Oh, the greed of the Roman Curia”. Humphries “Abbot Placid”, 318. See Chapter Two for a fuller discussion of the levying of annates and the problems it caused in pre-Reformation Scotland.

⁵ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 326.

draw by example than to exhort in words".⁶ It is clear that in his early days as abbot, Fleming was unable to control his community with either example or exhortation. Writing nearly a century later Ildephonse Kennedy (1722–1804), then administrator of Regensburg, (see chapter 11) described the discipline of the monastery prior to Fleming's arrival as "much on the same footing with its economy, everyone going on almost his own way".⁷ Fleming's solution was to draw on his experience as a naval officer. He had retained from those days a cat o' nine tails, his "instrument of correction" as he called it. It is likely that it was not required often for the sense of shock which its use engendered among the monks must have been profound. The monastic practice of self-flagellation as a penance does not appear to have been widespread among the Scots but it was in relatively common use among German Benedictines at the time. It was nearly a century before all of the German congregations abolished communal flagellations although the Scots were among the first to end the practice.⁸ It is likely that Fleming had retained his naval lash for private self chastisement. Using it in public on his brethren for the purpose of enforcement of their vows of obedience would have seemed incredible to them. Furthermore Fleming appears to have employed the lash with the same sense of theatre as he had in the navy. He carried out the punishments in the presence of the whole community and it is recorded that he would remove his scapular in the same way as previously he would have removed his naval officer's tunic and hat so that he could bend to his task unrestricted.⁹ The similarity between the new abbot dispensing punishment and Fleming as the young naval officer wielding the lash on the quarter deck with the whole crew observing the punishment appears to have been deliberate. The drama of the performance must have been extremely chastening, not only to the miscreant but to all who witnessed it.

This was not the only example of Fleming's muscular approach to asserting his authority as abbot of St James'. During the period of the neglect of the abbey the neighbouring German Benedictine community of St Emmeran had developed the habit of conducting their burials in St James' churchyard. The abbey of St Emmeran was only a few hundred yards away from that of St

⁶ Humphries, "Abbot Placid", 317. One of Fleming's principal concerns would have been to ensure a strict observance of the *Horarium* with all of the community attending the canonical hours. The shortage of numbers in the monastery would have made it easy for the monks to excuse themselves from many of the services.

⁷ Ibid, 318.

⁸ *Benediktinermuseum*, Vol. 1 (1790), 108–10.

⁹ Humphries, "Abbot Placid", 316.

James Fleming visited the abbot, Coelestin I Vogl (r. 1655–91) and informed him that he would not sanction the continuance of the practice. He was ignored. When the Germans next attempted to conduct a burial, Fleming met the funeral cortege at the gates of the cemetery and instructed the curate that he would perform the funeral service himself. The curate refused to back down and Fleming tore his stole and surplice from his back, threw them into the grave on top of the coffin and sent the curate away to complain to his abbot. Although the monks of St Emmeran's abbey never attempted to use the cemetery again,¹⁰ Abbot Vogl did not forgive Fleming for his actions. Later in 1680 he arranged that the Bavarian Benedictines place a formal complaint before the ducal court that the Scots were ruining Church property, had abandoned monastic discipline and were even on the point of apostasy by converting to Lutheranism. The claim was dismissed and the elector Max Emanuel ensured that Rome was informed of how well Fleming had reformed his abbey.¹¹

The Regensburg Scots appear to have been unique in the use of public flogging. At the time ecclesiastical discipline, when needed, was enforced by incarceration. German bishops and a number of monasteries had gaols but there is no evidence of any of the *Schottenklöster* ever having one. However, Scottish monks could be confined to their cells. James Fraser, when he visited Regensburg in 1659, wrote that on waking following his first night in the monastery he found that Abbot Chambers had locked him in his cell.¹² He implied that this was done for security reasons since he had yet to gain the abbot's complete trust. On at least one occasion confinement was used as a punishment for a member of the monastic community.¹³

As well as incarceration German monasteries frequently used another form of punishment; that of the withdrawal of privileges such as coffee drinking or the use of alcohol.¹⁴ It is unlikely that Abbot Fleming felt that these alternative forms of punishment were open to him. He could not afford to have a disobedient monk locked up making no contribution to the running of the monastery and the community was too poor to afford luxuries such

¹⁰ Ibid, 319.

¹¹ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 324. It was following this event that the Elector through his chancellor, Gustav (Kaspar) Schmid, started to provide Fleming with financial as well as political support.

¹² Unpublished manuscript. MS 2538, Special Collections, University of Aberdeen.

¹³ Marianus Gordon in 1732; see Chapter 9.

¹⁴ Lehner, Ulrich, *Enlightened Monks, The German Benedictines 1740–1803* (New York, 2011) 34.

as coffee. The community's past abuse of alcohol caused Fleming to control alcohol consumption as a matter of course. With his naval background it is not surprising that he "was no enemy to the bottle with his friends" but he seems to have restricted his drinking to occasions when he was in the company of visitors to the abbey.¹⁵ Even if he had felt that a choice of methods of chastisement was open to him Fleming may have believed that corporal punishment was the most effective form of correction. Whatever his reason, flogging was the way he chose to impose discipline and it worked. Added to the example he gave with his personal conduct and piety it caused a great improvement in the attitude of the Regensburg community such that it began to gain a reputation for exemplary behaviour. The use of the lash was discontinued and by the end of his tenure as abbot the Scottish monks of Regensburg and Erfurt were seen as role models for Benedictine communities in the whole of Germany.¹⁶

Before the desired improvement was achieved Fleming's approach to discipline led to a problem with Abbot Dixon. Father Chisholm, who had remained in Regensburg when Dixon returned to Würzburg, did not feel that he should be subjected to the more austere regime that was being imposed under Abbot Fleming. The records state that after less than a year of residence in Regensburg Chisholm was severely chastised by Fleming and sent back to Würzburg.¹⁷ It would appear that he had received a public lashing. This would explain Dixon's reaction. The relationship with his fellow abbot became distinctly cool. It is easy to understand his indignation at the humiliation of one of his community receiving a public flogging but the disagreement was about more than that. For nearly half a century the abbots of Würzburg had been predominant among the Scottish monks in Germany. Frequently they had had to act to ensure the survival of the Regensburg community and for lengthy periods also they had held that monastery's abbacy in conjunction with that of Würzburg. Dixon himself had acted as supervisor to the Regensburg monastery and had aspired to the post of abbot but had been denied the

¹⁵ Humphries, "Abbot Placid", 319. The one main meal each day which Fleming allowed himself and his brethren consisted of some meat accompanied with a little barley beer. This was an extremely frugal existence compared to other monasteries in Germany at the time. One of the monks at Regensburg later wrote that he had never seen the abbot play cards or dice "niemals Karten und Würfel in die Hand genommen". Again this was something unusual in prelates of his day. Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 335.

¹⁶ Lerner, 41.

¹⁷ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 106.

appointment by the papal nuncio. It would have been natural if he felt that the new abbot should defer to him. Despite his relative youth Fleming was not content to accept a subordinate role. As events turned out he had ambitions to restore the medieval arrangement of a unified Scottish Benedictine congregation with Regensburg as the mother abbey. A split between the two communities was clearly unwelcome but neither abbot was willing to make the first conciliatory move and the difficult relationship continued for some years.

Regensburg was not the only charge for which Fleming was responsible. While he was still engaged in resolving the issue of his recognition as abbot and stamping his authority on his community he went to inspect conditions at St James' in Erfurt. In 1673 he set out on foot, a distance of over one hundred and fifty miles,¹⁸ and must have been shocked at what he found at the end of his journey. The church was in a poor state of repair and the monastery building was almost completely dilapidated. Its only occupant was Fr. Ephraim Read (fl. 1661–1713) who lived in a state of extreme poverty.¹⁹ The monastery needed to be rebuilt rather than simply repaired, a task which could only be achieved at enormous cost. Nevertheless, Fleming saw great advantage in retaining St James' in Erfurt. It presented an opportunity to progress his plan to involve the Scots Benedictines in higher education in Germany. Historically the monastery had been intimately involved in the running of the city's university but there had been no Catholic participation on the university senate since the Reformation. At the time of his first visit, the University of Erfurt was experiencing difficulties attracting students and generating fees. The senate was Lutheran but the city state was under the rule of the prince archbishop of Mainz, Johann Philipp von Schönborn (1605–73), and the authorities were required to be tolerant regarding confessional matters in the running of the city's affairs.²⁰ Fleming saw that the potential for Benedictine involvement in higher education was better in Erfurt than

¹⁸ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 319.

¹⁹ Humphries, "Abbot Placid", 318. Read could afford to feed himself on only two days each week. On the other five he was "obliged to seek a *mensam ambulatoriam*" (i.e. cadge a meal) among friends.

²⁰ Mainz had annexed Erfurt in 1664 which up to that point had been a quasi-Imperial Free city. At the time of Fleming's visit the university and civic authorities were still coming to terms with the new order. Schönborn took a tolerant view towards Protestants and allowed them to continue to live in his archdiocese. He was also one of the first princes in Germany to outlaw witch-hunting which had caused so much distress under Julius Echter and his nephew, Philipp von Ehrenberg; see Chapter 4. For details of Schönborn's reign see Lafage, Franck, *Les Comtes Schönborn, 1642–1756* (Paris, 2008).

at the Jesuit run universities of southern Germany. It offered the possibility of Scots Benedictines being the providers of education, a service which they had been unable to offer since the closure of Ninian Winzet's gymnasium at the end of the previous century. The Society of Jesus jealously guarded its near monopoly in the provision of higher education and had refused to allow the Scots Benedictines to take up a chair of philosophy at the University of Würzburg despite Julius Echter having written the provision into the founding charter of the Scots monastery in that city. It took Fleming over five years to rectify the Scots' finances such that work could begin on restoring St James' in Erfurt but from the time of his first visit in 1673 his long term plans included not just its rebuilding but the establishment of a viable community which could be involved in running the university.

This plan for the future of the *Schottenklöster* had been inspired by his experiences in Paris while under the tutelage of Robert Barclay. Like Barclay, Fleming saw the need for a vigorous mission in Scotland and was determined that the Scots Benedictines in Germany should play a more active part in this work. Abbot Asloan (r. 1638–61) and his successor, Maurus Dixon (r. 1661–79), also had seen the need to help the mission and their efforts were as great as the Würzburg monastery's resources would allow but Fleming was to show himself as much more ambitious. In his view it was a major purpose of the monasteries to provide missionaries for Scotland and in order to do so they needed to recruit greater numbers of young men and that a dedicated seminary was required to train them.²¹ As well as providing all of them with a good general education those deemed suitable would be encouraged to progress to higher studies at university. The standard of missionaries for Scotland would thereby be improved but a higher level of scholarship was essential if the Scots were to offer higher education to others.

Fleming needed a considerable improvement in the finances of the monasteries in order to attempt to implement his plans. At the start of his abbacy he headed up a near destitute institution saddled with debts and occupied by a few monks of limited ability. His plans went beyond what was possible using the resources of his monastery in Regensburg. Of necessity their implementation would require a long period of continuous dedication by the whole *Schottenklöster* community. That he succeeded so spectacularly in achieving his ambitions was in large part due to his personality: as well as being intelligent and well educated he was self sacrificing and possessed strength of

²¹ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 323.

character which few could match. He was also fortunate in that he had almost fifty years as abbot of Regensburg in which to achieve his ends. For almost the last two decades of his life he was in control of all three Scottish monasteries. He succeeded in changing the *Schottenklöster* from institutions which were nearly as destitute as the medieval Irish ones which the Scots had usurped a century before to shining examples of monastic industry which not only supported the mission in Scotland but also took a significant role in education and the advancement of scholarship in the age of enlightenment in Germany.

Since lack of money was the major obstacle to his plans it is not surprising that Fleming devoted much of his energy to raising funds. His attempts began by reasserting the rights of the Regensburg *Schottenkloster* to its former properties.²² His legal training helped him greatly in this but also he needed political support. In 1673 he renewed the Scots' claim for the "return" of the monastery in Vienna.²³ The firm rebuff which he received taught him that without support at the highest levels he would have limited success in pursuing his goals. He already had Leslie and Barberini in Rome and the nuncio in Vienna as allies but to these he added the Elector of Bavaria, Ferdinand Maria (1636–79). The abbot devoted time and effort to cultivating the friendship of members of the court especially the elector's chancellor, Kaspar Schmid. When Ferdinand Maria died in 1679 Fleming's good relationships at court continued and grew even stronger with the elector's young son and successor, Max Emanuel (1662–1726).²⁴ The new elector went so far in his backing of Fleming that he instructed his officials to offer whatever help was possible to the Regensburg Scots in judicial matters.²⁵ It was with this influential support that Fleming embarked on a series of legal claims that lasted for years. His first was to sue for the return of land that had been appropriated by the Regensburg Dominican community. Its prior, Vincent Sengler, vigorously defended the Dominicans' rights to the property which they had held since before Ninian Winzet had been appointed abbot of St James in the previous

²² Fleming also defended his monastery against attempts by the Irish Benedictines to reclaim what they saw as their property. His work on this survives in a manuscript, *On the dispute of Irish and Scote Benedictines for the Ratisbon Abbey in 1653–1655*. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Ms. 29. 7. 1. (A. 5. 35); see below.

²³ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 321.

²⁴ Maximilian II Emanuel was only fifteen years old when he succeeded his father. Fleming was twenty years his senior but aged thirty five he was among the younger dignitaries who visited the elector's court. His relative youth, colourful background and friendliness must have made a favourable impression on the young elector.

²⁵ 'Gefallen die gerichtliche Hand bieten' ('Please, provide a helping hand in judicial matters' – author's translation). Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 318.

century. It took seven years for Fleming to succeed but he simultaneously was pursuing other claims. It took him sixteen years to recover the hermitage at Griesstetten and even longer to regain the Kelheim priory.²⁶ With each acquisition Fleming gained more revenue and used it to rid the monastery of its debts and accumulate funds for building work. Despite having powerful supporters Fleming sometimes overreached himself. In 1689 he again tried unsuccessfully to reclaim the great prize of the monastery in Vienna. He had no valid legal argument for the “return” of the abbey or for compensation. The offer of 3000 florins in compensation that the emperor had made to John Mayne in 1624 was not renewed.

When it came to raising money, Fleming did not restrict his efforts to the law courts. Where he had no real legal claim such as on the Iro-Scots’ former property in Eichstätt he did not hesitate to resort to begging which over time proved spectacularly successful. It did, however, require enormous effort on Fleming’s part.²⁷ One of his early and limited successes came from Elector Max Emanuel who granted the Scots an income of 300 florins per annum from *Straubinger* fines. These were imposed on those brought to court for extra-marital affairs – a relic from more puritanical times. Fleming received 92 florins as the total raised over five years for the whole of Bavaria. Either moral standards were extremely high or the system had fallen largely into disuse. Nevertheless during his term as abbot he obtained over 60,000 florins in donations to improve the monasteries and train his recruits.²⁸ Often he was inventive in his approach to potential donors. He asked the bishop of Eichstätt to provide seminary places for Scots novices. The old Iro-Scots monastery of Holy Cross in Eichstätt had been turned into a diocesan seminary and a small annual pension paid by the bishop to the abbot of Regensburg in compensation. Fleming tried to persuade the bishop to convert this payment into the provision of four student places for Scots at his seminary. In doing so

²⁶ *Ibid*, 318.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 320. Although he did not receive any “compensation” for the Viennese abbey, Fleming did receive a charitable donation from Emperor Leopold I (r. 1658–1705) of 1000 florins. This was only one of a number of donations from German nobility. Max Emanuel of Bavaria gave him 1400 florins in each of the years 1681, 1684 and 1687 with a further 200 florins in 1702. He also left a legacy of 16,000 florins to support eight students at Fleming’s seminary. Prince William of Hessen-Rheinfels-Rotenburg (1648–1725) gave 600 florins and two silver candelabra and a silver baptismal font. Donations totalled more than 60,000 florins along with other gifts from local dignitaries and Scottish expatriates. A full list of the funds that Fleming raised and their donors can be seen in Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, 290–2.

²⁸ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 318, 326.

Fleming was reiterating the request which Bishop Leslie had made to the then bishop of Eichstätt nearly a century earlier. Fleming was unsuccessful just as Leslie had been. However, it speaks highly of his persistence that he continued for nearly forty years with his petition. In 1713 he succeeded in persuading the new bishop, Johann Anton I Knebel von Katznellenbogen (r. 1705–25), to finance the establishment of a small seminary specifically for the Scots using the hermitage in Griestätten that Fleming had recovered for the Scots through litigation.²⁹ This was not the only case where his appeal for help for the greater good of Catholicism worked when his legal case was weak but it was of great importance to Fleming since it allowed him, at last, to put a major part of his plans on a permanent footing. With this new teaching establishment he was able to request permission from Pope Clement XI (r. 1700–21) and Emperor Charles VI (r. 1711–40) for its formal recognition as a seminary for the training of Benedictine monks. His request was granted and in 1719 Fleming relocated his new seminary to Regensburg where he had enlarged the monastery to accommodate more students. Fleming had succeeded in one of his principal aims; that of creating training facilities comparable to the Scots College in Paris where he had studied as a young man and had the new college formally recognised as a seminary by the papacy and the state.

Although this can be seen as his crowning achievement it was only part of his plans for Benedictine involvement in education. He had worked hard also to enact his plans for the monastery in Erfurt. Again he showed his inventiveness in raising funds for the enterprise. Within a year of his election in Regensburg he appointed himself prior of St James' in Erfurt³⁰ and obtained a loan from the city council by claiming that land belonging to St James' had been sold by the council many years before without any compensation having been paid. The council had paid the money to the monastery of St Severin instead but was prepared to help since the new prior was known to be in good favour with von Schönborn, the city's overlord. Fleming used the loan to start to rebuild the monastery. The first phase of renewal allowed him to house four monks there. Once building had begun he appealed to the prince-archbishop to allow the Scots the privilege of raising charitable collections in Erfurt, the purpose of which was to help repay the loan. The archbishop

²⁹ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 328.

³⁰ This was a politically astute move on Fleming's part. By not claiming to be abbot in Erfurt he was not presenting himself as independent from the prince-archbishop. As abbot of Regensburg he was a mitred prelate of the Holy Roman Empire responsible to the pope but as prior of Erfurt he was under the authority of von Schönborn.

agreed and the collections soon grew to give the Scots an income of 400 crowns annually.³¹ Once the monastery had been partially restored and the four monks were in occupation Fleming again petitioned the archbishop to grant them three parishes in the city where they would provide regular religious services to the congregations in return for receipt of the incomes of the parishes.³² In this way Fleming was able to afford the rebuilding of the monastery and turn St James' Erfurt into a viable Benedictine community for the first time in nearly two hundred years. By 1688 he had completely restored the monastery church and before the end of the century the enormous sum of two thousand Roman crowns had been expended on repair and construction of the fabric of the monastic buildings. Fleming also accepted gifts other than money for the monastery. In 1700 Augustus the Strong (1670–1733), Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, donated valuable relics which greatly enhanced the monastery's prestige. By then Fleming had provided a library and lecture theatre³³ with further accommodation for up to eight students as part of his plan to integrate the monastery into the life of the University of Erfurt.

Re-building the college in Erfurt was only one part of the problem faced by Fleming. He needed to recruit more young men into the order if the three monasteries and their seminary were to be staffed and in addition sufficient monks were to be made available to the mission in Scotland. In the early days of his abbacy attracting novices proved extremely difficult. There had been few recruits to any of the *Schottenklöster* throughout the period of the Thirty Years War and for some years afterwards. The three monasteries had survived only by judicious transfers of brothers mainly from Würzburg to Regensburg. In the 1660s the Würzburg *Schottenkloster* had allied itself to the English Benedictine monastery of Lamspring with some of the English monks being loaned to Würzburg so that the Scots could engage in a fuller range of monastic observances. Lamspring also helped educate Scots novices

³¹ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 320.

³² Ironically one of the parishes which they received was that of St Severin, which had previously belonged to the monastery which the city council had given compensation to for the land of St James which it had appropriated in the sixteenth century. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the archbishop of Mainz also gave the Scots responsibility for the pastoral care of the few Catholics in the nearby town of Weimar. By these means the Scots not only formed a monastic community but were integrating themselves into the life of the city through their spiritual ministrations of a significant number of its citizens. *Ibid.*, 320.

³³ "Auditorium Philosophicum", *ibid.*, 320.

since the Scots had insufficient priests capable of this task. As well as coming to this arrangement with the English, Abbot Dixon had taken steps to gain recruits in Scotland. The few priests whom he had managed to spare to send on the mission were under instructions to identify suitable candidates and accompany them to Germany. They could only do so whenever they were recalled and this together with the straitened financial circumstances of the abbey meant that numbers of recruits were limited. Nevertheless, Dixon had managed to secure three new members for his monastery.

In 1676 Dixon sent Bernard Maxwell to Scotland with the specific purpose of recruiting candidates for the order. After a short stay he returned with two who were duly inducted by Abbot Dixon.³⁴ Prior to Maxwell leaving on his trip there had been friendly correspondence between him and Fleming to the effect that he would attempt to gain recruits for Regensburg. On Maxwell's return to Würzburg Fleming asked Dixon to transfer to Regensburg the two novices whom Maxwell had recruited. Since Dixon had not been party to the understanding he reacted angrily to Fleming's request and the formally poor relationship between the two men became openly hostile. Fleming thought Dixon's refusal was detrimental to the greater good of the order since Würzburg had a satisfactory complement of priests and trainees in residence. In turn Dixon viewed Fleming's attitude as impertinent and disrespectful. Maxwell tried to heal the breach. He wrote to Fleming asking that he visit Würzburg to discuss the issues, saying that because of his age Abbot Dixon was not able to journey to see him.³⁵ Fleming accepted the invitation and the two men came to a better understanding on working together. This was possible because they shared the same aims and their differences turned on the clash of their personalities and struggle for predominance.

Dixon had achieved much. Apart from supporting the Regensburg community while a successor for Chambers was being sought he had taken Würzburg from near destitution with two monks in residence to a thriving community of himself and three monks and four trainees in addition to the five priests who were on the mission in Scotland. He had been prudent with the monastery's resources and saved enough to allow the repair of the fabric of the buildings and enlargement of the library. Although he had failed to gain from Rome faculties which would allow the Scottish Benedictine mission to operate separately from that of the English Benedictines,³⁶ he had

³⁴ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 107.

³⁵ Dixon was aged 60 and lived only another year. Dilworth, *Franconia*, 108.

³⁶ William Leslie, in his position as representative of the Scottish mission in Rome and

supported the mission in England and Scotland to an extent that none of his predecessors had achieved. Abbot Dixon had a record of which he could be proud. Fleming recognised this and shared similar aims but his ambitions surpassed those of Dixon. He believed that the *Schottenklöster* should form a single congregation and as the head of the original mother abbey it was his right to lead it. However, more than Abbot Dixon stood in the way of his achieving that goal.

When Dixon died in 1679 he was replaced as abbot by Bernard Maxwell (r. 1679–85). He and Fleming had a good relationship and initially worked well together. They continued Abbot Dixon's practice of using missionaries in Scotland to recruit candidates for the monasteries and in the following decade inducted twelve, the majority of whom were installed in Regensburg and Erfurt. Würzburg's share was two. On the face of it this appears to lack evenhandedness in the treatment of the abbeys but Würzburg's financial resources were being stretched to support its existing community. By this stage in his abbacy Fleming had managed to repair Regensburg's finances to the extent that it could support the increased numbers of novices. Furthermore Fleming was already treating the *Schottenklöster* as a single congregation whose members cooperated in their common task. Ideally all the Scots novices should have been trained at the same school. As yet he had not been able to establish his dedicated seminary and he required an interim arrangement to train his new recruits. Initially St James' in Würzburg was better placed to do this than Fleming's abbey in Regensburg. Nevertheless, within a few years Fleming had set up a junior school to teach the *Trivium*. Provision for higher studies was beyond his resources and he was compelled to combine with Würzburg for the teaching of the *Quadrivium*. At Würzburg they relied solely on the city's Jesuit run university for this provision. Fleming's antipathy to the Society meant that this was an unattractive arrangement to him but he did not want to compromise on the educational standards expected of the monks.³⁷ He

archivist to *Propaganda Fide*, was working to another plan for the mission in Scotland. He supported the appointment of a vicar apostolic who would take charge of all missionary activity in the country. Leslie's intention was to have all the orders of regular priests receive their missionary faculties from the secular bishop; see Chapter 8. Granting the Benedictines separate faculties would have placed them in the same position as the Jesuits who were vigorously resisting coming under the direction of *Propaganda Fide*. For this reason Leslie ensured that Abbot Dixon's request for separate faculties was ignored.

³⁷ In 1684 he received a visit from the renowned French Benedictine Scholar, Jean Mabillon (1632–1707), during which the two men discussed establishing a Maurist Benedictine monastery. The Maurist congregation was noted for its scholarship and

was aware of the need to improve the reputation of the Benedictines in this regard and wanted to attract only the brightest students rather than those who had failed elsewhere. He was forced by reasons of economy to send his senior students to the University of Würzburg. The convenience of residing in St James' monastery meant that the cost of educating the young monks could be minimised while he looked for alternative facilities.³⁸ A more suitable arrangement was to become available at the University of Salzburg which had been founded in 1623 by the German Benedictine congregation of Bursfelde. However, initially there were problems here. The Scots had never used the university despite Abbot Algeo having been involved with the German monks in drawing up its original charter.³⁹

At the outset Fleming's relationship with the German Benedictines had been troublesome. The early battle with Abbot Vogl of St Emmeram over the practice of burials in St James' cemetery had caused tensions between them. A further difficulty arose in 1683 when the Benedictines in Germany decided to re-unite all their abbeys into a single congregation and demanded that the *Schottenklöster* join them. This presented Fleming with the dilemma of how to retain the independence of Scots monasteries while not antagonising the German Benedictines whose cooperation he needed. He took a typically bold step in resolving the matter. He called on Cardinal Philip Thomas Howard (1629–94) who had been appointed cardinal protector of Scotland in 1679 on the death of Cardinal Barberini, to support him in his argument that he was ineligible to join the German congregation by virtue of the fact that he was head of a separate Scottish congregation. His claim was based on the papal bull issued by Innocent XII in 1215 differentiating the Iro-Scottish abbeys

educational successes. Mabillon was based at the headquarters of the congregation in Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris. Fleming's interest in such a venture was derived from his desire to improve the educational opportunities for his novices but they did not proceed with the venture. The political implication of having a member of a French congregation on German territory was probably the principal obstacle to the plan. Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 335–6. Fleming did not give up easily, however, and proposed to Maubillon that the Scots Benedictine novices should receive their training with the Maurists in Paris. Maubillon rejected this proposal despite Fleming's having the financial and political support of the French ambassador to the Imperial Diet in Regensburg, Comte de Crecy. His objection was based on the belief that German monks had poor discipline and would not meet his exacting standards. Fleming thought this was unfair since he had explained that only Scots would be sent and he could ensure their strict compliance with the rules. SCA, BL 1/111/15.

³⁸ Nevertheless in the early 1680s he sent three students to the University of Ingolstadt which was also Jesuit run. Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 326.

³⁹ See Chapter 4.

from the German congregation as set up by order of the Lateran Council. In reality neither the Iro-Scottish nor the original German congregations existed any longer but by legalistic argument and the rallying of political supporters Fleming succeeded in his claim. As well as support from Cardinal Howard he also had the backing of Albrecht Sigismund von Bayern⁴⁰ (r.1668–85), the prince-bishop of Regensburg. His argument was a face saver for everyone involved. It was founded on canon law and by not resorting to a trial of strength it allowed even Abbot Vogl to accept the Scots independence with good grace and the two communities were able to improve relationships by cooperating on educational matters.⁴¹

The new German Benedictine congregation which covered Germany, Austria and Switzerland was formally instituted in 1684 and reinvigorated the University of Salzburg as a major institution of higher education by ensuring that all of its 33 member communities sent their students to study there. This was in direct competition with the Jesuit run universities of southern Germany of Würzburg and Ingolstäd. Having secured the Scots' independence from the German congregation Fleming embarked on improving relationships with the German Benedictines. His friendship at the Bavarian court helped greatly in this. Scottish students from Regensburg started to enrol at the University of Salzburg. The ability to have novices educated free from Jesuit influence was a bond between the two Benedictine communities. Once established, this good relationship was maintained and the Germans continued to be supportive of the Scots for the rest of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century. By the late 1680s Fleming's arrangement for the education of novices included induction into the Regensburg monastery school to receive their initial education and afterwards transfer to Salzburg to receive their higher education. Prior to the opening of the new seminary in

⁴⁰ The prince-bishop was a member of the Wittelsbachs, the ruling family of Bavaria. He was a younger son of Albrecht VI, Duke of Bavaria (1584–1666) and sibling to his successor, Duke Ferdinand Maria. The bishop and Fleming had become friends in the intervening years since Fleming's appointment as abbot. Fleming had taken pains to cultivate the friendship of the family in order to promote the interests of the *Schottenklöster*.

⁴¹ Although a union was not accepted in 1683 the Bursfelde Congregation raised the issue again in 1692 at the time when James VII/II's loss of his thrones had weakened the Catholic position in Britain. However, the Scots in Regensburg and Würzburg were providing missionaries and money to the Scottish mission. This enabled them to argue that they were truly different from their German Benedictine brethren. This argument was accepted and the Bursfelde congregation did not raise the matter again. Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 322–3.

Griestätten in 1713 for over twenty years no new Scots entrant was inducted into St James' Würzburg and therefore the University of Würzburg. Fleming had freed the Scots from Jesuit influence. His approach was successful academically as well. A number of Scots distinguished themselves at Salzburg as students and later as professors. A Scottish presence continued at Salzburg throughout much of the eighteenth century, however, by 1700 the facilities at the *Schottenkloster* in Erfurt had expanded to the extent that the majority of Scots Benedictines were being sent to receive their higher education at that city's university.

These positive developments were achieved only through the determination and hard work of Placid Fleming. They were to the benefit of all three *Schottenklöster* and he had worked to ensure that the three Scottish monasteries acted together on training and education. For much of the time he had received fulsome support of his fellow abbots of Würzburg.⁴² Where it was not given freely he often assumed it. His ambition was for them to be a united congregation with himself as abbot general. Having used the terms of the papal bull of 1215 in his successful defence against the German Benedictines' attempt to incorporate the Scots into their congregation, he used it again in his attempt to gain recognition for the *Schottenkloster* as a separate congregation of Benedictines. In 1688 he resurrected the petition that Abbot Asloan had sent to Pope Urban VIII in the 1640s making the same request. Asloan's petition had failed for lack of agreement from the prince-archbishops of Würzburg and Mainz who held the superiorships of the abbeys in Würzburg and Erfurt respectively. They had been unwilling to relinquish control and in the case of Würzburg the archbishop wanted to retain the income that he derived from the monastery. Fleming was conscious of the issues involved and approached the problem differently from Asloan. Asloan was abbot of both monasteries when he made his attempt but Fleming had to persuade Abbot Richard (Marianus) Irvine (r. 1685–88), who had succeeded at Würzburg on the death of Bernard Maxwell, of the benefit to the Scots that a single congregation would confer. Fleming took pains to stress that he was not seeking an external

⁴² His long tenure as abbot of Regensburg covered that of four abbots of Würzburg: Maurus Dixon (r. 1661–79), Bernard Maxwell (r. 1679–85), Richard (Marianus) Irvine (r. 1685–1688), John (Ambrose) Cook (r. 1689–1703). Following Abbot Cook's absconding (see below) Fleming assumed the role of abbot general and ensured that Würzburg was led by priors who reported to him: Augustine Bruce (1713–16) and Maurus Strachan (1716–37). Augustine Duff (r. 1737–53) was created the last abbot of Würzburg and fulfilled this role in part due to the neglect of the abbot of Regensburg, Bernard Stuart (r. 1742–55); see chapter 9.

change of superior-ship but that the change was internal in that the abbot of Regensburg would direct all three monasteries. Abbot Irvine supported this move but he died as Fleming was preparing his petition. When the new abbot, John (Ambrose) Cook (r. 1689–1703), took up his post he persuaded Johann Gottfried II von Gutenberg, prince-archbishop of Würzburg (r. 1684–98), to turn down Fleming’s proposal.⁴³ This outcome strained the relationship between the two men but it did not alter Fleming’s plans. In 1703 Abbot Cook stood down from his post in much the same way as Macarius Chambers had done at Regensburg and Fleming became *de facto* abbot general of the three *Schottenklöster*.⁴⁴ He was effectively confirmed in this position by the pope and the emperor when they gave him permission to open his seminary in 1713. When Augustine Bruce was appointed prior of Würzburg in 1713 Fleming’s leadership of the *Schottenkloster* was unassailable. In 1716 Maurus Strachan succeeded Bruce as prior under Fleming. He outlived Fleming and, when he died in 1737, it was possible to recreate the position of abbot of St James in Würzburg. Augustine Duff served as a worthy abbot for sixteen years but on his death the position remained unfilled for three years before Placid Hamilton was appointed as his successor. In 1763 he retired to London and was not replaced.⁴⁵ Thereafter St James abbey in Würzburg was ruled by priors appointed by the abbot of Regensburg. Placid Fleming had effectively raised his office to that of abbot general of the Scots Benedictine monasteries in Germany.

When he died in 1720 after serving as abbot for forty eight years, Placid Fleming had fulfilled the ambitions he had formed as a young man on arrival at Würzburg from Paris. The *Schottenklöster* had been reformed. The behaviour of the Scottish monks in Germany was seen by other monastic orders as the example to aspire to. As well as being admired for the simplicity of their lives and their piety many were renowned as scholars. Unsuitable candidates were no longer accepted. Competition from candidates was strong enough for Fleming to be selective about whom to accept as novices and at the same time increase the number of vocations to the mission in Scotland. Fleming had accomplished these changes by insisting on high academic standards

⁴³ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 135.

⁴⁴ Cook had stood down before in 1694 to go to Scotland. On return to the continent he stayed in Paris but returned to his duties after an absence of two years. Fleming had assumed control of Würzburg during this period. Therefore it is unsurprising that his action in 1703 was unopposed by any of the Franconian community. Dilworth, *Franconia*, 138–40.

⁴⁵ Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, 161, 302.

and creating the seminary and university environments where they could be achieved. The transformation had enhanced the Scots standing in German society and gained valuable political friends in the courts of the empire as well as Rome and throughout the Scottish Catholic Diaspora. Fleming had viewed the provision of higher education as crucial to plans for making a significant contribution to the mission in Scotland. By concentrating on these two aspects he inspired generations of young Scottish Catholics to join the Benedictines and created a legacy for himself and Scottish Catholicism.

8 The Mission in Scotland

The Nature of the Challenges

Placid Fleming devoted a considerable amount of time, energy and money to promoting missionary work in Scotland. His efforts and those of others were no less than heroic but the outcomes achieved were less than they deserved. It is difficult to appreciate the value of Fleming's contribution to this work without an understanding of the challenges faced and the poverty of the resources available for the task. More than a century had passed between the Reformation Parliament in 1560 and Fleming's entry into the Scots College in Paris. The Reformation Parliament had required the clergy in Scotland to subscribe to the Calvinist Confession of Faith and had imposed a number of punitive sanctions on former practices in the Church. The mass was prohibited and any priest caught celebrating that service was subject to the death penalty.¹ Monastic orders were dissolved and Church property and income were confiscated. Being open to legal and physical assault much of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church left to take refuge on the continent particularly in France and Rome. In Scotland support for the priests in hiding came from private individuals who were usually their relatives. In less than twenty years following the passing of the Treaty of Edinburgh the organised Catholic Church in Scotland had ceased to exist.

In his annual report of 1580 to the head of the Society of Jesus, General Claudio Aquaviva (1543–1615), Robert Abercromby (1536–1613) stated that the situation in Scotland was inimical to Catholics in general and Jesuits in particular. He was writing from Braunsberg in what is now north-eastern Poland but he had recently returned from Scotland where he had been recruiting students for the new Northern College which he and other Scottish Jesuits had helped set up as part of the University of Braunsberg. In his letter

¹ There are records of two being hanged for saying mass: in 1572 Sir Andrew McKie, schoolmaster in Leith, and an unnamed priest in Glasgow. Sanderson, Margaret, "Catholic Recusancy in Scotland in the sixteenth century", *Innes Review*, Vol. 21 (1970), 88.

he stressed that any Jesuit visiting Scotland would have to go in disguise – that is not wear clerical garb – and that any correspondence should be written in cipher since letters would be read by others. He made these points to Aquaviva because he was proposing that there should be a Jesuit mission to Scotland and the general needed to know that such a mission could not be conducted in the same fashion as Jesuit missions to the New World or the Far East.

Despite these difficulties Aquaviva agreed to establish a Scottish mission with Abercromby as its head.² The Jesuit strategy was to engage with the elite by stationing priests in the households of nobility who were sympathetic to the Catholic religion. When Abercromby arrived in Scotland in 1581 with a small party of Scots Jesuits³ he succeeded in attaching himself to the royal court, possibly through the influence of the Lord Chancellor, Alexander Seton Lord Dunfermline (1555–1622).⁴ His approach succeeded to such an extent that within ten years William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520–98), reported in 1590 that “all the Northern part of the Kingdom, including the shires of Inverness, Caithness, Sutherland, and Aberdeen, with Moray, and the Sherrifdoms of Buchan, of Angus, of Wigton, and of Nithsdale, were either wholly or for the greater part, commanded mostly by noblemen who secretly adhered to that faith (Catholicism), and directed in their movements by Jesuits and priests, who were concealed in various parts of the country, especially in Angus.”⁵ The strategy was vindicated in 1598 when Robert Abercromby received James VI’s queen, Anna of Denmark (1574–1619), into the Church.

If 1598 was a high point for Jesuit success it also produced an incident which illustrates in a revealing way the ineffectiveness of the secular priests. There had been no functioning hierarchy in Scotland for more than 30 years. The sole surviving member of the pre-Reformation hierarchy, Archbishop James Beaton of Glasgow (1517–1603), had been in exile in Paris since 1560 and was nearing the end of his life. The English hierarchy had ended in 1584 with the death of Bishop Thomas Watson of Lincoln (1515–84). No replacement bishop was created and it was not until Rome appointed George Blackwell (c. 1545–1613) as archpriest of England in 1598 that English secular

² Initially the mission was integrated with diplomatic efforts to secure the conversion of King James VI in return for Spanish and papal support for his claim to the English throne. The Jesuit leader in this was Robert Persons, the superior of the English mission. Knox Thomas Francis, *Records of the English Catholics under the penal Law*, Vol. II (London, 1882–4), 25.

³ Dellavida G L, *George Strachan* (Aberdeen, 1956), 7–8.

⁴ See Chapter 2 for Dunfermline’s involvement with Bishop Leslie in Rome.

⁵ Gordon, J F S, *Catholic Church in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1869), ii.

priests had a resident superior. As archpriest he did not have full episcopal powers; nevertheless all secular priests in England reported to him.⁶ Rome also gave Blackwell responsibility for the Scottish secular priests. The Scots clergy submitted to this with reluctance.⁷ They were in no position to object since no more than nine secular Scottish priests had been ordained since the Reformation, of these only one, James Seton (fl. 1600), is known to have worked in Scotland.⁸ In the following 20 years only two other secular priests are recorded as having returned to Scotland.⁹ As far as is known these few secular priests resided with and were protected by their families and cannot be viewed as a coherent mission. George Blackwell's influence on the Scottish mission was negligible. However the effect on the Scots' morale of being subject to an English superior could not have been good.

In the Western Highlands and Islands a mission separate from the Jesuit and secular priests had been established. The Jesuit mission did not serve these areas, regions which Rome designated *Montana Scotiae*.¹⁰ The Gaelic language spoken by the highlanders presented a problem. The Scots Colleges

⁶ Marshall, Peter, *Reformation England 1480–1642* (London, 2003, 182–3) 188. Blackwell was appointed after the death of Cardinal William Allen (1532–94). Allen had been Prefect of the English Mission while based at the English college in Douai and *de facto* head of English seculars. The Society of Jesus wished to control the missionary work in England and strongly opposed the appointment of bishops. They succeeded in convincing the authorities in Rome to order all Catholic priests in England to report to the Society. Blackwell was appointed archpriest on that basis and was required to consult with the Jesuits whose authority in the English mission increased significantly. 'Father George Blackwell', *Catholic Encyclopaedia*.

⁷ Gordon, *Catholic Church in Scotland*, v.

⁸ RSC, 3, 5.

⁹ John Hamilton (c. 1547–1611) had been rector of the University of Paris from 1587 to 1600 when he returned to Scotland as a secular priest to lodge with his nephew, Sir Thomas Hamilton (1563–1637) – later Lord Binning 1613, Earl of Melrose 1619 and first Earl of Haddington. Andrew Melville (1545–1622) at the Hampton Court Conference in 1606 accused Hamilton of harbouring his uncle and Mr Gilbert Borown, (sic) whom he described as abbot of Newabbey. *Original Letters relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland, from 1603 to 1625*, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1851) 56–67. John Hamilton also lodged in the household of another relative, John, ninth Lord Maxwell (1583–1613). Lord Maxwell who was aged 16 at the time was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle for his hospitality. The priest preached in both households. Mathew, *Scotland under Charles I* (London, 1955) 77–8, 212. The second example is Roger Lindsey, son of the Baron of Mains. He arrived in 1607 but was captured in August 1610 and exiled. During his exile he entered the Capuchin order. He returned to Scotland possibly prior to 1621 and continued to work there until his death in 1666; RSC, 9.

¹⁰ Giblin, 'The Irish Mission to Scotland in the seventeenth century', *Franciscan College Annual* (Multifarnam, 1952), 9.

abroad were not enrolling native Gaelic speakers as students and consequently there was a lack of Scottish priests who could minister to these communities. However, the Irish and Scottish Gaelic languages were still mutually intelligible and in 1617 approaches were made to the Irish province of the Franciscan Order to establish a mission in *Montana Scotiae*. The logic of this move was reinforced by the fact that a small number of Scots were members of the Irish province. Following the dissolution of their Scottish province in the 1570s any Scot wishing to become a Franciscan had been directed to the Irish province. In 1619 two Scots and two Irish friars went to work in the west of Scotland.¹¹ They experienced many difficulties including imprisonment and exile but in 1624 a new group of Irish missionaries from St Anthony's College in Louvain joined the survivors. Their mission was under the auspices of the newly created Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith – *Propaganda Fide*, an authority which was to control the work of the missions in Scotland for the following two centuries. The Irish Franciscan missionaries were forced to withdraw by 1637 but had been very successful in their work. Despite the fact that the mission lasted less than twenty years and that at no stage were there more than six priests involved, it was able to make a lasting impact on the western highlands and islands.¹² It brought Catholicism to many communities, a number of which have remained Catholic to the present day. The missions which followed in *Montana Scotiae* in the second half of the seventeenth century – Lazarists, Dominicans, Franciscans and eventually secular priests – were for the most part consolidating the work of the first Franciscans.

The Establishment of a Separate Mission by Secular Priests

During the time of the first Franciscan mission the position of the Scottish secular priests started to improve. When George Blackwell died in prison in 1613 he was replaced by William Bishop (c. 1553–1624) who was appointed vicar apostolic of England.¹³ The Scots successfully petitioned Pope Gregory XV (1554–1623) to rescind Bishop's oversight of them but the pope died before resolving the issue of reporting authority in the Scottish Church. The

¹¹ Giblin, 'The Irish mission to Scotland in the seventeenth century', ix.

¹² Giblin, 'Irish Franciscan Mission to Scotland 1619 – 1646', *Documents from the Roman Archives* (Dublin, 1964), xi–xii.

¹³ A vicar apostolic is a bishop with full episcopal powers in countries where a formal hierarchy cannot be established through lack of recognition by the state. England and Scotland had vicars apostolic from the seventeenth century until the restoration of their hierarchies in the nineteenth century.

following year *Propaganda Fide* was established but it took until 1629 before it formally established Scotland as a mission country with a prefect of the mission to take control. Since the Jesuits had the best organisation in Scotland at the time, *Propaganda Fide* appointed the Jesuit missionary, William Ogilvie, as prefect of the mission in authority over the secular priests.¹⁴ The position of prefect of the seculars was held by Jesuits for almost a quarter of a century. This was not considered ideal by the secular priests but it was not until 1653 that one of their own number was appointed as prefect separate from Jesuit authority. This decision was undoubtedly influenced by William Leslie who had been appointed procurator of the Scottish Mission in Rome in 1649. The first secular prefect was William Ballentine (1616–61)¹⁵ who had been ordained in Paris and was one of the group of friends, that included Robert Barclay and William Leslie, who had met while studying together and had dedicated themselves to furthering the interests of the mission in Scotland.¹⁶ Ballentine set up his headquarters in the home of the Marchioness of Elgin in the northeast of Scotland and strengthened the secular missionary presence there. When he died in 1661 he was succeeded by Alexander Winster (1625–1708)¹⁷ who considered that conditions for Catholics in Scotland would improve following the restoration of the Stuart monarchy. On the strength of this he petitioned Rome to appoint a vicar apostolic for Scotland. *Propaganda Fide* delayed taking a decision. In 1669 it took what it saw as a pragmatic step in its governance of the Scottish mission by re-creating the See of the Hebrides and placing it under the control of Oliver Plunkett (1629–81), Archbishop of Armagh.¹⁸ This change did not accord with the wishes of William Leslie or the other Scots involved in the Scottish mission and indicates that Leslie was not able to direct every aspect of the developing mission in Scotland. The legacy of the Irish involvement in *Montana Scotiae* was still dominant and influenced Rome's decision. However, the involvement of the Irish in Scottish affairs caused the

¹⁴ Gordon, *Catholic Church in Scotland*, vi.

¹⁵ Anderson, William James, 'William Ballentine, Prefect of the Scottish Mission, 1653–61', *Innes Review*, Vol. 8 (1957), 19–20.

¹⁶ While in Paris Ballentine was instrumental in persuading William Leslie to accept the post of tutor in the household of Cardinal Carlo Barberini (1630–1704) and return with him to Rome. The cardinal was the great nephew of Pope Urban VIII and nephew to Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini. With the cardinal's support Leslie was able to obtain his position as archivist in *Propaganda Fide* which gave him an influence on the congregation's work particularly where it affected Scotland.

¹⁷ Also known as Winchester or Dunbar.

¹⁸ Bellesheim, A, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, Vol. 4 (Edinburgh, 1890), 86.

British authorities to suspect political motivations.¹⁹ Realising how sensitive the matter was, Plunkett decided not to visit his new See of the Isles and left his missionaries to act independently.

The decision on the appointment of a vicar apostolic for Scotland continued to be deferred. Despite William Leslie's presence in *Propaganda Fide*, Rome did not consider Scotland a priority and was cautious about such a move. Before deciding, it was felt that more information was needed and a visitation was ordered. Normally visitations are conducted on single institutions such as a college or monastery and carried out by a local bishop. The Scots colleges and the *Schottenklöster* were regularly subjected to them.²⁰ In the case of the Scottish visitation, however, it was the whole country which was to be inspected.²¹ The man chosen for the task was Alexander Leslie, brother of William. The choice was not accidental. The two brothers were preparing the ground for the Scottish Mission to take the direction which *Don Guilielmo* deemed most appropriate. As was later shown by the outcome of the visitation Leslie wanted the missionary effort controlled by a secular bishop entirely reliant on *Propaganda Fide* for financial and political support with the regular orders especially the Jesuits under the direction of the vicar apostolic.

It took years for any decision to be made and while matters were being deliberated, William Leslie found himself at odds with Placid Fleming. Leslie had supported Fleming in his efforts to make his abbacy of Regensburg a success. Both men were, however, strong willed and, just as he had with Abbot Dixon, Fleming was determined to defend his authority against any claims by Leslie. In 1676 Alexander Winster made several appeals to *Propaganda Fide* to provide Gaelic speaking priests for the mission in Scotland. Few Irish priests were volunteering for this work and Archbishop Plunkett had many other calls on his resources. William Leslie asked Abbot Dixon to send a Scottish Gaelic speaking monk whom Leslie believed was based in Würzburg. The monk in

¹⁹ The western isles were considered to be vulnerable to invasion by a French fleet and the loyalty of the Irish was suspect. Archbishop Plunkett was warned against visiting his new Scottish charge by Fr. Francis Macdonnell, an illegitimate son of the Earl of Antrim (1609–83), who was a Franciscan missionary in Scotland. Any such visit would be seen as a treasonable act in support of a feared French invasion. Macdonnell recommended to both *Propaganda Fide* and Archbishop Plunkett that Scottish priests should be put in charge of the mission with the Irish working solely as their auxiliaries. *Archivio Storico Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli "de Propaganda Fide"*, (hereafter *ASCEP*) Rif. Nelle Cong. Gen. Vol. 1 reported in Campbell (ed.), *Book of Barra* (London, 1936), 15–16.

²⁰ *SCA*, SK 52, 1–3.

²¹ *ASCEP*, Fondo Congregazioni Particolari, Vol. 26, ff. 294r–299v.

question was Ephraim Read who was in Erfurt and had been the only resident there when Fleming first visited the monastery in 1672.²² Abbot Dixon tried to negotiate with Leslie such that Read would be sent to Scotland on condition that *Propaganda Fide* granted the Scots Benedictines missionary faculties separate from the English Benedictines. Leslie ignored his request. Fleming understood Leslie's intention of having all Scottish missionaries, regulars as well as seculars, under the control of the proposed vicar apostolic and while not opposing Dixon's request he did not actively support it. However he too wanted to trade benefits with Leslie. He expressed his willingness to release Read²³ if Leslie would provide as a replacement someone who was capable of teaching in what he hoped would soon be his new seminary. Fleming had ten boys studying grammar in Regensburg at the time and wanted a well qualified teacher. He went as far as specifying the replacement he required; John Irvine who was a secular priest teaching at the University of Padua. Leslie ignored Fleming's request and simply repeated his demand for Read to go on the mission. Fleming held his ground and Read was not sent to Scotland.²⁴ Afterwards Leslie and Fleming were to work in a cooperative way but following this incident it was on an equal footing with each recognising the other's strength of character and accepting that they needed mutual support in the tasks they had set themselves.

It was 1678 before Alexander Leslie was ready to set out for Scotland to conduct his visitation but he was prevented from going by the Popish Plot. In London Titus Oates (1649–1705), an Anglican clergyman, revealed his supposed discovery of a plot to kill the king. The accusations against Catholics were entirely fabricated and Oates was later imprisoned and pilloried for his lies but not before hysteria had been generated among British Protestants. The

²² Dilworth, *Franconia*, 177.

²³ When Ephraim Read was made aware of the request for his transfer he wrote an emotional appeal to Fleming and Leslie asking to be excused. His arguments were that he was too old for the hardships of the mission being over 50 years of age, that he had served on the mission for a number of years as a young man and that he had not spoken his native Gaelic for nearly 30 years and had forgotten how to. He would have to relearn everything and would therefore be of no use to the mission. The letter has a comment written in Fleming's hand that "Read says he will not go". *SCA, ML Reid*, f. 116. Later Fleming included Read in his party of Benedictine monks who were sent on the mission. The old man served there for 25 years and was still active as a missionary until his death in Morayshire about the age of 85.

²⁴ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 178. Fleming tried to obtain the support of Cardinal Howard but Leslie was able to convince the cardinal protector not to intervene. Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 325.

trials and executions of British Catholics continued for three years. Archbishop Plunkett was the last prominent victim to be executed at Tyburn in 1681. Alexander Leslie had no choice but to delay his departure. He started out in 1679 and took over a year to complete his visitation submitting his report to Rome in 1680. The heroic nature of his journey around Scotland was such that Leslie earned the nickname of ‘Hard Boots’. The detailed report which he produced showed that there were approximately 40,000 Catholics in Scotland most of whom lived in *Montana Scotiae* and the northeast where entire communities were Catholic.²⁵ Catholics elsewhere were represented only as family groupings or individuals. For the most part those Catholics in the lowlands and south of Scotland were forced to disguise their true religious affiliation. According to Leslie’s report there were twenty-five missionaries in the country the majority of whom were secular.²⁶ He pointedly excluded the Benedictine missionaries from their number. In his report Leslie justified the omission by stating that the Benedictines were of little value since the *Schottenklöster* sent only troublemakers and others whom they were glad to be rid of. There may have been truth in his remarks in that some of the monks were not the most promising of their communities but it was a gross exaggeration to claim that they were of little value to the mission. Leslie’s reason for making such an assertion was to influence *Propaganda Fide* to give overall authority for the mission to a secular priest. By representing Winster’s secular missionaries as the only effective coherent body other than the few Jesuits present in Scotland he was trying to ensure a favourable decision. Leslie concluded his report by recommending that Rome increase its financial and moral support for the mission and that it should appoint a vicar apostolic to lead and coordinate its work. Despite, or perhaps because of, the manipulation exerted by the Leslie brothers *Propaganda Fide* gave lengthy consideration to the report. Before any decision had been reached Charles II died.

Raised Hopes and False Expectations

In 1685 his Catholic brother succeeded Charles as King James VII/II (1633–1701). This turn of events greatly raised expectations among Catholics in Britain. The king supported toleration for religious minorities especially

²⁵ Forbes-Leith, William, *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, (London, 1909), 329–30.

²⁶ Twenty-two secular priests and three Jesuits. Alexander Leslie’s full report is to be found in *ASCEP Fondo Congrazioni Particulari*, Vol. 26, ff. 13r–327v.

Catholics and took a keen interest in the Church's plans for his kingdoms. He demanded to be involved in any decisions taken. His support for Catholicism took several forms including financial contributions made to the colleges abroad and the *Schottenklöster*.²⁷ He also planned the reintroduction of Catholic institutions into the kingdoms. In England prior to his accession he had permitted English Benedictines to provide a choir for the chapel of his wife, Mary of Modena. The monks used this dispensation to create a Benedictine community in England. Placid Fleming saw what he believed was a great opportunity for the Scots in these developments and almost immediately after the king's accession he visited London to petition the king to allow a return of Benedictines to Scotland. James had already made plans to refurbish the chapel of his palace of Holyrood in Edinburgh for his private use.²⁸ While the main work was proceeding the king had the audience chamber of the palace converted into a temporary chapel. On his first visit to England in 1685 Abbot Fleming offered to provide a choir of eight monks and an organist from the *Schottenklöster* for the king's new chapel.²⁹ His intention was to establish a new priory in Scotland, the first since the Reformation. He nearly succeeded in part because King James was led to believe that the abbey of Holyrood had been a Benedictine foundation. Fleming returned to Regensburg to prepare his plans. On his return to London the following year he discovered that Fr. John Hay, son of the Countess of Roslyn, who had joined the Augustinian friars in France, had counter-petitioned the king on behalf of the Augustinians explaining that it had been his religious order that had founded Holyrood abbey. He was successful in persuading the King to deny the appointment to Fleming's Benedictines but the king did not agree that the French Augustinians should serve in his new chapel.³⁰

²⁷ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1687–89*, Timings (ed.), 1972, 382–3 also SCA, BL 1/101/6 and BL 1/111/9.

²⁸ The chapel had been part of the abbey of Holyrood which had been founded by the order of Augustinian friars. Following the Reformation it had been used as the parish church of the local Protestant congregation. On his accession King James ordered that the congregation should move to a new church which he commissioned his architect, James Smith (1645–1731), to build in the Cannongate. Smith was a Catholic who had been educated at the Pontifical Scots College in Rome and was a master of the Palladian style of architecture. Smith's church, which is still the parish church today, is acknowledged as a master-piece but attracted criticism from its congregation as being "too Jesuit" in design. Selby Wright R, *The Kirk in the Cannongate* (Edinburgh, 1956), 79.

²⁹ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 200–1.

³⁰ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 326 as explained in Fleming's letter to Whytford at the Scots College in Paris dated 8 July 1687, SCA, BL 1/101/4.

Fleming was also to be disappointed on another matter. He had expected the king to appoint him as his official resident in Regensburg attending to the business of the Imperial Diet which since 1663 had been held permanently in that city's town hall. In 1673 shortly after his installation as abbot, Fleming had started up a correspondence with the British ambassador in Vienna, Sir Bernard Gascoigne (1614–87) informing him of the proceedings at the diet. He travelled to Vienna to meet Gascoigne's successor, Bevil Skelton (1641–96), on his appointment in 1676, and the two men struck up a close personal friendship.³¹ Fleming acted for Skelton as unofficial British representative at the Imperial Diet. The value of Fleming's services was recognised at court in England such that in 1680 Skelton's replacement as ambassador, Charles, Earl of Middleton (1649–1719), called at Regensburg to consult with the abbot before taking up his appointment in Vienna.³² King Charles had entrusted Middleton, who was a close personal friend of the Duke of York, with important negotiations to forge an alliance with Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705). Fleming's knowledge of the imperial court was invaluable. The negotiations led Charles to appoint an official resident representative, Edmund Poley (1655–1714), to the diet in Regensburg and once again Fleming offered to help, making himself indispensable to Poley as interpreter, adviser and facilitator in introducing him to the other foreign diplomats. When Poley was recalled in 1684 he informed Fleming that the Principal Secretary of State at the court of King Charles, Sir Lionel Jenkins (in post 1680–84), had agreed that Fleming should be appointed official British representative. Although Jenkins was no longer in post and King James had succeeded his brother on the throne, Fleming still expected the appointment to be confirmed. It was with a justified sense of grievance that he learned on his second visit to see James in 1686 that the king had appointed a courtier and playwright, Sir George Etherege (1636–92), as his representative in Regensburg.³³

During his second visit to England Fleming also became aware of the discussions underway between the king and Rome regarding candidates for the new post of vicar apostolic for Scotland. Alexander Winster, the prefect of the secular mission, who had considered himself to be the obvious choice

³¹ *SCA*, BL 1/101/2 and 3.

³² *SCA*, BL 1/101/4.

³³ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 330–1. Sir George Etherege was not happy with his posting since he missed his friends in London and found Regensburg with its German diplomats boring. In 1687 he wrote to Robert Corbet that "London is dull by accident but Ratisbone by Nature". Beal, Peter, "The most constant and best entertainment": Sir George Etherege's Reading in Ratisbon", *The Library, Oxford Journals* (1988), 122.

had been eliminated. No decision had been taken but it was clear to Fleming that he was the favoured candidate. He had taken the disappointments of Holyrood chapel and the representation at the Imperial Diet with a degree of equanimity but he was not willing to accept the challenge of being vicar apostolic. He wrote to *Don Guilielmo* in Rome stating this and giving his strong backing for the post to be given to Lewis Innes (1651–1738), prefect of the Scots College in Paris.³⁴ He made the same known in writing to John Drummond (1649–1714) (Lord Melfort), chancellor of Scotland and Lord Howard, cardinal protector of Scotland, resident in Rome. King James had already appointed Innes as his secretary in Scotland and in many ways he would have filled the role of vicar apostolic well. The successful candidate, however, needed to be acceptable to both the king and Rome and there was disagreement. Opposition to Lewis Innes was intense. Not only the king but also Melfort, the Scottish Secretary of State, Ferdinando d’Adda (1650–1719), the papal nuncio to James and the English vicar apostolic, John Leybourne (1620–1702) were against his appointment. Also against Innes were members of the Society of Jesus. The disappointed Alexander Winster was particularly active in decrying his appointment and attempted to give the impression that Innes would not be acceptable to his missionaries since he had not worked in Scotland.³⁵ On the other side of the debate Fleming and William Leslie had assembled a coalition which included themselves, Cardinal Protector Howard and most importantly the Roman curia in support of Innes. The king wanted agreement before making an appointment and a compromise – the appointment of two vicars apostolic: the second candidate being Thomas Nicolson (see below) – was offered but although Fleming was willing to agree Leslie would not. Opinions in Britain and Rome were divided. There was stalemate and no decision was taken.³⁶

Fleming would have been acceptable to all parties but he was adamant in his refusal to accept the post. This may be explained in a number of ways. That he felt unequal to the task can be discounted since that does not fit with his character. It is possible that Fleming did not want to leave unfinished the work he had started in Germany. His little seminary had no official recognition. The *Schottenklöster* were still disunited and his plans for Scottish Benedictine

³⁴ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 129–30.

³⁵ SCA, *BL 1/101/3*. Fleming’s letter to Whytford dated 29 April 1687 in which he dismisses Winster’s (here referred to under his alias of Dunbar) objection by commenting that Leybourne had not served on the English mission before his appointment as vicar apostolic in England.

³⁶ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 332.

involvement in the provision of higher education in Germany were reaching a critical stage on their road to a successful conclusion.³⁷ Added to this reason was his concern regarding King James's ability to retain his thrones.³⁸ The Exclusion movement had been held in check by his brother Charles and James had crushed the Monmouth Rebellion but it was clear that many in Britain were unhappy with the changes he was introducing in respect of toleration of Catholicism. The unrest which this caused raised worries among the king's friends in Rome that his reign would not be long or successful. Fleming shared these concerns and introduced special prayers at St James' in Regensburg for the preservation of the Stuart monarchy.³⁹ Despite these fears Fleming would probably have consented to accepting the post of vicar apostolic if it were not that he was unwilling to be subject to the authority of *Propaganda Fide*. He was of independent mind and had shown his willingness and ability to resist pressures from Rome. He was a match for the Roman authorities in any reasoned argument but the Scottish mission was financially dependent on Rome. The monetary support that could be expected from the Stuart king would have been insufficient for the mission's needs. By accepting the post of vicar apostolic Fleming would have been exchanging his position of being an independent mitred abbot of the Holy Roman Empire for that of a bishop supplicant to Roman bureaucracy. He could only have viewed that in such a case his freedom to manage the affairs of the mission would have been severely curtailed.

In expressing his rejection of the post Fleming assured *Propaganda Fide* and the king that the Benedictines would give their wholehearted support to Lewis Innes or whoever was appointed vicar apostolic. James accepted Fleming's word and asked that on return to Germany he also assist Sir George Etherege in his new role as the king's diplomatic representative at the Imperial Diet in Regensburg.⁴⁰ Etherege and Fleming became friends. He was one of

³⁷ Fleming felt "obliged not to leave Ratisbon until it is in a better condition". He states that this is his principal reason but adds that others such as Innes and William Leslie are better qualified for the post. He continues that he has been criticised by Winster for both being the preferred candidate and for not recommending that Winster be given the promotion. It is clear that Fleming had a poor opinion of the prefect of the mission and tells Whytford that there is nothing to fear from Winster since soon "his horns will be cut a little shorter". Fleming's letter to Whytford dated 21 January 1687, SCA, BL 1/101/2.

³⁸ SCA, BL 1/111/15. Fleming's letter to Lewis Innes in Paris dated 18th December 1688.

³⁹ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 332.

⁴⁰ Humphries, "Abbot Placid", 319.

the companions with whom the abbot would share a bottle of wine. The abbot's friendship with the envoy illustrates Fleming's broadmindedness. Just as Etherege thought the other delegates dull, they in turn judged his behaviour to be disgraceful, especially his gambling and frequent consorting with actresses.⁴¹ Time and again Fleming was required to use his diplomatic skills to extract Etherege from trouble. It was fortunate that Fleming had been able to cultivate friendships with a number of diplomats at the diet. One of the more important of these was the French ambassador, Comte Louis Verjus de Crecy, who stayed at the monastery from 1679 to 1688 as Fleming's guest. The two diplomats were opposites in their personalities – the French aristocrat whose brother, Antoine, was a Jesuit priest and the libertine English playwright.⁴² However, the interests of their countries often coincided and it took Fleming's considerable powers of diplomacy to ensure cooperation between the two men at the diet.⁴³ Etherege had reason to be grateful to Fleming and when he returned to England, he left his substantial library of books, which were mainly on politics and history, to the monastery for the benefit of his friend and the rest of the community.⁴⁴ Given Fleming's initial disappointment at not being confirmed in the post of ambassador his behaviour towards Etherege was exemplary.

⁴¹ Göller, Karl Heinz, 'Sir George Etherege und Hugh Hughes als englische Gesandte am Reichstag' in Albrecht, Dieter (ed.), *Regensburg – Stadt der Reichstage* (Regensburg, 1980) 107–29. Also Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, 1902, 290.

⁴² Sir George was totally unsuited to the world of diplomacy. He particularly disliked the protocol involved which was strictly adhered to at the Imperial Diets. He summed up his attitude to it in a poem, *Ceremony*, which he wrote while in Regensburg.

"
*For pleasure here has the same fate
 Which does attend affairs of state.
 The plague of ceremony infects,
 Ev'n in love, the softer sex
 Who an essential will neglect
 Rather than lose the least respect.
 With regular approach we storm,
 And never visit but in form;
 That is, sending to know before
 At what o'clock they'll play the whore."*

Göller, 117

⁴³ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 331.

⁴⁴ Beal, Peter, "Sir George Etherege's Library at Ratisbon", *The Library, Oxford Journals*, 2002, 315–16. Fleming had made great efforts to enlarge the monastery's library. The catalogue of 1690 records that it contained 2400 books of which one third had been added by Fleming. Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 337.

Fleming also kept his word to the king regarding his support for the mission in Scotland. On his return to Regensburg from Britain he drew together a group of six monks and sent them to Scotland instructing them to report to Alexander Winster despite the latter's personal antagonism to him. Four of the brethren came from his community and two from Würzburg.⁴⁵ Fleming was marshalling the resources of the *Schottenklöster* as if he were abbot general. Despite not having been consulted prior to the decision Abbot Irvine (Maxwell's successor) fell in with Fleming's plans. This easy cooperation between the two abbeys did not continue. In 1690 Irvine's successor, Ambrosius Cook, persuaded the prince-bishop of Würzburg to refuse Fleming's proposal of a formal union of the monasteries.⁴⁶ However, in 1697 when Cook temporarily abandoned his charge Abbot Fleming became *de facto* head of the Scottish Benedictines, a position which he and his successors as abbot of Regensburg held thereafter. However, the abbeys were never formally made into a new congregation. Fleming had appointed only priors to Erfurt abbey and in the middle of the following century Würzburg, too, was designated a priory leaving Regensburg as the only monastery controlling its two dependent priories.⁴⁷

A Political Role for Abbot Fleming

Shortly after Fleming sent his monks to Scotland all the carefully laid plans for the mission were ruined when William of Orange (1650–1702) usurped his father-in-law's throne and James fled to France.⁴⁸ After defeat in Ireland in 1689 James' supporters were in disarray. On the mission in Scotland all of the priests were either imprisoned, exiled or in hiding.⁴⁹ Fleming was obliged

⁴⁵ Included was Ephraim Read, the Gaelic speaker, whom Fleming and Leslie had disagreed about earlier. Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 326.

⁴⁶ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 135.

⁴⁷ See chapter 7.

⁴⁸ James had feared intervention by his son-in-law for some time and had cultivated an alliance with his cousin, King Louis XIV of France. The incident which crystallised the Prince of Orange's decision to invade was the birth of James's heir in 1688 an event which was greeted with jubilation among Catholics. Abbot Fleming celebrated in St James in Regensburg with a *Te Deum* attended by Ambassador Etherege. The following month the Prince of Wales fell ill and being concerned for his safety the queen, Mary Beatrice of Modena (1658–1718), requested that the Scottish Benedictines in Germany send her the "miracle working" relics of St Macarius which were venerated in St James' in Würzburg. Fr. Joseph Ogilvie took them to London and the heir's recovery was attributed to the relic's miraculous power. Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 333.

⁴⁹ The Benedictines Boniface Mackie, James Bruce and Ambrosius Cook escaped to

to send 300 florins to save the Benedictine prisoners from starving in gaol.⁵⁰ The disaster of his military defeat caused many of James's supporters from each his three kingdoms to seek refuge on the continent. King Louis XIV (1638–1715) of France gave the royal family the palace of St Germain en Laye to set up court. The palace and its adjacent village were soon filled with Jacobites of whom the majority were Catholic. Irish soldiers predominated but there were also significant numbers of the queen's Italian servants.⁵¹ English and Scottish Jacobites, who were Anglican or Episcopal as well as Catholic, were also in residence. The king appointed Lewis Innes to his inner cabinet and Alexander Winster, who had been exiled following his imprisonment in Scotland, was made court almoner to dispense charity to the near destitute refugees. Conditions in St Germain were not easy for the majority and some of the Scottish Jacobites left for Rome. On their way they stopped at the Scots monastery in Regensburg. James Drummond (1648–1716), Duke of Perth,⁵² King James's Lord Chancellor, stayed there for a time before proceeding to Rome.⁵³ A number of his relatives and followers decided to remain at the monastery and gradually Regensburg became the headquarters of a

Germany before the reprisals started. The remaining Benedictines, Augustine Bruce, Ephraim Read, James Blair and Christian Abercrombie were all imprisoned. Abercrombie was held for five years before being released. The elderly Ephraim Read (he was in his mid 60s) suffered harsh treatment while in prison but after his release he worked on for a further twenty years as chaplain to the Countess of Dunfermline in Fyvie Castle. Dilworth, *Franconia*, 206–8. The other missionaries suffered in similar fashion. Alexander Winster and Thomas Nicolson were imprisoned. Alexander Burnet and Alexander Leslie only escaped by taking to the heather for four months. In November and December of 1689 Walter Innes, Alexander Crichton, Robert Seton SJ, Walter Innes SJ and George Adamson SJ were all imprisoned. Forbes Leith, *Memoirs*, 145–50. Roger Maxwell SJ was arrested in Edinburgh shortly after his arrival and later was exiled. He returned in 1698 but his health had been so badly damaged by his earlier imprisonment that after three years he was invalided back to the Scots College in Douai. *RSC*, 53–4.

⁵⁰ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 206.

⁵¹ Callow, *The King in Exile, James II, Warrior, King and Saint* (Stroud, 2004) 205–40.

⁵² When in exile King James appointed Drummond his ambassador to Rome and created him Duke of Perth. Previously Drummond had been the 4th Earl of Perth. His dukedom was never recognised by the new regime in Britain.

⁵³ Before being appointed abbot of Würzburg, Ambrosius Cook had been Perth's chaplain while he worked on the mission in Scotland in the 1680s. Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 325. The Duke visited his former chaplain *en route* to Rome and while in Germany met Fleming in Regensburg. The Duke's brother decided to stay at the Regensburg monastery spending the rest of his life there as a guest of the abbot. Dilworth, *Franconia*, 137.

community of Jacobites independent from St Germain and the French court.⁵⁴ Placid Fleming was able to help the exiles by providing accommodation⁵⁵ and arranging introductions for them to the imperial court in Vienna as well as the Bavarian court in Munich.⁵⁶ He was helped in this by Count James Leslie (d. 1694). The count's uncle had been Walter Leslie (1607–67), the Scottish soldier who in the Thirty Years War had led the group of mercenaries who had assassinated Count Wallenstein. For removing this politically dangerous man the emperor rewarded Walter Leslie with estates and made him a count of the Holy Roman Empire. His nephew had inherited his uncle's title and lands and fought successfully in the emperor's service against the Swedes in the Second Northern War (1655–60) and against the Ottomans notably at the siege of Vienna (1683). He too had been rewarded with grants of newly conquered lands in what is now Slovenia.⁵⁷ With Leslie's help a number of Scottish Jacobites were able to obtain commissions as army officers. Their loyalty to the Stuart cause remained but they were required to distance themselves from King James' alliance with France which was an enemy of the empire. King James' position as a client of the French king caused the emperor to become a *de facto* ally of William and Mary. French sympathisers were not welcomed in the imperial army or at the court.

This became a serious problem for Fleming. Following Etherege's departure from Regensburg in 1689 King James appointed the abbot as his representative at the Imperial Diet, a position in which he found himself increasingly isolated politically. King William had appointed Etherege's personal secretary, Hugh Hughes, as the formal British representative in Regensburg. Hughes was a fanatical Protestant and had secretly served William as an agent while in Etherege's service and used his privileged knowledge to undermine the Stuart interests at the Imperial Diet. On taking up his appointment Hughes began a

⁵⁴ Another prominent permanent resident in Regensburg was George Gordon, brother of Charles, 2nd Earl of Aboyne. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, 148.

⁵⁵ In 1688 the War of the League of Augsburg broke out between France and a coalition made up of the emperor, Spain, Sweden, Saxony and Bavaria – later to be joined by William of Orange. As a consequence the Comte de Crecy was recalled from the Imperial Diet and he and his retinue left Regensburg. As well as the space which this made available in the monastery some of the extra accommodation which Fleming had created while expanding his school was pressed into service for the Jacobite refugees.

⁵⁶ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 326.

⁵⁷ Worthington David, 'On the High Post-Way between Vienna and Venice – The Leslie Family in Slovenia', *Zapuščina Rodbine LeslieNa Ptujskem Gradu* (pokrajinski muzej Pruj, 2002), 34–8.

campaign to discredit Fleming in the eyes of the imperial court. He arranged that the abbot be kept under observation and intercepted much of his correspondence which seemed to show that Fleming was playing a significant political role. Hughes claimed that the Scots monastery in Regensburg was the centre of a web of conspiracies in central Europe against the House of Orange. He cast Fleming in the role of the spider and referred to him as “certainly the most malicious and the most inveterate enemy in the world”.⁵⁸ By the winter of 1690–91 the British ambassador was able to report that Fleming had travelled several times to Holland with the intention, he believed, of conspiring with others to assassinate King William. Hughes managed to convince the Commission of the Imperial Diet of the danger and they agreed that Fleming’s correspondence should be stopped. Although this was extremely damaging Fleming’s real fear was that Hughes would succeed in his aim of having him arrested and deported. Hughes was making claims for which he had no proof but, nevertheless, Fleming had to be extremely careful even to the point of always dealing with Hughes in a courteous manner. He could not deny his French sympathies. He was James’ representative at the diet and his monastery was giving shelter to the king’s followers after having accommodated the French ambassador as a guest for a number of years. The abbot understood that it was vital that he did as little as possible to provoke the Imperial Commission. During the five years in which Hughes remained ambassador in Regensburg Fleming was under so much scrutiny that he came to feel that it would have been better if he had stayed in Paris as a student and not taken up his abbacy. He survived the strain placed on him by these events through his strength of character which he nurtured by retreating inside the monastery for periods of contemplation and prayer.⁵⁹ This was the time in his abbacy when he most inspired his brethren by his example. Those from outside his community, who knew him such as Verjus Comte de Crecy and Sir George Etherege, not only remarked on his genuine piety and the simplicity

⁵⁸ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 333. Also Göller, 124.

⁵⁹ This had been his practice for many years. In a letter he wrote to Lewis Innes on 18th December 1688 he described his monastic existence as one in which he “enjoyed the pleasure of a solitarie lyfe where a man can shut his doores, deny audience to everybody [...] to quyt such a pleasant port and Elysian calme, and to lance forth againe into the oceane, and to be exposed to stormes and tempests, to follow new modes and fashions, and being in an old age to learne to steer a new course among a thousand rocks and sands were a perfect madness [...]” More than twenty years after leaving the navy Fleming still used imagery derived from his life as a naval officer. *SCA, BL 1/111/15*.

of his life but stressed how it was he who had restored the Scots Benedictines to a position of regard with their German hosts.⁶⁰ It was a matter of great relief to Fleming, therefore, when Hughes left Regensburg in 1694 and his situation began to improve.

Despite his suspicions being unproven, Hughes was not wrong in thinking that Fleming was acting in support of King James' interests whenever he could. The imperial authorities had banned his correspondence but they did not feel that they could prevent an abbot from communicating with Rome. Fleming not only wrote to the authorities in Rome but used William Leslie (*Don Guilielmo*) as a post box to forward his reports to the Stuart court in St Germain. In a letter to Leslie dated March 1694, about the time when Hughes was recalled from Regensburg, Fleming informed Leslie that the imperial forces were unprepared and there was a good opportunity for the French to invade the upper Rhine. The emperor's Bohemian subjects were ready for insurrection and they should be encouraged to create a distraction for the imperial army thereby making it easier for the French to march south and take Vienna.⁶¹ The advice was never acted upon: indeed it is not clear whether Leslie ever passed on such a dangerous message but it does show that Fleming was behaving in ways which not only supported the Stuart king's French allies but were also extremely inimical to Fleming's own host country. The timing of his advice made it particularly dangerous since King Louis had already gained significant victories in the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–97) and was close to breaking the league of allies of which the Holy Roman Empire was a pre-eminent member. Disclosure of Fleming's betrayal would certainly have placed him in an impossible position in relation to the Viennese court.

The British did not appoint a resident ambassador in Regensburg to replace Hughes. George Stepney (1663–1702), the ambassador to Brandenburg, visited on occasions and Fleming was better able to deal with him. He found he had much in common with this highly educated poet and scholar.⁶² Stepney

⁶⁰ In their reports to their political masters both ambassadors expressed their high opinion of the abbot and the invaluable service he provided them. In 1687 Etherage wrote to his Secretary of State, the Earl of Middleton, "it is impossible for anyone from our country to be in this place without being much obliged to him [...] his piety, his courtesie, his industry, and his good husbandry are the wonder of all who know him...". Verjus de Crecy reported to Paris that it was through Fleming's piety, economy, good conduct and example that the Scots Benedictine monasteries had been restored. Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 331.

⁶¹ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 334.

⁶² While serving in Germany Stepney was elected a member of the Royal Society and on his death was awarded the honour of being buried in Westminster Abbey. It cannot

had none of the anti-papist zeal of Hughes and close surveillance of the abbot ceased. Also Fleming was able to start to rebuild his political influence at court – both imperial and Bavarian. The War of the League of Augsburg ended with the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 and, thereafter, the abbot was able to try to regain his favoured position at court. He was aided in this in Vienna by William Leslie of Warthill (1657–1727), a cousin of Count Leslie. At the time, William Leslie, an ordained priest, was managing the count's business affairs but he was also intent on benefiting from his cousin's prestige to gain himself a benefice from the emperor, which he did in 1716 when he was appointed bishop of Vacs in Hungary. Two years later he was further elevated to the prince-archbishopric of Ljubljana in Slovenia. By the late 1690s he and Fleming had become close friends and were to remain so until the abbot's death in 1720. Leslie's support at court was invaluable to Fleming. In 1701 Emperor Leopold I was again at war with the French. During this war – The War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14) – the emperor's Hungarian subjects rose in rebellion (1703–08). Fleming was accused of being complicit in what was seen as a French inspired revolt. Initially the Hungarians succeeded as Leopold could not spare sufficient military resources to crush them. The similarity of the circumstances with the advice contained in Fleming's letter of 1694 regarding the possibility of a Bohemian uprising is probably coincidental and certainly the emperor could not have known of the letter's contents or the abbot's fate would have been sealed. Fleming denied any involvement and was backed in his declaration of innocence by the papal nuncio, Gianantonio Davia (in post 1700–05), William Leslie (the future prince-archbishop of Ljubljana) and George Stepney. With these influential supporters the imperial court withdrew the accusation.⁶³

It is easy to understand how suspicion fell on Placid Fleming. The Council of the Imperial Diet had suspected him in the previous decade and he had made no secret of remaining loyal to James VII/II. There had been, however, a major change which made his position even more suspect in the eyes of the imperial court. At the outset of the new hostilities between the emperor and Louis XIV, Bavaria had allied itself with the French. Maximilian II Emanuel (1662–1726), Elector of Bavaria, was forced to flee when the emperor's troops

be argued that Fleming was an intellectual. Nevertheless, he was extremely intelligent and convivial. It is not surprising that he and Stepney became friends. Among other matters they shared interests in university education. Stepney was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Fleming had demonstrated his passion with his promotion of Erfurt and Salzburg and the continued correspondence with Jean Mabillon.

⁶³ Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 334.

invaded and occupied Munich. Fleming's close and longstanding friendship with Max Emanuel placed him in a dangerous position. Nonetheless, it is questionable whether Fleming was involved in any French conspiracy on this occasion. Circumstances were different from his earlier involvement in political affairs. King James had died in 1701 and although Fleming recognised his heir as King James VIII/III he did not view helping him to reclaim his thrones as the primary concern of the Scots Benedictines. They were expending their efforts in supporting Bishop Nicolson with missionaries in Scotland. Also Abbot Placid had at last succeeded in obtaining positions of influence and authority for his monks at the University of Erfurt. Under the circumstances it is unlikely that he would have risked involvement in inciting the Hungarian rebellion.⁶⁴

The Heroic Age of the Scottish Mission

While the Jacobite communities in St Germain and Regensburg were taking on an air of permanence, in Scotland the mission was in disarray and it was essential that a vicar apostolic be appointed to take control and rebuild what had been destroyed. In 1695 Rome finally made an appointment. The choice, approved by the king in exile, was Thomas Nicholson (c. 1645–1718) of Kemnay in Aberdeenshire. He was about fifty years of age on his appointment as Scotland's first bishop since the Reformation. The son of Sir Thomas Nicolson of Kemnay, he had converted to Catholicism in 1682 following a career as a regent of Glasgow University. After studying theology at the Scots College in Douai he was ordained and returned to Scotland as a missionary in 1687.⁶⁵ His imprisonment in 1689 was ended when his younger brother, Sir

⁶⁴ After Fleming had been cleared, Prince Eugene of Savoy, an ally of the emperor, in 1705, accused George Stepney of favouring the Hungarian insurrectionists and requested his withdrawal as ambassador. The British refused to accept his recall and demanded that he remain. The case for Stepney was strongly pressed by his good friend, the Duke of Marlborough, who was leading the British land forces against the French. Stepney remained ambassador for one more year before being reassigned to the Netherlands in 1706. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Index no. 101026404. In 1705 another of Fleming's supporters, Gianantonio Davia, took the unusual step of resigning his post as papal nuncio and withdrew from Vienna. It is likely that, although the imperial court did not proceed against Fleming, they were not fully convinced of his innocence in the matter.

⁶⁵ Nicolson's appointment frustrated the ambitions of Alexander Winster who could not object as he had done to the proposed appointment of Lewis Innes on the grounds that he had not served on the mission.

George (d. 1711), who had been appointed a Lord of Session in Edinburgh in 1682, stood bail for him. Returning to Scotland therefore presented him with a problem. Sir George had given a surety of 3000 florins that his brother would go into permanent exile.⁶⁶ Unless he could gain a passport and have the conditions on the surety waived, on his return to Britain he would be liable to imprisonment and his brother bankrupted by the bail demand. Thomas Nicolson was prepared to take the risk but before setting off to Scotland he decided to canvass support for his mission from the Scots colleges. As well as visiting each of the three Scots colleges abroad which were operational at the time⁶⁷ and petitioning *Propaganda Fide* in Rome, he went to Franconia and Bavaria to meet with Cook and Fleming. The discussions covered the new bishop's plans for his vicariate and the need for support. Fleming and Cook assured Nicolson that they would send as many ordained monks from their communities as possible and that the monasteries would provide stipends for them. This was very important to Nicolson since it allowed him to use the limited funds provided by *Propaganda Fide* exclusively for the support of secular priests.⁶⁸ The abbots also assured the bishop that the Benedictine missionaries would be totally subject to his authority: he would be able to accept or reject whoever he wished and allocate them to whichever mission station he felt was appropriate.⁶⁹ Fleming was able to help Nicolson in another important matter.

⁶⁶ Bellesheim, vol. IV, 147.

⁶⁷ Douai, Paris and Rome. The Royal Scots College in Madrid had no longer been available to Scots from 1681 when the Jesuits closed the *Colegio Imperial de San Isidro* in which the students had been taking their classes. Spanish Jesuits took over the building for the education of Spanish scholars. It was returned to the Scots in 1713 under the rectorship of Thomas Fife (1674–1746), a Scottish Jesuit, who had been educated at the Scots Colleges in Douai and Rome. It again was taken over by the Spanish Jesuits in 1739 before finally being returned to Scots secular priests on the expulsion from Spain of the Society of Jesus in 1767. McNally, *The Sixth Scottish University*, 26–31.

⁶⁸ *Propaganda Fide* provided 500 Roman Crowns annually which was considered sufficient to support ten priests. Nicholson was required to support about four times that number.

⁶⁹ In the following year Abbot Cook left Würzburg for Scotland to collect a legacy which had been left to the monastery by one of its deceased brethren. The money was needed to help pay the debts which Cook had accumulated through bad governance in his short time as abbot of Würzburg. He stayed away for two years spending time at St Denis in Paris where he joined the Maurists. In 1684 Abbot Fleming and Jean Mabillon had discussed establishing a chapter of this French Benedictine congregation in Bavaria; see chapter 7. As well as being intellectually disciplined it had a reputation for strictness in spiritual and disciplinary matters. The regime was too austere for Cook and he returned to Würzburg in 1699. During this delinquency

He asked his good friend, Max Emanuel the Elector of Bavaria, to petition King William in England to grant Nicolson a passport and waive the conditions of his bail in Scotland. Max Emanuel instructed his ambassador at the court in London, Abbot Scarlatti, to present the formal petition in the name of the elector. In January 1696 King William granted the request and Nicolson was at last able to travel home.⁷⁰

Despite his passport it was only after several unsuccessful attempts in which he was detained in Holland and imprisoned in England that Thomas Nicolson succeeded in returning to Scotland in 1697. On arrival he found that he had forty missionaries to cover the whole of the country.⁷¹ *Propaganda Fide* had convinced him that the best way to organise the mission was to allocate each priest to a fixed mission station. This had been something which earlier the Jesuits and Irish Franciscans had strongly resisted. In particular the Irish felt that they needed to move whenever danger threatened. Staying in one location made them vulnerable to arrest.⁷² *Propaganda Fide* had argued that fixed parishes were required by a decree of the twenty-fourth session of the Council of Trent in 1563. In laying down the decree the council's intention was to ensure that heretical or even false priests could not minister in a parish in which they were unknown. The ruling was never meant to cover the difficult conditions of a hostile mission station. By insisting upon this condition *Propaganda Fide* hoped that congregations would support their regular priest and thereby remove the need for stipends to be provided by Rome. But this insistence placed the missionaries in greater danger of discovery and arrest.

Bishop Nicolson set about organising his new charge with enthusiasm. Priests were allocated parishes, schools were opened and he continuously exhorted the religious orders and colleges abroad to provide more priests. The increased activity attracted the attention of the civil authorities and the Kirk and within six years all of his schools⁷³ had been closed and many priests

Abbot Fleming managed the affairs of the *Schottenklöster* particularly where they involved the commitments made to Nicholson regarding the work of the mission. Dilworth, *Franconia*, 138, 140–1, 207–8.

⁷⁰ Bellesheim, vol. Iv, 148.

⁷¹ Twenty-six secular priests, ten Jesuits and four Benedictines. These were the four Benedictines who had been imprisoned in 1689 and had remained in Scotland following their release. *ASCEP* Con. Par. Vol. FF. 32r–267v.

⁷² Giblin, 'The Irish Mission to Scotland in the Seventeenth Century', 89–98.

⁷³ When he was appointed there were only three Catholic schools in the whole country. One had been founded in Barra in 1675 with the support of Archbishop Plunkett; an earlier school in Glengarry which had relocated to Arisaig (Scotus) and a third school in Uist. The school in Arisaig was the most successful with over thirty pupils

had been arrested and exiled. Nicolson succeeded in adding to his initial complement of forty missionaries with a further fifty priests of whom three had been sent by Abbot Fleming. However, the authorities had arrested so many that when Nicolson died in 1718 there were only thirty-three priests left to serve the whole of Scotland.⁷⁴ In his initial reports to *Propaganda Fide* the bishop had listed the names of all his missionaries and the mission stations to which they had been allocated. Later he gave only the locations of the mission stations. Finally his reports contained simply the number of priests.⁷⁵ His correspondence had been intercepted and the actions of the civil authorities to suppress Catholicism were concentrated on the arrest of priests. Their capture was encouraged by offering financial rewards.⁷⁶ Imprisonment and exile were the standard sentences but this did not exclude maltreatment and even death. The examples of two priests illustrate this.

Robert Munro (c. 1645–1701) was a secular priest who had acted as Bishop Nicolson's guide and interpreter during his initial visit to the Gaelic speaking congregations of the west highlands. He had been designated parish priest for Glengarry and was known to the civil authorities who tried on numerous occasions to capture him but he was always forewarned. In December of 1701 he received word of a party of soldiers from Glengarry Castle coming to arrest him but he was too ill to flee. He was nearly seventy years of age and was suffering from a fever. When he was taken he was unable to walk or ride a horse. His captors slung him over the back of a pack animal and tied his hands and feet together to prevent him slipping off. He was taken through a snowstorm to Glengarry Castle and thrown into the dungeon where he was left without water or straw for bedding. He died after two days.⁷⁷

The city archives of Aberdeen house records of the trial of a Jesuit, Patrick Weems (Wemyss) (c. 1686–c.1730). They are dated 1720 and show that he was captured in a house in the city after an informer had told the

attending. Bishop Nicolson gave additional support to the schoolmasters and they continued to flourish for several years. The schoolmasters, however, were as much a target of persecution as the priests and all of the schools had been suppressed by 1703. To counter this setback the bishop encouraged his priests within their own parishes to accept pupils where they could do so safely. These efforts were no substitute for Catholic schools and Nicolson, through his coadjutor, Bishop James Gordon (1665–1746), succeeded in setting up a school in Morar in 1715 shortly before his death in 1718.

⁷⁴ *ASCEP*, CP, Vol. 32, 300R–301R.

⁷⁵ *ASCEP*, C.P., vol.32 pp. 300r–301r.

⁷⁶ Forbes Leith, *Memoirs*, 186.

⁷⁷ *RSC*, 45, 118.

authorities of his whereabouts and claimed the reward of 500 marks.⁷⁸ In a letter to the authorities in Edinburgh the magistrates say that the priest is very ill as a result of his period of incarceration in the tollbooth. They are clearly concerned that he should not be allowed to die in Aberdeen and express relief when instructions arrive from the Lord Advocate that he should be sent to Edinburgh for sentencing. The Jesuit archives in Rome show that Wemyss was in his early thirties at the time. It would appear that while in the hands of the justices of Aberdeen Peter Wemyss had been severely maltreated and as a result, following his exile, he was never able to return to Scotland.⁷⁹

The effect such actions had on the mission was great. Nicolson's successors faced the same problems. Despite correspondence being in code and the use of aliases the rate of attrition on the number of priests remained high. Active missionaries never exceeded thirty-five despite over one hundred being sent to Scotland in the sixty years following the re-establishment of bishops.⁸⁰ When Fleming died in 1720 Benedictine support for the mission diminished. Missionaries who returned to Germany or died were not replaced. Gradually the mission came to consist almost entirely of secular priests.⁸¹ The mission work received its severest blow from the government reprisals in Scotland taken after the Battle of Culloden in 1746. Bishop Alexander Smith (d. 1766) made desperate appeals for help to rebuild the mission. In 1750 he sent Fr. Robert (Gallus) Leith to Regensburg to beg for monks to be sent to Scotland. The abbot, Bernard Stuart, was unmoved and in turn sent him to the pope who used Leith as a courier to Britain where he was imprisoned.⁸² On release he returned to Regensburg and later was appointed abbot of St James'. The mission in Scotland was gradually re-established but only with secular priests. No Benedictine or Jesuit missionaries were provided.⁸³ These later events show how remarkable Abbot Fleming's commitment to this work was. He had other challenging tasks in reconstructing, literally and figuratively, the

⁷⁸ It is significant that the record does not state the name of the informer. There were a number of Catholic sympathisers in the city and the omission may have been to protect the informer from any reprisal.

⁷⁹ Aberdeen City Archives, *Press 18/8/36-39*.

⁸⁰ Forbes Leith, *Memoirs*, 169, 187.

⁸¹ The Jesuits missionaries were placed under the control of the vicar apostolic in 1702 following which only ten went to Scotland before the suppression of the society in 1775.

⁸² Fischer T A, *The Scots in Germany* (Edinburgh, 1902) 149.

⁸³ Lack of Jesuit involvement is understandable. The Society was under sustained attack within Europe and had been expelled from a number of countries in the 1760s before its final suppression in 1773 by Pope Clement XIV (1705-74).

Schottenklöster, founding his seminary and establishing a prominent role for the Scots in the running of the University of Erfurt. These tasks placed great demands on his time, energy and finances. William Leslie in Rome recognised the value of Fleming's work for the mission. In 1697 he delivered a report to *Propaganda Fide* in which he praised the efforts of the Benedictines in supporting the new vicar apostolate.⁸⁴ Leslie, who by then was very elderly, also suggested that a member of the Benedictine Order (Fleming) should succeed him as the procurator of the Scottish mission in Rome.⁸⁵ Fleming declined but it was clear that the two men had great respect for one another and that Leslie saw Fleming as someone as firmly dedicated to the mission as himself and their long dead friend, Robert Barclay. Fleming's successors as abbot were not enthusiastic and over time the commitment of the Benedictine community to the mission disappeared. The last Benedictine to serve was Gallus Leith and his involvement ended when he was sent by Bishop Smith to Regensburg following his flight from the battlefield at Culloden.⁸⁶ For seventy five years Benedictines had served the mission well but they were not to return to Scotland for a further century when they were at last deprived of their sanctuary in Germany.

⁸⁴ *ASCEP*, SOCG, 528, f. 624–5.

⁸⁵ Fleming travelled to Rome in 1706 and remained for two years to help in the selection of Leslie's successor, William Stuart. He was able to work closely with the Jesuit rectors of the Scots Colleges in Rome and Paris on this matter and together they were able also to influence the curia in the appointment of Cardinal Sacripante, who was sympathetic to their interests, as protector of Scotland. Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 327.

⁸⁶ Leith had been a confessor to Prince Charles Edward Stuart during his campaign in Britain. Initially he escaped by disguising himself as the secretary of the Bavarian ambassador in London, Baron von Erdt. He later returned acting as a courier but was discovered and imprisoned for six months before being exiled back to Regensburg. Bellesheim, vol. iv, 148.

Part Four

Aufklärung

9 The University of Erfurt

Scottish Benedictine involvement in the University of Erfurt came at a time when the intellectual life of Europe was undergoing remarkable changes which came to be known as the Enlightenment. The term has been useful in identifying these changes, however, it has been redefined a number of times since the eighteenth century. Emanuel Kant (1724–1804), the German philosopher, saw it as a continuous process and defined it in the following way: ‘Enlightenment is man’s emergence from his self-imposed immaturity’.¹ Since then, however, historians have considered it to be a discrete movement anchored in the eighteenth century. Whichever view is taken the Scots Benedictines’ involvement in the Enlightenment, unfairly, has been largely neglected in Scotland. The first scholars sent by Abbot Fleming to the University of Erfurt were not, however, true enlightenment thinkers. They had been taught at the Jesuit run University of Würzburg and the Benedictine University of Salzburg. In both cases they had followed Scholastic or Thomist² philosophy based firmly on the works of Aristotle (384–322 BC) and the classical writers. Scholasticism had been the dominant philosophy for centuries but by the end of the seventeenth century it was being challenged. René Descartes (1596–1650) had helped point the way for the change in 1637 when he published his philosophical treatise *Discourse on Method*.³ In this seminal work he reasoned that in the pursuit of knowledge preconceived ideas should be abandoned and everything should be doubted in order to see the world from a new perspective. In the previous century scholarly examination and questioning of sacred texts and the teachings of the Church

¹ Kant, ‘Answering the Question: What is Enlightenment’ in *Berlinische Monatschrift* (Berlin 1784).

² Thomism was the philosophy developed by Thomas Aquinas (1225–74) which reconciled Aristotelian philosophy with Biblical revelation.

³ Descartes, *Discours de la methode pour bien conduire sa raison, et chercher la vérité dans les sciences* (Leiden, 1637).

had inspired many of those involved in the Protestant Reformation and its Catholic counterpart. At the time Descartes was writing his treatise, the divine authority claimed by the Holy Roman Emperor was being denied by many Protestants in the empire. Similarly the Divine Right of Kings claimed by Charles I was being attacked by his British subjects. But Descartes' philosophy was more than a crystallization of such thinking. In it he encouraged a scrutiny of the scientific works of Aristotle and the other classical writers some of which had been shown to be flawed. Rigorous questioning often supported by practical experimentation came to typify the work of the new philosophers who formed the Enlightenment.

Many of these experimenters, such as Isaac Newton (1642–1727) and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646–1716), came from the Protestant north of Europe. In the nineteenth century this led a number of historians, especially British writers, to describe Protestantism as the driving force behind the Enlightenment.⁴ They viewed the movement essentially as an attack on the doctrine and authority of the Catholic Church. A refinement of this opinion developed from the Romantics' assessment of the French Revolution and viewed enlightenment thinkers as militantly republican, anti-religious and mainly French.⁵ This opinion was expanded to include the belief that national identity was a dominant feature and enlightened philosophers in each of the major countries of Europe were distinguished by different titles. In France they were described as *philosophes* and *lumieres*, in the Italian States *illuministi* and in Germany the movement's title was *Die Aufklärung*. Although no such distinction was made in Britain it has long been recognised that the Scots formed an Enlightenment movement of their own.⁶ David Hume (1711–76) and Adam Smith (1723–90) are lauded as being among its brightest stars with their writings contributing greatly to many different aspects of philosophical thinking. Historians for the most part have viewed the Scottish Enlightenment as firmly rooted in Scotland itself. Little attention has been paid to Scots who carried out their work elsewhere. The Scots who established themselves in the academic life of Erfurt have to date been little recognized and not accounted part of the movement in their native country. Prior to the 1960s there was a settled, not to say cosy, view that the Enlightenment in Scotland was

⁴ In his writings Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–59) does so with ringing certainty. Lord Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, 1848.

⁵ To some extent this view continued into the second half of the twentieth century. See Gay, Peter, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation, The Science of Freedom* (New York, 1969).

⁶ Eds Porter, Roy and Teich, Mikuláš, *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge, 1981).

represented by a close coterie of luminaries motivated by religion and politics – the religion being Calvinism and the politics being Whiggery. Furthermore, although Scotland had contributed more powerfully to eighteenth century thought than its size warranted, its contribution was seen as part of the destructive impact of the Anglicization of the country and in some quarters it was viewed primarily as merely a stylistic achievement of writers such as David Hume and Adam Smith. In the 1960s Hugh Trevor-Roper (1914–2003) disputed this assessment and set out a different view of the Scottish Enlightenment.⁷ He argued that a distinct Scottish Enlightenment had existed and although religion and politics were important he claimed that it was the Arminianism of the northeast of Scotland with its associated Tory/Jacobite leanings that had played a disproportionate role. He also contended that, rather than a solid phalanx of luminaries, the Scottish Enlightenment was the preserve of a few men of genius who were surrounded by ‘camp followers’. But he did agree with the earlier assessment that these men were characterized by the anglophile content of their work rather than any Scottishness – a characterization that intensified following the Act of Union in 1707. Duncan Forbes, his colleague at Cambridge, put up a vigorous counterargument and the academic debate which followed generated as much heat as light.⁸ A number of recent publications by others such as Colin Kidd⁹ supporting and attacking Trevor-Roper’s views have ensured that this argument has continued.

Both camps, however, have contended that this Enlightenment has been characterized by a group of thinkers who were in close proximity to each other in Scotland. In this they overlook a significant point. Many of these luminaries were part of a Scottish diaspora. David Hume¹⁰ and Sir James Steuart (1713–80)¹¹ wrote some of their most important works while in France and the earliest Scottish reference to “enlightened minds” occurs in the *Oration* of Chevalier

⁷ Hugh Trevor-Roper, ‘The Scottish Enlightenment’, *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century* (Oxford, 1967), lxiii.

⁸ Duncan Forbes, *Hume’s Philosophical Politics* (Cambridge, 1975).

⁹ Colin Kidd, ‘Lord Dacre and the Politics of the Scottish Enlightenment’, *The Scottish Historical Review*, Volume LXXXIV, 2: No. 218 (October 2005), 202–20.

¹⁰ While in Paris Hume researched and wrote the part of his *History of England, 1754–62* which covered the Glorious Revolution. He was a guest at the Scots College examining the papers of King James VII/II which were kept there. Hume’s work was regarded as the definitive history until Macaulay’s history of nearly a century later.

¹¹ Steuart wrote much of his *An Enquiry into the Principles of Political Economy*, 1767, while in exile on the continent and before he returned to Scotland in 1763 where it was published four years later.

Ramsay (1686–1743) written in Paris in 1737.¹² Furthermore a significant part of the diaspora was Catholic. As well as Ramsay the renowned architects, James Smith (1645–1731), James Gibbs (1682–1754) and Alexander (Bernard) Stuart were Catholics who worked in Scotland, England and Germany respectively with Gibbs' influence also being strongly felt in North America. Alexander Geddes (1737–1802), the biblical scholar, who studied in Paris and wrote his most influential works in London, was prominent among those who came later in the eighteenth century. With the honourable exception of Mark Goldie's article on the Catholic Scottish Enlightenment¹³ this particular strand has been almost entirely overlooked.¹⁴ Neither Trevor-Roper nor Forbes could accommodate a Catholic contribution in their arguments. While their debate was proceeding, Professor Franco Venturi (1914–94) recognized the existence of a Scottish Enlightenment where no equivalent existed in London. However he argued against nationalism in the Enlightenment and proposed that it was a single intellectual movement whose adherents were spread throughout Europe and committed to the exchange of ideas across all frontiers, geographical, political and religious.¹⁵ For a time, the arguments of Trevor-Roper and the other protagonists overshadowed Venturi's internationalist proposition.¹⁶ In their theories the position of the Scots Benedictines whose work in Erfurt in the eighteenth century contributed so much to a greater Enlightenment, therefore, remains an anomaly. German historians have rightly recognized the contribution that these Scots made to *Die Aufklärung* but Scottish historians have yet to acknowledge them.¹⁷ This omission is due in large part to ignorance

¹² Ramsay's *Oration* is more properly known as *Discourse pronounced at the reception of Freemasons by Monsieur de Ramsay, Grand Orator of the Order, 1737*, quoted in Albert Cherel, 'André Michel Ramsay', *Fénelon au XVIIIe siècle en France* (Paris, 1917).

¹³ Mark Goldie, 'The Scottish Catholic Enlightenment', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 30, 1991.

¹⁴ The contributions of religious thinkers have recently started to be recognised in works such as Sorkin David, *The Religious Enlightenment* (Princeton, 2008) and Lehner Ulrich, *Enlightenment and Catholicism in Europe* (Indiana, 2014).

¹⁵ Franco Venturi, 'Les Lumières dans l'Europe du 18e siècle, XIe Congrès Internatioinnal des Sciences Historiques: Rapports, IV, Histoire Moderne (Stockholm, 1960) Translated into English as Franco Venturi, 'The European Enlightenment', in S.J.Woolf (ed.), *Italy and the Enlightenment. Studies in a Cosmopolitan Century* (London, 1972).

¹⁶ More recently some historians have championed the internationalist view especially in relation to radical thinkers. See Jonathan Israel's trilogy, *Radical Enlightenment* (Oxford, 2001), *Enlightenment Contested* (Oxford, 2005) and *Democratic Enlightenment* (Oxford, 2011).

¹⁷ Paul Wood makes no mention of the Scots who worked in sciences in Erfurt or anywhere else in Germany. Paul Wood, 'Science in the Scottish Enlightenment',

of their achievements which have been lauded in Germany and elsewhere in continental Europe but little known in the land of their birth. In light of the present wider interpretation of Enlightenment thinking the monastic *Lumières* of the *Schottenklöster* deserve better recognition in their own country.

The University of Erfurt

During the last years of Abbot Fleming's life it appears that he mellowed, becoming almost avuncular. His young charges could even risk practical jokes on him. Erhard Grant once bet his fellow students that he could get the old abbot to praise him when he next visited their classroom. When he appeared Grant "fell to work with the utmost apparent application".¹⁸ He won his bet when Fleming praised the young boy in front of his peers. Whether the abbot was truly deceived is questionable. As Ildephonse Kennedy was to report later in the century, the old abbot was always in good humour.¹⁹ The cause of his contentment is not difficult to imagine. After nearly fifty years of work he had achieved all his ambitions for the *Schottenklöster*. The formal establishment of his seminary in 1713 and with it *de facto* recognition of him as head of the whole Scottish Benedictine community in Germany was the final great achievement. The abbeys were recruiting young men and boys of intelligence who were taking advantage of the educational opportunities being offered.²⁰ Fleming's early arrangement of sending senior students to the Jesuit run University of Würzburg was no longer necessary. The cooperative arrangement with the German Benedictines at the University of Salzburg continued but Fleming had built up a distinct Scottish Benedictine presence at the University of Erfurt, a presence which grew to dominate the running of the university for the greater part of the eighteenth century. The means he used to achieve this were the same as he had employed to rebuild his community: insistence on the monastery's legal rights, raising funds by every means possible, gaining important political support and in particular by persistence. His starting point in gaining control of the university was an understanding of the history of the *schottenkloster's* involvement in the foundation and development of that institution.

Alexander Broadie (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 2003).

¹⁸ Humphries, "Abbot Placid", 319.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Between 1713 (the formal establishment of the seminary) and 1855 (the date of the last intake of students to St James', Regensburg) 141 Scottish students enrolled. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, 153.

The Irish monks who came from Regensburg to set up a new community in Erfurt at the beginning of the twelfth century built their monastery on what came to be known as Cathedral hill. In the following centuries they were joined by communities of Augustinians, Dominicans and Franciscans. It is known from an imperial edict of Karl IV (1316–78) in 1366 that the Benedictines and the Augustinians each ran two schools which catered for younger pupils (*scolae principalis*) as well as older scholars (*scolae superiores*).²¹ In 1392 these schools became the nucleus of the city's university making it the third to be established in Germany after Heidelberg (1386) and Cologne (1388). The city burghers contributed to its establishment by providing endowments which allowed their sons to be enrolled as students alongside the monastic novitiates. The relationship between the Scots monastery of St James and the university was strengthened when by his Bull of 1427 Pope Martin V (r. 1417–31) appointed the abbot of the *Schottenkloster* as university conservator, a position of judicial authority which gave the holder the responsibility of adjudicating between the senate, students and townspeople in any dispute. This was an important position since it was not unusual in medieval cities for the interests of the university and the burghers to clash, particularly when students fought with town youths. Keeping the peace required even-handedness in judgements which was not always apparent in either the university courts or those of the burgh. Potential litigants would have accepted the abbot in this role of conservator only if, in their opinion, he was believed to be a disinterested party. In the fourteenth century Germans had taken over the running of the Iro-Scots abbey but when the Bull was proclaimed in 1427 Irish control of the monastery had been re-established and its abbot, Rupertus (r. 1405–33) was an Irishman subject to the authority of the Irish abbot-general in Regensburg, Donatus II (r. 1418–31). The German parties to any litigation would have viewed the abbot as standing apart from local affairs and, therefore, could be more easily trusted to be impartial.²²

²¹ Pradel, 50.

²² The three abbots who followed Rupertus were Irishmen the last of whom, Thadaeus II, was followed once again by a German, Richardus (r. 1458–64). Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, 153, 289. Another consideration which could have weighed in the favour of appointing the *schottenkloster's* abbot as conservator was the monastery's legal protection against damage to its property. In 1198 it was granted a privilege, later confirmed by Rudolf, King of the Germans (r. 1273–91), to the effect that any damage done to its property was punishable by a fine of 100 talents "of pure gold". Contentious judgments would have annoyed one or more of the litigants and having imperial protection would have guarded against reprisals. *Ibid.*, 301.

As one of Germany's oldest, the medieval University of Erfurt prospered and by 1482 it had 1148 scholars.²³ This was shortly before Martin Luther (1483–1546) enrolled as a student. His original intention, strongly influenced by his father, was to become a lawyer but instead, on completion of his four years of study, he remained in the city and entered the Augustinian order. After graduating as Master of Philosophy in 1505 he transferred to Wittenberg to continue as an Augustinian monk.²⁴ When he first arrived in Erfurt the university had thirteen regular professors (that is members of religious orders) and was organised into several large and richly endowed colleges. Its professors and graduates were widely respected as scholars throughout Germany. Luther wrote that “the University of Erfurt enjoyed such a distinction that all others were, in comparison, mere village schools.”²⁵ The university had embraced Scholasticism and taught Aristotelian philosophy using corrected classical texts. Other universities still clung to Medieval Latin texts which had been corrupted over the centuries.²⁶ During the Reformation Erfurt, both the city and university, became Lutheran. The few citizens who continued to adhere to the Catholic faith were no longer in a position to influence civic affairs. Church property was taken over by the city council and monastic institutions were dissolved. However, before these changes occurred the *schottenkloster* had fallen on hard times. In 1472 Erfurt suffered a major fire in which St James' cloisters and church were destroyed. For a time the property was unoccupied but in 1510 Abbot Benedictus met the cost of rebuilding from the sale of monastic property.²⁷

The church had been rebuilt and the monastery partially restored when in 1532 the last pre-Reformation abbot of St James' rented out the remaining monastic lands for a peppercorn rent to a local Catholic family rather than see them confiscated by the Lutheran council.²⁸ As a result the monastery had no

²³ Pradel, 52.

²⁴ Peter Bayne, *Martin Luther- His Life and Work* (London, 1887) 125, 132. He graduated along with 16 others which may seem a remarkably small number for the size of the student body (*ibid.*, 136). However, prior to the middle of the seventeenth century, graduation was taken by a minority of students who completed their courses; often as few as 5%. Those who did were intent mainly on careers as lawyers or doctors of medicine where graduation was obligatory before being allowed to practice. Frijhoff Willem, 'Graduation and Careers', de Ridder-Symoens Hilde (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe*, Volume II (Cambridge, 1996), 378–9.

²⁵ Bayne, 123.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 125.

²⁷ Fischer, 154.

²⁸ Pradel, 55. Pradel does not give the name of the abbot but Fischer states that Abbot

income and the maintenance of its fabric was neglected. The main body of the monastery was turned into an alms house and the school building was allowed to fall into ruin. In 1576 when William Chalmers came from Regensburg to 'reclaim' the Erfurt property there were three old monks still in occupation as residents of the alms house but all connection with the city's university had ended. When John Hamilton took up residence as abbot in 1582 he was supported financially by his brethren in Regensburg and, despite his efforts and those of his successors over the next half century, the single Scottish resident in St James' monastery continued to need help from his brethren in Regensburg and Würzburg. Over this period the university senate was entirely Lutheran and no Catholic participation was possible. However, a major change took place in 1664 when Erfurt was annexed by Johann Philip von Schönborn, Elector of Mainz, one of the most important Catholic prince-archbishops in Germany. For the following century and a half it was in the unusual position of being an enclave of mixed confessional adherence within Thüringen-Saxony, which was almost entirely Protestant. With the city's loss of independence came a change in the status of Catholics. The city and university authorities were forced to adopt a more tolerant approach on confessional matters.

This should have been to the benefit of the Scots Benedictines; however, they were in no position to take advantage. Macarius Chambers, who held the abbacy of Erfurt jointly with that of Regensburg, had allowed things to deteriorate to the point where the only monk in residence in Erfurt, Ephraim Read, was reduced to begging to survive. But with the arrival of Placid Fleming improvements were possible and these led to Scottish involvement in the university's affairs. For Fleming, the University of Erfurt presented an opportunity to take a role in providing higher education in Germany and had the attraction of being free from Jesuit interference. His immediate challenge, however, was to restore the monastic property of St James and establish a viable community. By 1678 he had raised enough money to start. As work progressed he sent four monks to occupy the partially restored abbey. In 1681 he appointed one of them, William Reid, to oversee the rebuilding. In 1685, even as he was making arrangements with the German Benedictines to send Scots to the University of Salzburg, he transferred one of the most capable members of the Regensburg community, John Dunbar, to join the others in Erfurt. Dunbar was a scholar and linguist. Fleming's reason for doing so was to open discussions with the university senate regarding Scottish involvement

David ruled about 1520 and was followed by Abbot Jacobus. In the half century which followed there were no abbots until William Chalmers arrived; Fischer, 301.

in the running of its affairs. Dunbar offered his services as a teacher and although he was not admitted to the Philosophy Faculty he was formally recognised as a professor extraordinary and allowed to start classes in oriental languages.²⁹ By then building work at the monastery had reached the point where the church and cloisters had been rebuilt and additional accommodation had been provided for eight students. Fleming started sending to Erfurt those Scottish students who had successfully completed their basic education at Regensburg and had them enrolled in quadrivium courses in philosophy at the university. The monastic premises were further extended to include a classroom and library for their use. All of this work was preparatory to Fleming's next bold move, that of gaining formal admission to the university senate. He achieved this by buying a professorship.³⁰ The terms of the purchase were that the chair was to be held in perpetuity by a Scot from the Erfurt monastery who was to be acknowledged as a full member of the university senate. The first holder was another Scottish scholar from Regensburg, Maurus Stuart. Fleming built on this breakthrough by asserting that, under the terms of the Papal Bull of 1427, the historic role of conservator held by the schottenkloster abbot should be recognized with a seat on the senate. The senate body conceded the argument and designated the holder as a professor of philosophy. As a result Hieronymus Pantoune was appointed.³¹ Fleming's good favour with the archbishop of Mainz, their overlord, no doubt influenced the members of the senate. The city governor, Count Johann Jakob Waldbott von Bassenheim (r. 1679–97), played a major role in persuading them to accept the Scotsman's arguments.³² From the end of the seventeenth century onwards Scots Benedictines held two and sometimes three chairs at the University of Erfurt while junior members of the community were enrolled as students.

²⁹ John Dunbar returned to Regensburg after five years but Fleming built on his success by sending his brother, Erhard Dunbar, to replace him as a language teacher. Erhard died in Erfurt in 1695.

³⁰ Fleming was able to afford this due to a bequest to the Regensburg monastery made by Count James Leslie who had died in 1694. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, 290. The count was following the example of his uncle General Walter Leslie who had made a similar bequest to the monastery when he died in 1667.

³¹ Fleming made Pantoune prior of Erfurt in 1711. He had held the position himself since 1672 jointly with that of abbot of Regensburg. Fleming's personal supervision of Erfurt for over forty years ensured that his plans for Scottish involvement in the university were achieved. He relinquished the post of prior only when Pantoune was an established member of the senate.

³² Hammermeyer, *Placidus Fleming*, 320. Bassenheim was an appointee of the prince-archbishop and a Catholic. He had, however, strict instructions to ensure harmony in what by then was a city of mixed religious confessions.

There were a number of undoubted benefits to the university in agreeing to Fleming's advances despite the fact that it broke the Protestant monopoly of positions on the senate. Erfurt had been struggling financially due to a reduction in the number of its students. Its ambivalent confessional attitude harmed its ability to attract students from communities where confessional loyalty was more clearly defined. More importantly, however, it suffered from competition from the nearby universities of Jena and Göttingen which were larger and better funded. The 550 *Reichsthalers* which Fleming paid for the chair of philosophy would have been welcomed but the provision of well qualified professors who did not require funding by the university would also have been valued.³³ The subjects that the Scots taught were not restricted to theology and moral philosophy but included experimental physics, mathematics, algebra, logic and, later in the eighteenth century, anthropology. Prior to the arrival of the Scots the university had been run on a system of regents³⁴ and the Scots' approach of subject teaching by specialist professors was a notable improvement in the education which it could offer. The Scots also made generous provision of the use of monastic buildings for university activities. As well as the classroom and library, the twin towers of the church were turned into an observatory. Other parts of the monastery were given over to housing the university's 'cabinet of physics' – a collection of experimental instruments. Fleming had persuaded the new Elector of Mainz, Archbishop Johann Friedrich Karl von Ostein (1689–1763), to make gifts of instruments. These are known to have included an air pump and a brennspiegel made by the expert scientific instrument maker, Erenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus (1651–1708).³⁵

These improvements made studying at the university more attractive to a wider range of students but the benefits of the collaboration were not solely on the side of the Lutheran senate. The Scots had gained their objective of greater involvement in providing university education. They had not simply

³³ The Benedictine professors gave another advantage over most other members of the academic staff in that they did not need to absent themselves from classes in order deal with private students. Professors with family commitments commonly augmented their income in this way. Their general classes suffered accordingly from their absence.

³⁴ Individual regents taught every subject to their students, an arrangement which was inferior to a group of professors who each worked on their specialist discipline such as the Dunbar brothers as teachers of oriental languages.

³⁵ The elector's gifts cost in total 200 *Reichsthalers*. At the time the brennspiegel (a concave mirror designed to focus the rays of the sun in sufficient strength to light a fire at a distance) was donated, only three such instruments existed in Germany; Pradel, 55.

taken up teaching positions. By the early years of the eighteenth century they had gained a firm hold on the activities of the senate. Before Placid Fleming died in 1720 Bernard Baillie, Hieronymus Pantoune and Marianus Brockie were full members and each held chairs of philosophy.³⁶ Pantoune had been appointed university rector and Bernard Baillie was given responsibility for the university library. During his term of office he managed to increase its stock of books by the value of 3000 *Reichsthalers*.³⁷

Throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century the Scots who served as professors remained in post for an average of ten years. Erhard Grant, who as a young novice had played the trick on old Abbot Placid, was exceptional in that he held a series of professorships for almost forty years from 1739 and was appointed dean of the faculty of philosophy on six separate occasions. The norm was, however, that after they had served a decade in post, the abbot of Regensburg would transfer the professors from Erfurt to take up other demanding work. Most spent some time on the mission in Scotland while some were given appointments at a number of German courts or professorships at Salzburg and other universities in Germany. Following the death of Placid Fleming each of his successors as abbot had held a chair at Erfurt. The exception was Alexander (Bernard) Stuart (1706–55) who, nevertheless, had been a professor of mathematics at the University of Salzburg. The commitment to involvement in higher education that Fleming had established was never broken. Placid Fleming had constructed an edifice both literally and figuratively which allowed Scots to make real and significant contributions to higher education which benefitted both their host country and themselves. During Fleming's lifetime the Scots monasteries did not produce any scholar who followed Enlightenment philosophy. The education which they had received, especially those who studied at the University of Würzburg, was uncompromisingly Scholastic. When the students at the Regensburg seminary

³⁶ Pantoune was elected rector of the university in 1712. He died in 1719 and was replaced as prior by Maurus Stuart who had returned the previous year from a lengthy spell working on the mission in Scotland. When Stuart returned to Scotland in 1720 Bernard Baillie became prior. Before Pantoune died he was joined on the senate by Marianus Brockie. As a scholar, Brockie was too valuable to the university not to be allowed a place on the senate. (Later he wrote a history of the Scottish monasteries, *Monasticum Scoticum*, Pedeponti, 1752. Unfortunately the work is flawed due to embellishments which he introduced to enhance the importance of the Ir-Scottish tradition in Germany history; Dilworth, *Franconia*, 58. These men ensured a progression of scholars to take up the full quota of Scottish places on the senate; Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, 219, 301.

³⁷ Pradel, 50.

first started to explore Enlightenment ideas they met with obstructions and even hostility. The strongest opposition came from the principal supporters of Scholasticism, German members of the Society of Jesus and the Lutheran Pietists, but to begin with it also came from their Benedictine brethren both Scots and German. Andreas Gordon (see Chapter 10) triumphed over such adversaries but his namesake, Marianus Gordon, was overwhelmed by his accusers and suffered a tragic fate.

James (Marianus) Gordon was born in Banff in 1704. His family was related to the ducal house of Gordon and Bishop James Gordon, coadjutor vicar apostolic to Bishop Thomas Nicholson, was his uncle. He travelled to the seminary in Regensburg at the age of 14 and showed great aptitude for study. After gaining a master's degree in physics and mathematics and a bachelor's degree in theology at the University of Würzburg at the age of 24 he went on to study oriental languages (Hebrew, Syriac and Greek) at St Gall's in Switzerland. While still studying there he was ordained taking the religious name of Marianus. He returned to his monastery in Würzburg after two years and expressed a desire to go on the mission in Scotland after completion of his doctorate in theology. During all his time in Germany his religious superiors were well pleased with the young man's behaviour. His actions and spirituality were beyond reproach. He had, however, extended his studies beyond the authorised texts and engaged in correspondence with Protestant theologians. One of his fellow Scottish Benedictines, Augustine Duff (1699–1753), discovered these letters and denounced Gordon to the Inquisition as a heretic. The matter could have been easily resolved in Gordon's favour if it had not been for the fact that it was clear from his writings that he had begun to question the practice of exorcism and the existence of miracles. Direct experience had shown him that local examples of these phenomena were no more than deceptions perpetrated by rogues on a gullible population.³⁸ This had caused him to question other aspects of faith such that when he was interrogated by the prince-bishop's court of inquisition he gave ambiguous answers. The court required him to examine his conscience and imprisoned him while he did so. Incarceration had a catastrophic effect on the young man and his mental health began to deteriorate. He was called to face the court on four occasions; each time giving a less favourable account of his theology. The accounts of the trials indicate that Gordon was experiencing a mental

³⁸ Römmelt, 'Der Häresieprozess gegen Pater Marianus Gordon (1704–1734), Schottenmönch im Kloster St. Jakob zu Würzburg', in *Mainfränkisches Jahrbuch* 44 (Würzburg, 1992), 103–27.

breakdown.³⁹ At each of his appearances he begged the court not to lock him up again. After four weeks confinement he wrote to senior members of the clergy pleading to be released: “The prison becomes daily more insufferable [...] and horrible thoughts occupy my mind.”⁴⁰ The authorities relented only to the extent that he was transferred to his own monastery to continue his incarceration. However, despite the fact that Augustine Duff had denounced Gordon, the tribunal appointed to hear the case by the prince-bishop, Friedrich Carl von Schönborn, did not trust the Scots to hold Gordon to a rigorous confinement and insisted that his cell be fitted with two locks such that while the abbot, Maurus Strachan, held the key to one the other was held by a priest reporting to the bishop. Furthermore, the cell had to be permanently guarded by a soldier and if Gordon was allowed to escape the tribunal threatened that the prince-bishop would dissolve the Scots monastery and the monks would be deported. With such dire threats hanging over them the Scots had little alternative but keep their prisoner secure although they did not obstruct his continued correspondence with, among others, Protestant theologians. Gordon’s correspondents, however, distanced themselves from him as his ideas became increasingly confused. Throughout his appearances before the tribunal Gordon continued to deny that he was a heretic but at the last session on 16 April 1733 he had a complete mental breakdown and started to curse his accusers and the tribunal members. He was found guilty of heresy and sentenced to three years imprisonment. Marianus was removed from St James and placed in the grim Priest’s-tower (*Pfaffenturm*) in the prince-bishop’s fortress of Marienberg overlooking the city. The young man’s descent into madness continued with hallucinations that he was being persecuted by devils. The inevitable happened on 12 November 1734 when he hanged himself. Marianus Gordon’s case is tragic and represents, among other things, the attitude of the established authorities to the spirit of enquiry which the philosophy of the Enlightenment was encouraging. Their hostility to new ideas did not end but gradually the spectre of heresy was banished from the debate and Enlightenment thinkers were able to win over senior figures of the Church and State.

³⁹ Anonymous, ‘Leben und trauriges Ende des Pater Marianus Gordon’, part 1 (1790), 128: <http://www.ub.uni-bielefeld.de/diglib/aufkl/journalfranken/intex.htm>. Accessed 24 June 2013.

⁴⁰ Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg: M. Ch. Q. 201: *Acta genuina in Causa Inquisitionis contra P. Marianum Gordon, monasterii S. Jacobi Scotorum [...] puncto Haeresis et annexorum*, 43r–43v.

Despite the lamentable example of the treatment of Marianus Gordon new students from Scotland were still drawn to Regensburg. It is clear from the surviving records of the monasteries that they valued the opportunities that had been created for them by the scholar monks of Regensburg and Erfurt. The registers contain the names of nearly 100 students who enrolled in the seminary from its formal inception in 1713 to the end of the eighteenth century.⁴¹ Most of those recorded stayed to complete their studies and many remained within the Benedictine order after graduation. In contrast the Scots colleges in Douai, Paris, Madrid, Valladolid and Rome which attracted more students over this period saw a quarter of those who enrolled leave before completing their courses. Of those who did graduate about 40% became priests.⁴² The high level of commitment which the students who attended the seminary in Regensburg displayed together with the encouragement they were later to receive to engage in academic research help account for the success achieved by many in their subsequent careers in higher education in Germany.

⁴¹ McNally Thomas, *The Alumni of the Scots Colleges Abroad, 1575–1799*, un-published PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen (2008), 74.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 68.

10 Monks of the Scottish Enlightenment

Bernard Stuart – Builder of Castles

One of the earliest of the Scots Benedictines to be cast in the new mould of Enlightenment philosopher was Alexander (Bernard) Stuart, who was appointed professor of mathematics at the University of Salzburg at the age of twenty seven and following a distinguished career as an architect, civil and military engineer, was elected abbot of Regensburg. It is likely that when Erhard Grant played his trick on old Abbot Fleming one of his classmates was young Alexander Stuart. Born in 1706 Alexander was the son of John Stuart of the Boggs in Aberdeenshire. His uncle was Maurus Stuart, the first Scottish Benedictine to hold a post as professor of philosophy at the University of Erfurt. Father Maurus was working on the Mission in Scotland when his nephew was born. When Alexander reached the age of twelve he accompanied his uncle on his return to Germany and enrolled as a student at the seminary in Regensburg. Young Alexander was clearly influenced by his uncle in his choice of place of education and later his vocation. As a student he demonstrated his considerable intellectual abilities and on completion of his *Trivium* studies he was singled out by Fleming's successor, Abbot Bernard Baillie (r.1720–42), for a special educational programme. The abbot made arrangements for the boy to be taught philosophy by the prominent theologian, Fr. Alphonso Wenzl (1660–1743). Wenzl was a German Benedictine of St Emmeram's in Regensburg and a prominent exponent of the scholastic school of philosophy. Alexander excelled at his studies particularly mathematics and after graduation at the age of twenty he was ordained taking the name of Bernard. He wanted to continue his studies and asked the abbot to be allowed to study canon law at the University of Salzburg. In order to do so a benefice was needed to support him during his stay at Salzburg. In 1730 he was given permission to take up the chaplaincy of the Nonnberg Benedictine nunnery near Salzburg and while fulfilling his duties as chaplain to the sisters he was able to study and gain his degree. Thanks to the reforms of Abbot

Fleming the reputation of the Scots Benedictines of Regensburg was one of piety and austere devotion. The mother superior of the Nonnberg was no doubt influenced by their good name in her decision to appoint a foreign priest.¹ On graduation in 1733 he did not return to his monastery. Instead the university appointed him a professor of mathematics. This was the first of a number of offices which Stuart held outside his life in the cloisters and his appointment to the post was to change his life in that it gave him the opportunity to bring himself to the attention of the prince-archbishop of Salzburg, Leopold Anton Eleutherius von Firmian (1679–1744).²

Stuart's stay in Salzburg coincided with a tempestuous period in the principality's history. On 31st October 1731, to mark the 200th anniversary of Martin Luther nailing his ninety-five theses to the door of the church at Wittenberg, the prince-archbishop issued an edict that all Lutherans in the principality of Salzburg should convert to Catholicism on pain of expulsion. Much to Firmian's surprise the option of leaving rather than convert was taken up by almost 22,000 of his subjects. These Salzburg exiles suffered terrible hardships and the rest of Germany and Europe, both Catholic and Protestant, was appalled.³ The Lutherans were forced to sell their non-moveable property and initially the citizens of Salzburg benefited greatly by buying cheaply. However, the loss of so many of its productive people, especially the farmers, almost destroyed the economy of the principality and the resultant chronic food shortages lasted for several years. This did not greatly concern the prince-archbishop who benefited most by confiscating large areas of land which he developed for his own use.

¹ When Stuart stood down he was succeeded as chaplain by his fellow Regensburg Scot, Robert (Gallus) Lieth. Lieth graduated from the University of Erfurt in 1732 and had gone to Salzburg to further his education before returning to Regensburg to take up a teaching role, his most famous pupil being George (Andreas) Gordon; see below. Leith Gallus in *Biographia Benedictina*, http://www.benediktinerlexicon.de/wiki/Leith_Gallus. Accessed 23 January, 2013.

² The prince was from a noble Tyrolean family whose members held prominent positions at the Habsburg court and family members had been appointed to a number of prince-bishoprics. His nephew, Leopold Ernst von Firmian, was later to become prince-bishop of Passau (r. 1763–83).

³ Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) wrote about this disgraceful incident in his history of Germany as did Johan Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) in *Hermann and Dorothea* (1798). The exiles were taken advantage of and attacked by Catholics and fellow Lutherans alike. Many died seeking refuge in Protestant lands. A large number went to Prussia while many more crossed the Atlantic and settled in the new British colony of Georgia.

It was at this point that Stuart suggested to the archbishop that the marshy ground around the city could be drained, which would allow the exploitation of the underlying peat. The peat could then be used as fuel in the city and remove the need to import coal.⁴ Stuart would have been familiar with the practice from his childhood in Scotland. The archbishop agreed with the idea and engaged the young man to drain a large area of marsh on his newly acquired estate to the south of the city. With the commission came the post and title of director of Public Works for Salzburg in addition to his appointment to the chair of mathematics. There is no evidence that Stuart had any experience of large scale land drainage. Dutch engineers were the acknowledged experts in land reclamation but under the circumstances, as Protestants, they would have been as unwilling as they would have been unwelcome to work in Salzburg. There had, however, been many books published on land reclamation and Stuart would have had little difficulty in understanding the techniques involved. Nevertheless, it was remarkable that he was able to convert the theory into practical instructions for a large workforce. The task took three years to complete after which he received an additional commission in 1736 to build a summer residence for the archbishop on some of the newly recovered land.

Once again this was an area where the Scot had no experience.⁵ The prince-archbishop, however, was pleased with Stuart's design. He produced the plans and organized the building of *Schloss Leopoldskron* by the edge of a lake which had been created in draining the marshland. The palace represents an incredible first achievement for any architect. The *Schloss* is in the *rococo* style and set in magnificent parkland. Not only is the exterior attractive and imposing but the interior is sumptuously decorated.⁶ The building was

⁴ Von Braune, Franz Anton, *Das Grosse und berühmte Untersberg-Torfmoor-Gefild bei Salzburg, dessen Natur- und Cultur-Geschichte* (Salzburg, 1846) passim.

⁵ Stuart appears to have been a true polymath whose abilities the archbishop was prepared to exploit. While he was engaged on the architectural work, von Firmian also commissioned him to build a clock in the style of the French maker, Charles André Boulle (1642–1732). The style required a cabinet of intricate inlays of tortoiseshell, brass and pewter as well as decorative woods. Stuart made both the clock and the cabinet. Much admired, it remains an exhibit in the *Kunsthistorisches* Museum in Vienna. While working for von Firmian Stuart also designed and made various astronomical instruments. Peter Husty, *Pater, Bernard Stuart (1706–1755). Ein Salzburger Hofarchitekt und die Aufgaben seiner Zeit*, unpublished thesis (Salzburg, 1989).

⁶ *Schloss Leopoldskron* is acknowledged as a gem of the *rococo* style. The Hall of Mirrors is especially magnificent but the setting of the palace in the great park beside the lake makes it particularly grandiose.

completed in 1744, the year the archbishop died after which it was inherited by his nephew, Leopold Ernst, and remained in the family's possession until the nineteenth century.⁷ Again it is not entirely clear where Bernard Stuart learned this remarkable new skill. That he had innate talent is indisputable. He was described by a contemporary as "a man of great natural gifts, but of a character little noble or loveable".⁸ He was able to learn from the work of others and adapt his learning to the practical needs of the task in hand. His inspiration for *Schloss Leopoldskron* had come in part from the episcopal residence in Passau. Italian architects had enhanced the city of Passau with a number of distinguished buildings built in the *rococo* style at the end of the seventeenth century when the bishop, Johan Philip von Lamberg (r. 1689–1712), was extending the cathedral and building a new palace for himself. Stuart was familiar with the city which is situated at the confluence of the Danube and the river Inn which flows through Salzburg. As von Firmian's architect, Stuart would have had no difficulty in gaining access to examine the bishop's residence in detail. Stuart's creation in Salzburg has many of the ornate features of the palace in Passau but in scale and setting *Schloss Leopoldskron* surpasses the older building. The prince-archbishop was delighted by the design of his summer residence and Stuart's extraordinary talents became widely known. More architectural work may have come his way but in 1740, while Stuart was still working on the palace, the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48) broke out which once more placed Austria and Bavaria on opposite sides with Bavaria again allied to the French. Stuart had a foot in both camps. His monastery of St James' in Regensburg was in Bavaria whose prince-elector, Charles VII (1697–1745), claimed the imperial title in opposition to Empress Maria Theresa of Austria and Hungary.⁹ However, Stuart's employer, the prince-archbishop of Salzburg in Upper Austria, was one of the empress's staunchest supporters. At the outset of the war Empress Maria Theresa called on Bernard Stuart to undertake a diplomatic mission to Sweden and Russia. The commission can be explained by the fact that the monk's younger brother, Patrick, was a major general in the Imperial Russian army.

⁷ The castle came into prominence in the twentieth century when it was used to represent the von Trapp family home in the film *The Sound of Music*. The musical is based on a true story set in Salzburg in the 1930s. The von Trapps have a further connection to Bernard Stuart in that the heroine of the story, Maria, attended the Nonnberg, the nunnery in which he had served as chaplain.

⁸ Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, 148.

⁹ Charles Albert was the son of Fleming's old friend and protector, Max II Emanuel.

The Russian Imperial service had presented opportunities for employment and advancement to exiled Scots in the seventeenth century and earlier. In the late seventeenth century and throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century significant numbers of Scots Jacobites took up service in Russia. The reasons for this were partly historical and partly confessional. General Patrick Gordon (1635–99) had joined the service under Tsar Aleksey I (1645–76) and had risen to prominence during the regency of Sophia (r.1682–89) and in the early years of the reign of Peter the Great (1672–1725). Peter's policy of expansion west and east was continued by his successors and a foreign officer corps helped to modernize both his army and navy. Patrick Gordon was successful as a general and influenced the recruitment of his countrymen into the imperial forces. Gordon was a Catholic but the Russian service welcomed Jacobites of all religious persuasions. This was not the case everywhere in Europe. Episcopalian Jacobites were accepted into the French army but entrance to the Spanish forces as a commissioned officer was dependent on being Catholic.¹⁰ The czars considered that membership of the Orthodox Church was necessary for foreigners only if Russian nationality was sought and Catholic and Protestant officers were treated equally.¹¹ Initially service in Russia was viewed as being compatible with Jacobite interests. Russia's chief enemy in the west was Sweden and, as an ally of Britain and an enemy of France, Sweden was perceived as a common enemy by both Russia and the Jacobites. Russian policy up to 1730 was generally sympathetic to Jacobite interests which allowed Scots in the Russian service to fight for James VIII/III when the need arose – an example being Major General Alexander Gordon (1669–1752) who was granted permission to become involved in the 1715 rising.¹²

¹⁰ James Keith (1696–1758), an Episcopalian, in 1727 was unable to gain employment in Spain despite a recommendation from his cousin, Fr. William Clark, who was confessor to King Philip V (1683–1746). Fr. Clark did, however, recommend his cousin to the Spanish ambassador in St. Petersburg, James Stuart. Stuart was the son of the Duke of Berwick, James VII/II's illegitimate son. He was cousin to the pretender who later awarded him his father's title of Berwick and made him a member of the Order of the Garter. These titles were not recognized in Britain but the king of Spain had made his father the Duke of Liria which title James inherited as the 2nd duke. The ambassador used his influence at the Russian court and obtained his fellow Jacobite, James Keith, a commission in the imperial service. Wills, Rebecca *The Jacobites and Russia 1715–1750* (East Linton, 2002) 129–30.

¹¹ Some conversions to Orthodoxy did happen when a marriage to a rich Russian heiress was the prize.

¹² Along with his cousin the 2nd Duke of Gordon, the general led the Jacobite centre at the Battle of Sherrifmuir.

By the 1730s the political situation had changed, however, and it had become significantly more difficult for Jacobite sympathizers in Russian service. Russian and French interests in the War of Polish Succession (1733–38) were opposed. Jacobites had to demonstrate their loyalty to Russia through exact obedience to orders. The Russians were successful and the war did not involve any direct confrontation between the Russian and the French forces so that Jacobites in opposing armies were not required to fight each other.¹³ The Russian victory was considered to be in no small part due to the effectiveness of its Jacobite commanders and a number of overtures were made by both Bourbon monarchies, France and Spain, to win them over to their side.¹⁴ In 1740 the Spaniards went so far as devising a plan to compromise James Keith in the eyes of his employer thereby depriving an enemy of the services of one of its most talented commanders.¹⁵

It is against this background that the visit in 1741 of Bernard Stuart to his brother General Patrick Stuart in St Petersburg must be judged. The terms of his diplomatic brief are unknown but in sending him first to the Swedish court and then to St Petersburg Maria Theresa would appear to have instructed Stuart to sound out Swedish intentions and attempt to persuade his brother and the other Scottish officers to remain in Russian service.¹⁶ A strong Russian threat would have been seen as sufficient to neutralise Sweden which was part of the alliance attacking Austrian interests in the developing War of the Austrian Succession. If this was his objective on behalf of the

¹³ This was only narrowly avoided. Peter Lacy (1678–1751) was field marshal in command of the Russian army that invaded Poland in 1733. George Keith (1692–1778) – James Keith's brother – held a command in the French army which was preparing to invade Austria at the time that James Keith was in command of a Russian regiment in Poland under Lacy. Wills, 146–7.

¹⁴ James Keith was recommended in 1734 for the position of lieutenant general in the French army. The recommendation came from the French candidate for the Polish kingship, Stanislaw Leszczyński (Sobieski) (1677–1766), to his son-in-law, King Louis XV of France (1710–74). A further offer was made in 1736 to the brother of General Peter Lacy. Wills, 149, 153.

¹⁵ In 1740 George Keith who was serving in Spain received a letter supposedly from Don Sebastián de la Cuadra (1687–1766), a minister at the court of King Philip, in which he asked Keith to inform his brother that his request for a commission in the Spanish army had been granted. George Keith suspected that it was a trap to discredit his brother in the eyes of Czarina Anna of Russia (1693–1740) and did not co-operate; Wills, 209.

¹⁶ Bernard Stuart seems to have disguised the true reason for his visit to his brother by giving lectures on mathematics at the University of St Petersburg. Peter Husty, unpublished thesis, *Pater Bernard Stuart* (Salzburg, 1989).

Habsburg empress, he was successful. The Scottish officer corps stayed loyal to the Russian Imperial army.

Before sending Stuart on his diplomatic mission, Maria Theresa appointed him Inspector of Fortresses for Swabia – a part of Further Austria near Salzburg. He had already demonstrated his skill in managing large scale engineering work in draining marshland and constructing the *Schloss* and although there is no record of his having prior experience in military architecture his selection for this post was logical. Stuart was clearly capable of impressing people with his talent to take on different tasks but also by the eighteenth century the art of fortification design had developed into a branch of applied geometry.¹⁷ As professor of mathematics at the University of Salzburg he was suitably qualified for the work. Mention is made in the records of St James' monastery in Regensburg that while undertaking the trip to Sweden he first visited the town of Kehl-am-Rhein.¹⁸ The town was famous for having been fortified in 1683 by Sébastien le Prestre, Marquis de Vauban (1633–1707), Louis XIV's military architect. Vauban conceived the idea of using Kehl-am-Rhein as a massive barbican fortification for the protection of the city of Strasbourg on the opposite bank of the Rhine. He was prepared to sacrifice indefensible ground rather than waste resources. He achieved this by using the natural topography to create an effective defense against artillery fire at a fraction of the cost of building the Venetian style of encircling stone ramparts which was then in vogue.¹⁹ The purpose of Stuart's visit was to inspect the town fortifications and learn how to construct similar defenses. On his return from Russia the following year he went to the towns of Breisach and Freiburg in his official capacity as inspector of Fortresses for Swabia to review their defenses. At Freiburg he was again able to examine the work of Vauban who

¹⁷ Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, 'Training and Professionalization', in *Power Elites and State Building*, Wolfgang Reinhard (ed.), (Oxford, 1996), 162.

¹⁸ *RSC*, 267–8.

¹⁹ Vauban also designed and built Venetian style fortresses for the king. The Venetian plan remained popular for a considerable time afterwards. One of the last and best surviving examples is that of Fort George built outside Inverness in Scotland in the wake of the Jacobite rising of 1745. By then, however, the immense cost involved could only be justified as a political statement of control by the British government. The Marquis de Vauban wrote up his techniques in a number of memoirs which Stuart may have had access to: *De la defense des places*, later published in Paris, 1829, and *Traits des fortifications de campagne* which described his methods of defending military encampments using trenches and earthen embankments. For a fuller account of Vauban's influence on techniques of warfare see Hebbert, *Soldier of France, Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban (1633–1707)* (New York, 1990).

had constructed extensive fortifications around the city when Louis XIV captured it in the Nine Years War (1688–97). Louis was forced to return the city at the end of the war but the French retook it during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14) at the end of which, by the Treaties of Rastatt and Baden, the French were required once again to return Freiburg to the emperor. By the onset of the War of the Austrian Succession Vauban's original defenses were half a century old and in need of improvement but money for the work was severely limited. Stuart's task was to ensure that the cities were better prepared to face attack. The improvements he made to the fortifications at Breisach²⁰ were never tested but they failed at Freiburg just as Vauban's original works had failed thirty years earlier. King Louis XV of France was able to capture the city when he besieged it in the autumn of 1744 although he was nearly killed by cannon fire from the city's defenders. In the following year when they were required to return the city to the imperial forces, Louis paid Vauban and Stuart the compliment of instructing his engineers to destroy the city's defenses completely. In any possible future attack he did not want again to face their fortifications.

However, before the siege of Freiburg began Stuart's work had impressed the citizens of Augsburg such that in 1742 the prince-bishop, Joseph Ignaz Philipp von Hessen-Darmstadt (r. 1741–68) and the senate of the city decided to employ him as their expert in fortifications. Augsburg had been a great Imperial Free City before it was devastated in the course of the Thirty Years War. In 1707 it was required by its Bavarian overlord to remove the city walls and was thereby rendered defenseless against attack. The request for Stuart's help – he was paid a salary of 1800 florins – must have been born out of desperation to achieve some degree of protection at a cost the city could afford. It was able to act free from the constraints of Bavaria because Charles Albert²¹ had been driven north by the Austrians. As well as being required to advise on fortifying the city, Stuart was given a commission to improve the city's flood defenses which called further on his civil engineering skills.²² Augsburg was never attacked in the war and so his arrangements for its defense were never put to the test but the large retaining stone embankment which he constructed

²⁰ The town was used by Prince Charles Alexander of Lorraine (1712–80) as his base in 1743 to launch an invasion onto the west bank of the Rhine attacking the French but Breisach itself was never attacked.

²¹ In 1742 the prince-elector had taken the title of Charles VII as Holy Roman Emperor.

²² Fischer, 149. The city presented him with a gold cup in gratitude for the construction of a stone embankment along the River Lech. His civil engineering works constituted a great part of the city's flood defences for the next hundred and fifty years.

to contain the river Lech still survives. Shortly after his arrival in Augsburg, Bernard Stuart received a summons from his brethren in Regensburg. They had elected him abbot following the death of Bernard Baillie. He was not their first choice. They had attempted to persuade Andreas Gordon (1712–51) to take the post but he wished to continue his scientific researches in Erfurt (see below). Although Gordon was younger than Stuart he had gained international fame as a scientist and more importantly for the monastic community, unlike the older monk, he had a pleasant disposition. Stuart's distinguished career should have made him the preferred candidate but he was not liked by his fellow monks. Nor was he keen to take up the appointment. He remained in Augsburg for a further two years delayed by an additional commission from the Society of Jesus to design and build a theatre for their gymnasium in the city. By this time he had created a substantial body of work in architectural and civil and military engineering commissions but in doing so he had been away from his home monastery for fourteen years the last two of which he had been its abbot *in absentia*.

In 1744 he was forced to return to Regensburg. He was needed to administer his monastery but the move from Augsburg was politically inspired. Emperor Charles had succeeded in returning to his capital of Munich and the position of the Scots Benedictines in Regensburg would have been compromised if Stuart had continued assisting Bavaria's enemies.²³ Fortunately for the Scots any possible difficulty which this might have caused was resolved when Charles died the following year. The new king of Bavaria, Maximilian III Joseph (1727–77), as a condition of his right to succeed his father was forced to recognize Maria Therese as Holy Roman Empress. He was also required to withdraw Bavarian forces from the war and disband his army. This prompted Abbot Stuart to try to re-engage in political life. He sent a messenger to James VIII/III (1688–1766), the Old Pretender, in Rome proposing that, since experienced soldiers were readily available, he should raise a regiment of Bavarians which could be transported to Britain to support the Stuart cause. James was in the process of helping organize his son's attempt to regain the British thrones but, no doubt wisely, he declined the offer.²⁴ It is intriguing to consider the consequences should James have accepted Stuart's suggestion.

²³ Despite the fact that Regensburg was an imperial free city, Bavaria was its dominant neighbour and exerted great influence on the city's affairs. Eventually Regensburg was incorporated into the kingdom of Bavaria in 1810.

²⁴ Fischer, 149.

Could the Battle of Culloden have been fought between opposing armies of Hanoverians and Bavarians?

Bernard Stuart never settled back into the quiet of his monastery. The challenges and excitement of being an architect and engineer and his involvement in events of great political moment had unsettled any earlier ambition to follow a contemplative monastic life. Equally he never showed any interest in the mission in Scotland. When Bishop Smith in 1750 sent Gallus Lieth to Regensburg to plead for help Stuart sent him away empty-handed.²⁵ The abbot took whatever opportunities for travel were afforded him and spent most of the rest of his life away from Regensburg and his abbatial duties. When he died in 1753 he was in Italy where he had been resident for many months. Despite being an extremely gifted engineer nothing of his military architectural work survives. A stretch of the flood control embankment on the river Lech at Augsburg still exists but the only remaining works which attest to his genius are his castle, the *Schloss Leopoldskron*, and a clock in Vienna's Museum of Art History. As the builder of a magnificent rococo palace Bernard Stuart deserves his place in architectural history but his contribution to his Benedictine brethren and their efforts to sustain Catholicism in Scotland was negligible in contrast to his predecessors especially Abbot Fleming. Also his attitude to the University of Erfurt and his brethren's involvement in the reinvigoration of its academic life and participation in *die Aufklärung* can best be described as one of benign neglect. In his own way Bernard Stuart and his achievements can be seen as integral to the Enlightenment. The disciplines in which he exercised his genius were not ones where accusations of heresy could easily arise, thereby, sparing him the ordeal which his contemporary, Marianus Gordon, was forced to face. But Andreas Gordon who made the most profound contribution to international scholarship and was integral to the success of the University of Erfurt was not so fortunate despite confining his researches to natural philosophy.

Andreas Gordon – Pioneer in the Science of Electricity

Andreas was born as George Gordon at Coffurach near Fochabers in Morayshire on 15 June 1712. The Gordons of Coffurach were gentry and a cadet branch of the ducal house of that name. Like their cousin, Alexander second Duke of Gordon (1678–1728), the Gordons of Coffurach were Catholic. In order to receive a higher education it was, therefore, necessary

²⁵ See Chapter 8.

for them to go abroad. George's elder brother, Alexander, attended the Scots College in Paris and in 1724 at the age of twelve George was sent to the *Schottenkloster* in Regensburg. Abbot Bernard Baillie was so impressed with the young boy's abilities that he organized a special educational programme for him. Unlike the tuition which he had arranged for Bernard Stuart which was carried out entirely in Regensburg, the abbot sent Gordon to study at colleges in Austria, Italy and France²⁶ where he received a wider education than would have been possible at the monastic school. When he returned to Regensburg in 1732 he started his Benedictine novitiate taking as his given name Andreas, the name by which he became famous. At Regensburg he studied under Gallus Lieth (1709–75) who had held a chair of philosophy at Erfurt. Lieth taught the Scholastic tradition which must have been frustrating for Gordon. The young man had already been exposed to Enlightenment philosophy especially the works of Christian Wolff (1679–1754), a disciple of Leibnitz. Wolff had followed Descartes' precept of questioning all received knowledge. In particular he rejected Aristotelian strictures which could not be verified by practical experiment. Wolff's views had caused much controversy and he was attacked by his co-religionists. He had been ousted from his professorship at Halle, in Prussia, in 1723 by ultra-Lutheran Pietist professors at the university and had been forced to flee to the University of Marburg in Hesse-Kassel. Despite being a renowned scholar Wolff needed both academic allies and political protection to continue to teach. It was only with the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1740 that he was able to return to Halle University. His experience was not unique. Members of the Enlightenment movement throughout Europe had to deal with entrenched interests which were fundamentally conservative. Orthodox Lutheran and Jesuit universities espoused Aristotelian philosophy and remained wedded to debating theories in preference to engaging in scientific enquiry through practical experiment. When Andreas Gordon later in 1743 rejected this strict Scholasticism he too came under severe criticism. However while studying with Lieth in Regensburg he conformed to the conventional thinking of his teacher. The trial of Marianus Gordon by the Inquisition in Würzburg was in progress when Andreas returned to Regensburg and that fact would have had a chastening effect on all of the scholars especially those, like Andreas, who admired the philosophy of the Protestant, Christian Wolff. Andreas completed his formal education

²⁶ In Paris he met up with Alexander who was still studying at the Scots college. Later in 1735 Alexander became prefect of studies there before being appointed as rector in 1738 of the illegal Catholic seminary at Scalan in upper Glenlivet in Scotland.

by taking a degree in law at the University of Salzburg gaining distinction in the subject. On graduation in 1737 he was appointed at the age of 25 to a chair of philosophy at the University of Erfurt.

Prior to his arrival at Erfurt Gordon must have been fascinated by scientific instruments which he would have encountered in the colleges and universities where he studied. The University of Erfurt's 'Cabinet of Physics' which was housed in the monastery buildings of St James would have further stimulated his interest. His earliest research was on the 'Florentine Thermometer'. This instrument was used to measure temperature and had been developed in Florence in the 1650s. It consisted of a sealed tube partially filled with alcohol. However it was unreliable due to the fact that the coefficient of expansion of alcohol is not constant. It gives variable readings and cannot be relied upon, particularly at low temperatures. Gordon had done little more than describe the problem²⁷ before Gabriel Daniel Fahrenheit (1686–1736), a German glass-blower and instrument maker working in Holland, had produced a reliable mercury filled thermometer. This early experience helped Gordon to appreciate that practical problems required practical approaches to achieve solutions.

Although there is no direct proof, it is likely that the university's 'Cabinet of Physics' contained an electrostatic globe of the type developed by Otto von Güricke (1602–1686) in the previous century. Whatever provided the stimulus Gordon next devoted his energies to the nascent science of electricity which he turned into his lifetime's work making an international reputation in the process. The science, such as it was, had scarcely progressed beyond the work of von Güricke and Isaac Newton. Von Güricke had made a globe of solid sulphur which, when rotated against a brush, generated a static electrical charge on its surface. Small particles were attracted to the globe and weak sparks could be produced when an earthed conductor was held close. Because of the attraction exerted by the globe von Güricke believed that he was demonstrating how gravity worked. This claim aroused Newton's interest in electricity which he believed could be another example of 'a force acting at a distance'. He had observed this phenomenon in the case of gravity which he had described mathematically in his Laws of Motion but had been unable to explain. Newton conducted no experiments on electricity although he suggested an improvement to von Güricke's equipment by making the globe of glass. Francis Hauksbee (1660–1713) took Newton's idea and improved on it when he built his friction generator in 1709. When Gordon first became

²⁷ Published posthumously in Gordon's *Elementa Physica Experimentalis* (Erfurt, 1753).

interested there had been little progress on these matters beyond Hauksbee's work and critics claimed that electricity was no more than a philosopher's toy unworthy of serious study. To Gordon the challenge was to develop a deeper understanding of the nature of electricity through practical experimentation.

The Newton/Hauksbee globe did generate more powerful sparks than von Güricke's but they were each too limited in their scope of operation for further progress. The starting point for Gordon was to improve on these early devices by designing and building a friction generating machine capable of developing and sustaining an electrostatic potential high enough to give a continuous discharge. His machine did not simply generate large sparks but was capable of producing an electric current. His friction generator consisted of a glass cylinder measuring 4 inches in diameter and 8 inches in length which was rotated on an axle suspended on a frame and driven by a flywheel of much larger size thus allowing the glass cylinder to be spun at very high speeds. Once the flywheel attained its maximum speed the cylinder in turn rotated at 680 rpm against a spring loaded leather pad thereby gaining a large electrostatic charge. A copper wire placed in contact with the cylinder then continuously drained the charge away in the form of a current. Gordon's electric machine had the additional advantage of being portable and, therefore, could be set up in lecture rooms as well as in the laboratory. The heart of his design lay in the glass cylinder which presented a greater surface to the friction pad than the previous globes did. Conceiving the idea was only part of the breakthrough he achieved with his design. Being able to obtain such a piece of glassware was critical to its implementation. When Gordon studied at St James' in Regensburg he would have been familiar with that city's glass industry. Bavaria dominated glass making in Germany with Passau having one of the largest and most sophisticated glass manufactories in Europe. When specifying the cylinder for his new design of friction generator Gordon would have been able to source a competent glass manufacturer without difficulty.

With this equipment, which he had devised by the time of his first university session at Erfurt in 1737–8, he created a whole series of experiments illustrating a number of aspects of the nature of electricity. He organized his lectures to include demonstrations and invited his audience to participate. One of his earliest was to form a chain of people holding hands. He then electrified the chain such that its participants could not free themselves. This not only astounded everyone but also caused great amusement among the onlookers. A second early experiment consisted of attaching a cable to small animals or birds and electrocuting them. His generator was powerful enough to kill the animal

even when the cable was more than 150 metres long. These experiments were highly popular and attracted large audiences as a consequence of which the university gained greatly increased numbers of students. The financial benefit to the university helped raise Gordon's standing in the senate.

He reinforced his success by publishing detailed accounts of his friction machine and the experiments he was conducting using it. In this he followed Wolff's strictures by publishing in Latin for scholars and again in German for "a further readership". In this way his fame spread internationally and he was invited to repeat his demonstrations at the courts of Gotha and Weimar. Gordon's experiments were studied by many who were not privileged to witness his demonstrations. The books in which he described in detail his apparatus, methodology and findings were written specifically so that others would be able to replicate his results and were widely distributed and ran to several editions. He was also engaged in correspondence by philosophers interested in developing knowledge of the phenomenon of electricity. Abbé Jean Antoine Nollet (1700–70), a member of the French Academy of Sciences, befriended Gordon and followed up with similar experiments to those of the young Scotsman. In 1746 he made his own electric machine which adapted Gordon's design to accommodate a range of larger glass spheres which allowed even stronger discharges to be generated. Nollet repeated the human chain experiment with 200 Carthusian monks holding hands. However his machine did not displace Gordon's design as it was extremely cumbersome and could not be easily transported.

His experiments were sufficiently newsworthy to ensure that Gordon became known beyond the circle of interested natural philosophers. This recognition brought advantages which allowed him to continue his researches into electricity. In 1742 he was offered the position of librarian by Jan Aleksander Lipski (r.1732–46) the archbishop of Krakow (a post which carried considerable prestige and a large salary).²⁸ Gordon refused the offer. His brother monks also recognized his remarkable abilities and in 1743 on the death of Abbot Baillie they asked him to become abbot of Regensburg and thereby effectively the head of the whole community of Scots Benedictines in Germany. He disappointed them preferring to continue his researches at

²⁸ The library in Krakow was renowned throughout Europe. Archbishop Lipski's successor Andrzej Stanislaw Zaluski in 1747 enlarged it into the finest library in eighteenth century Europe. The Zaluski library was stolen by the forces of Catherine the Great of Russia and remained part of the Imperial Library until 1920 when part of it was returned to Poland only to be destroyed by the Germans in the 1940s as part of their deliberate destruction of Warsaw.

Erfurt. The post was then offered to Bernard Stuart who, although he had distinguished himself as an architect, was ill-suited to the office of abbot.

Other scientists were copying extensively from Gordon's published work.²⁹ Public demonstrations were financially profitable and Gordon's experiments were repeated for that reason alone. However at the opening conference of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin in 1744 Christian Friedrich Ludolff (1707–63) gave a demonstration of one of Gordon's earlier experiments involving his friction generator and a bowl of alcohol. The alcohol was heated gently giving off fumes which were ignited by a spark from the generator. Ludolff claimed that this proved that electricity was a form of fire.³⁰ In making this claim he was attempting to show that electricity fitted Aristotle's categorisation of the four elements. Gordon rejected this conformity to Scholasticism and set out to prove that Ludolff was wrong. He refined his original experiment by electrically charging a fine jet of water and aiming it at the bowl of alcohol. Again the vapour caught fire but in Aristotelian terms this was a paradox since water could not be an agent of fire.

Andreas Gordon published this rejection of Scholasticism in his book *Oratio de philosophia nova veteri praeferenda* in 1745. In presenting his findings he stressed that advances in knowledge of physics could only be gained by experimentation reinforced with mathematical calculations where necessary. This assertion aroused the hostility of members of the Society of Jesus and in 1747 a Jesuit professor of philosophy at the University of Würzburg, Petrus Eisentraut (1711–post 1748),³¹ attacked his ideas in his book *Dissertationes Philosophicae Quator de Electricitate*. A public dispute developed the following year when Gordon replied with his publication *Epistola ad Amicum Wirceburgi*. The attacks on Gordon were conducted solely by German Jesuits. In France Jesuits

²⁹ The museum of the University of Uppsala in Sweden possesses a copy of Gordon's friction generator dated 1740. This is only two years after he started his experiments. It is clear that his work was being copied by others immediately his books were published.

³⁰ His fellow German scientist and great rival, Professor G M Bosc (1710–61) of Leipzig University, made the same claim and stated that he had discovered this before Ludolff through having set his laboratory on fire on a number of occasions by accidental electrical discharges.

³¹ Eisentraut had graduated from the University of Heidelberg in 1743 and taken up a professorship at Würzburg – as listed in *Programma de Academiae Heidelbergensis ortu et progressu* – copy in Bavarian State Library. He was of similar age to Gordon and wrote several books on experiments on electricity notably one on the phenomenon of electrically produced fire (*Dissertatio de causis phaenomenorum electro-igneorum* (Würzburg, 1748)) which he published following his dispute with Gordon.

were in correspondence with Abbé Nollet and their views agreed entirely with the conclusions he was drawing from his work. Nollet was conducting his experiments on similar lines to those of Gordon. In Italy, Jesuits at Collegio Romano were engaged in experiments in electricity themselves with no qualms to their consciences. The hostility of the German Jesuits appears to have been derived in large part from the rivalry for dominance in higher education which existed between the Society of Jesus and the Benedictine Order. Gordon had become involved in a long running dispute between the two religious orders. Nevertheless, their enmity was directed specifically at him and his work. It was fortunate that Gordon had friends who stood by him. The members of the senate of his university both Catholic and Lutheran fully supported him and he also had influential allies in his Benedictine brethren both Scottish and German.

At this point in his career he was receiving international recognition for his work. In 1745 the prestigious Academy of Perugia in Italy made him a member and in 1748 he was appointed a member of the French Academy of Sciences, Nollet having proposed him for this accolade. The significance of this award can be gauged by the fact that the French Academy restricted the number of its non-French members to eight at any time. These honours flowed largely from the work that Gordon had described in his *Versuch einer Erklärung der Electricität*, (Erfurt, 1745). In this book he described an experiment which generated considerable excitement and renewed Jesuit hostility. This experiment pushed the boundaries of what hitherto had been possible in the study of electricity and with it Gordon completely confounded Scholastic ideas. He devised an apparatus in which two bells were wired to his electricity generator such that each had an opposite electrical charge. Between them was suspended a metal clapper insulated on a silken cord. The phenomenon of attraction between oppositely charged iron objects and repulsion of similarly charged ones was known and Gordon used this to create a remarkable effect. On its release the clapper was attracted to one of the bells. On contact it took on that bell's charge and was simultaneously repelled by the first and attracted to the second oppositely charged bell. Swinging on its silken cord the clapper oscillated between the bells which rang continuously for as long as the current was applied. This device, which came to be known as 'German Chimes' and later 'Franklin's Bells', was the first application of electrical energy being converted into mechanical energy. Although this was a spectacular demonstration Gordon's principal purpose in devising the experiment was to show an application of 'a force acting at a distance' which could not be

explained in Aristotelian terms. Aristotle had denied the existence of a force which could act at a distance. His philosophy claimed that all actions were explicable by the inherent nature of matter itself and manifestations of gravity were caused by the object concerned realizing its potential to change its position when artificial restrictions were removed. The examples used by Aristotelian philosophers were those of stone and wood. Scholasticism claimed that stone has the inherent quality of 'gravity' such that when placed in water this quality causes it to sink. On the other hand, wood has the inherent quality of 'levity' such that it floats in water. The object, therefore, had the potential to move without any external force being placed upon it. Gordon's experiment of the ringing bells reduced the Scholastic explanation to nonsense by showing the clapper ceaselessly changing its position. He defied his opponents to explain what inherent quality the clapper possessed which could account for its behaviour. The antagonism of the Jesuits to Gordon grew as a result of being made to look foolish as much as on having their philosophy refuted. There is little doubt that Gordon took pleasure in making fun of his critics. A story is told of an observer at one of Gordon's lectures who questioned the value of studying electricity, claiming that it was no more than entertainment. Gordon responded by telling him that one of its benefits was to greatly improve one's sense of smell. He offered to demonstrate this effect to his critic and when he agreed to cooperate with the experiment Gordon poured some brandy into a spoon which he then held for his 'guinea pig' to sniff. The spoon was electrified while Gordon was standing on an insulating pad. When the heckler breathed in the fumes the current discharged through his nose with a chastening effect on the critic and much to the amusement of Gordon's audience.³²

The Jesuits did not submit as meekly as the unfortunate heckler at Gordon's demonstration and following the publication of *Versuch einer Erklärung der Electricität* they renewed their public attacks on him. Another Würzburg professor, Lucas Opfermann (1690–1750), went as far as accusing him of heresy.³³ Opfermann claimed that Gordon was refuting the Thomist explanation of the differences between the substance and appearance of matter in the doctrine of transubstantiation. This was the same doctrinal error of which Galileo had been accused a century earlier. The accusation of heresy was enough to have Gordon arraigned before an Inquisition

³² Heilbron J L *Electricity in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Berkeley, 1979), 273.

³³ He published it in his *Philosophia scholasticorum desensa contra oratorem Academicum Erfordiensen* (Erford (sic), 1749). He had previously attacked Christian Wolff in publications in 1742 and again in 1748.

tribunal in the same way as the unfortunate Marianus Gordon had been in the previous decade. The archbishop of Mainz, Johann Friedrich Karl von Ostein (r. 1743–63) wrote to Gordon questioning him on his philosophy. In his reply Gordon stated “that my philosophy is [...] in itself certainly as Catholic as if a Jesuit had written it.”³⁴ The sarcasm contained in the remark was not lost on the prince-archbishop. Andreas was fortunate that he had powerful supporters who came to his defense. The Benedictine Community, German as well as Scottish, issued Opfermann with a collective warning in a widely read academic journal.³⁵ The point was made that Gordon had not been engaged in any theological controversy. Opfermann was thereby prevented from petitioning for a trial of Gordon before the Inquisition. A considerable amount of rancour was generated between the two sides. Matters escalated and were almost out of control when the archbishop of Mainz stepped in and imposed an interdict on all parties to the dispute forbidding them from issuing any further public communications.³⁶ But in 1749 Josef Pfriemb, the Jesuit professor of Ethics and Physics at the University of Mainz, went public with another attack on Gordon. Immediately the archbishop removed Pfriemb from his post and transferred him to the University of Bamberg.³⁷ Gordon’s most effective defense, however, came from the Pope. Benedict XIV (r. 1740–58) was personally interested in Science and the Arts and was an acknowledged liberal in Enlightenment terms. As a young man he had been befriended by the eminent French Benedictine scholar, Bernard de Montfauçon (1655–1741), who encouraged him in Enlightenment thought. It was to be expected therefore that, when the new philosophers in Germany were attacked by the Jesuits, Benedict should sympathize with the proponents of Enlightenment ideas. In 1747 he wrote in defense of Johann von Ickstatt (1702–76) of the Jesuit run University of Ingolstadt, saying that his teaching was irreproachable and entirely correct in faith. This defense was extended by argument to all like

³⁴ Hammermeyer, ‘Aufklärung’, 94.

³⁵ *Nova Acta Eruditorum*, 1749, 143.

³⁶ The members of the Society of Jesus were no strangers to prohibitions on public debate. In 1607 Pope Paul V (r. 1605–21) imposed a silence on the Jesuits and Dominicans following acrimonious exchanges among theologians of Molinist and Thomist schools of philosophy. Flynn, Thomas S., *The Irish Dominicans 1536–1641* (Dublin, 1993), 97. On that occasion, however, both sides were wise enough to refrain from further public argument.

³⁷ The University of Bamberg was a long established (1647) institution but much smaller than that of Mainz. Furthermore the city of Bamberg was provincial when compared to the metropolis of Mainz. Pfriemb’s transfer was very much a demotion and was meant as a punishment for defying the archbishop’s interdict.

minded *philosophes* including Gordon. The Jesuits did not give up the fight but Andreas Gordon was able to continue research, teaching and publication of his findings free from accusations of heresy for the remainder of his short life.

As well as researching the phenomenon of ‘action at a distance’ Gordon was interested in another scientific preoccupation of the time, that of developing a perpetual motion machine. In the same book as he published his experiment with bells he captured the imagination of the scientific community by describing an experiment involving a device known as ‘the electric whirl’. This consisted of a metal wheel, like a star, with several points around its circumference which came into contact with an electrically charged conductor. As each point in turn touched the conductor it received an electrical discharge which caused the wheel to rotate and brought the next point on its circumference into contact with the conductor. The wheel was kept spinning for as long as the friction generator was operated. Gordon had devised the earliest example of an electric motor; specifically it was an electrostatic reduction motor. The forces were too weak to do much more than turn the wheel itself and therefore the device could not be put to practical use.³⁸ A better understanding of electromagnetism and particularly the invention of the induction coil were needed before a more powerful electric motor could be built. This was achieved by Michael Faraday (1791–1867) a century after Gordon’s experiment. Nevertheless Gordon gained the reputation of being a brilliant scientist.

Other scientists took advantage of Gordon’s pioneering work but many did not follow similar precepts of openness in publishing full details of experiments. Professional vanity together with the financial benefit of devising new demonstrations led them to keep significant aspects secret so that others could not copy their experiments. Georg Matthias Bose, Pieter van Musschenbroek (1692–1761) and Ewald Georg von Kleist (1700–48) were among those guilty of such actions. While repeating one of Gordon’s experiments each of these researchers independently discovered an effect which led to what is arguably the greatest advance in electrical science in the eighteenth century. In 1746 Peter Musschenbroek, a Dutch physicist at the University of Leiden, demonstrated to a friend, Andreas Cunneus, Gordon’s experiment in which

³⁸ Paradoxically reduction motors are now used in highly sophisticated control systems in a number of complex electrical devices including transformers. The inherent weakness of low current produced by high voltage generates a very weak electromagnetic field and does not interfere with electronic controls giving reduction motors an advantage over induction motors. Gordon had invented a solution for which there was no problem in his lifetime.

he electrified water in a jar which then was capable of generating a spark. Afterwards while alone Cunneus tried to copy the experiment and mistakenly held the jar in his hand. He received an enormous electric shock. When he told his friend, Musschenbroek realized that the jar itself could store electricity. Recognizing the significance of this fact he published his discovery and was given credit as the inventor. The device, named a Leyden Jar by Nollet in honour of Musschenbroek's university, was the first condenser/capacitor to be developed. Ewald von Kleist and Professor Bose belatedly claimed making the same discovery, again by repeating Gordon's experiment, but in keeping with the secrecy which prevailed they had not disclosed it to anyone. It appears clear that Gordon's openness with his findings inspired a number of fellow scientists to work on similar lines of research. He could only have been a short step away from making the same discovery himself.

Andreas Gordon did not spend much time following up Musschenbroek's work. If he had it is likely that better progress in the comprehension of the nature of electricity would have been made. It took researchers many years through trial and error before a full understanding of the working of the Leyden Jar was arrived at and its effectiveness as a condenser achieved. A series of failures to understand the processes they were observing hampered developments. Even as late as the 1770s Benjamin Franklin (1706–90) was still making suggestions for improvement. Gordon's limited work on the new discovery is not difficult to understand. Although his energies were being engaged in the dispute with his Jesuit critics, he was also suffering from failing health. By 1750 he was showing clear signs of the consumption (pulmonary tuberculosis) which eventually killed him and he had ceased research into electricity altogether. He confined his efforts to writing up the scientific investigations he had already undertaken but when he died in 1751 at the age of thirty-nine he had not finished his final book. His fellow Benedictine and professor at Erfurt, Bernard Grant, completed and published *Elementa Physica Experimentalis* in 1753. At the same time his former pupil, Ildephonse Kennedy (see chapter 11), wrote that his friend's death had been hastened by the attacks of the Jesuits.³⁹

Gordon's contribution to the early development of the science of electricity was undoubtedly substantial and groundbreaking. How then can one account for his relative obscurity today. A number of factors played a part. After his death Gordon's work continued to be copied but few gave credit to

³⁹ Hammermeyer, 'Aufklärung in Katholischen Deutschland des 18 Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch-Institut für Deutsche Geschichte*, Vol. VI (1975), 102.

the Scotsman. Despite the fact that his experiments were all published, few researchers acknowledged any of his contributions to the science which they used. Only Nollet appears to have tried to give appropriate recognition to his friend. Franklin used Gordon's bells as part of his experimentation into lightning referring to them only as 'German Chimes'. Subsequently they have become known as 'Franklin's Bells' without any acknowledgement of their true inventor. The principal (unwitting) culprit in denying Gordon his true place as a pioneer of the science of electricity was Joseph Priestley (1733–1804). When he published the first history of electricity⁴⁰ in 1767 he credited Gordon with the invention of the glass cylinder design of friction generator but did not record any of his experiments. This is perhaps easy to understand given that Gordon's work had been copied by others with no acknowledgement given to him by the plagiarists. Priestley mistakenly credited others with Gordon's work and importantly made no mention of the fact that Musschenbroek, von Kleist and Bose were conducting one of Gordon's experiments when they discovered the Leyden Jar effect. Priestley's book became the definitive text on the history of electricity and remained so for over half a century, thereby ensuring that Gordon was not acknowledged as he should have been.

It is perhaps easy to understand why intellectual rivalries among his contemporaries and successors contributed to Gordon being ignored after his death but lack of recognition in Scotland probably was due to the fact that he was a Scottish Benedictine monk working in Germany at a time when Catholicism was outlawed in his own country and Catholics were subject to penal laws. Nevertheless acknowledgement of Gordon's contributions could be expected in his adopted country of Germany but even here it has been limited. The University of Erfurt was rightly proud of its distinguished alumnus but in 1803 Prussia annexed Erfurt and the surrounding Thuringian state. The Prussians closed the three hundred year old university and ignored its heritage. It was not re-founded until the 1990s after the fall of Communism and the re-unification of Germany.⁴¹ The new institution is engaged in re-establishing itself as a fully functioning university and will no doubt reclaim its former luminaries. Nevertheless, Erfurt has honoured Gordon. In 1900 the city commemorated its famous Scotsman by naming its new technical college

⁴⁰ Priestley, *The History and Present State of Electricity, with original experiments* (London, 1767).

⁴¹ Other Catholic universities in Germany suffered the same fate. The Universities of Salzburg and Bamberg were closed about the same time as Erfurt and did not reopen until 1962 and 1972 respectively.

the Andreas Gordon Schule. The college continues to prosper today running degree level courses in a wide range of subjects including, appropriately, electrical and electronic engineering. An eponymous college in the city of his triumphs is a deserved but limited reward for Gordon's significant contributions to the Enlightenment in general and science in particular.

His legacy deserves better recognition. The contribution which he made to the science of electricity, unlike a number of his contemporaries, was not simply to entertain his audiences with diverting displays of electrical effect, although he did that. His theatrical demonstrations generated a wide interest in his work but in his writings he also sought to explain what he saw. In this, like everyone else prior to James Clerk Maxwell (1831–79) a century and a half later, he was unsuccessful except that he argued passionately that Aristotle's philosophy could not accommodate the new science. By the time he died that argument had been won.

Andreas Gordon's contribution to the Enlightenment was greater than his work on electricity. The manner in which he conducted his research and disseminated his findings with complete candour and willingness to inform others is impressive.⁴² He shared his findings with the wider scientific community but more importantly he published all the details of experiments and the apparatus he devised to conduct them. His observations, measurements and detailed notes were open to scrutiny by others. Natural philosophers could and did replicate his findings. Many of his contemporaries, acting out of personal gain and professional hubris, guarded their own discoveries. They rarely made full disclosure of their experiments and often when they did publish they were driven by the desire to ensure that they received credit for the discovery before it was claimed by a rival. Even Isaac Newton was not above this behaviour. On a number of occasions he withheld publishing his findings until he feared that his great rival Gottfried Leibnitz might go public thereby reaping the glory of discovery. Gordon shunned such narrow-mindedness; an approach which marks him as a scientist in a new mould dedicated to the advancement of knowledge in a spirit of cooperation.

Any re-assessment of Andreas Gordon must recognize him as a major figure in the European Enlightenment. German historians do not question

⁴² His efforts in disseminating knowledge can be compared favourably with Bernard Stuart who, while lecturing on geometry to his students at the University of Salzburg, did not bother to illustrate theorems with chalk diagrams on the blackboard; Lehner, *Enlightened Monks*, 176–7.

his place in *Die Aufklärung*.⁴³ He was strongly influenced in his thinking by a German philosopher, Christian Wolf, himself a follower of Leibnitz, and spent his entire working life in German speaking lands. Nevertheless he was a Scot educated by Scots at one of the Scots colleges abroad. Contemporaries of Gordon at those same colleges have gained recognition as Enlightenment figures in Britain. Two students of the Scots College in Rome were inspired by their time in that city to study its architecture. James Smith from Elgin, returned to Scotland to pioneer Palladian and Neo-classical styles of architecture and in doing so monopolized major architectural projects in Scotland in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Scotland. A quarter of a century later James Gibbs from Aberdeen emulated Smith but worked in London where he produced many of his finest buildings. His designs were copied in North America for half a century after his death producing much of the characteristic church architecture of New England. In the mid eighteenth century Alexander Geddes studied at the Scots college in Paris where he met David Hume who was researching King James VII/II's state papers for his *History of England*. Later Geddes gained recognition not to say notoriety as a radical thinker and biblical scholar. Andreas Gordon deserves an equal place among these Catholic members of the Scottish Enlightenment. Gordon's life in Germany does not weaken his claim. Rather, it strengthens the view that the Scottish Enlightenment was not divorced from the other movements within Europe and North America.

Andreas Gordon's contribution to the German Enlightenment was not restricted to his scientific experiments. He also helped grow a tradition in which Scottish Catholics played significant roles in education in Germany. His work at the University of Erfurt not only inspired a love of natural philosophy in his fellow countrymen but by training them in his own methods and philosophy he ensured that his influence lasted beyond his death. The pupils he nurtured went on to help found the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and ensure that Scottish Catholic scholars continued to make contributions to German society in general and *Die Aufklärung* in particular.

⁴³ See Hammermeyer, *Aufklärung*, 82–3 and, Friedrich Lauchert, 'Gordon, Andreas', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 49 (Leipzig, 1904).

11 The Bavarian Electoral Academy of Science

When the Jesuit, Lucas Opfermann, criticized Andreas Gordon in print in 1748¹ the response from the Benedictine congregation published the following year in *Nova Acta Eruditorum* did not come solely from a natural desire to help a fellow Benedictine. They were also anxious to defend their own work from attack by traditionalists. Enlightened thinking among the members of the Benedictine Order in Germany had been developing for some time and Gordon was regarded as one of its most distinguished scholars working in the new philosophy. Other Enlightenment thinkers in the order had been aware of the young man since his studies at the University of Salzburg.² When Gordon attended, the university was still following a largely Scholastic curriculum but some professors were encouraging their students to engage with experimental physics and mathematics. In 1738 Berthold Vogl (1706–71) and Anselm Desing (1699–1772) succeeded in persuading the senate to offer classes in experimental physics. They had already pioneered a more interactive teaching style between professors and students and Gordon had benefited from their instruction.³ Friendships developed between the young Scot and his fellow German Benedictines, particularly those from St Emmeram's in Regensburg, friendships which were maintained through frequent correspondence. Benedictine scholars throughout Germany were already building collections of scientific instruments and conducting experiments when Gordon published his first volumes describing his successes in experimental physics in the field of electricity. Gordon's work was greatly influential in encouraging

¹ Opfermann, *Philosophia scholasticorum defensa contra oratorem academicum Erfordiensium* (Erfurt, 1748).

² Kleincidam Erich, *Universitas Studii Erfordensis*, Vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1981) 86.

³ Gregorius Rothfischer (1720–55), Ulrich Weiss and Karl von Piesport (1716–1800), three of Germany's most promising young Benedictines were classmates of Gordon. However, their studies were primarily concerned with theological controversies between Catholicism and Lutheranism. Lehner, *Enlightened Monks*, 177.

them in further experimentation. Even after his death his influence continued. Towards the end of the century Coelestin Steiglehner (1738–1819), the then prince-abbot of St Emmeram's, was inspired by his work to experiment with electrical batteries.⁴

St Emmeram's was one of the oldest and most respected monasteries in the German congregation and accepted only the most able applicants as novices. Its abbots had been elevated to the status of princes in 1725 with the accession of Anselm Godin de Tapezo (1677–1742) as the first prince-abbot. Abbot Anselm was an historian and scholar and was keen to enhance the monastery's reputation for scholarship. In keeping with what had become normal for Benedictines, after completion of their initial education at the monastery, his student monks enrolled at the University of Salzburg to continue their studies. Although they were required to study theology, under the tutelage of Vogl and Desing, a number of them developed an interest in mathematics and the experimental sciences. One, Frobenius Forster, remained at Salzburg as a professor of mathematics and continued to encourage his students to engage in the new natural philosophy before he returned to Regensburg to teach at the monastery.⁵

Anselm de Tapezo was succeeded as prince-abbot by Johann Baptist Kraus (r.1742–62) who, although he was not an Enlightenment scholar, supported the younger members of his community in their researches and writings. Another of the Salzburg graduates, Gregorius Rothfischer, published a number of treatises on theology which earned him respect among scholars both Catholic and Lutheran. However, he continued his involvement in mathematics and followed Gordon's work in experimental physics with great interest. When Gordon published his *Useful Philosophy* in 1745, Rothfischer ordered a reprint of 500 copies to be given as presents to friends and fellow Benedictines.⁶ Rothfischer's freedom to follow Enlightenment ideas was further enhanced when Abbot Kraus gave him permission to lecture to the students at the monastery using Wolffian philosophy. He corresponded with Bernard Stuart who had returned to Regensburg in 1744 to take up his appointment as abbot of St James'. The two men met frequently to discuss their joint interest in mathematics and included a fellow mathematician,

⁴ Fraunberger Fritz, *Elektrizität im Barock* (Cologne, 1964) 93.

⁵ Forster was later appointed prince-abbot (r.1762–91) of St Emmeram on the death of Abbot Kraus.

⁶ Franz Ignatius Rothfischer, *Nachricht von seinem Uebergange zu der evangelischen Kirche: [Seig der Wahrheit]: Nebst Fortsetzung und Anhang u. Nachlese* (Leipzig, 1752), 29.

Peter von Osterwald (1718–78) in their discussion group. Osterwald was a convert from Lutheranism and had first met Stuart in Augsburg when the Scot was engaged in his civil and military engineering work in the city. In 1740 Osterwald had been appointed to the position of secretary to the prince-bishop, Cardinal Johann Theodor von Bayern of Regensburg (1703–63).⁷ Stuart invited Osterwald to lecture on mathematics to the students of St James' seminary thereby strengthening the bonds between the Scots and the wider Regensburg community. The discussion group grew with the addition of Thomas (Ildephonse) Kennedy who had been Gordon's student at Erfurt and who, on his return to Regensburg in 1747, acted as administrator of St James' for nearly a decade during Abbot Stuart's many absences. Through correspondence a wide range of scholars began to engage in intellectual argument with the discussion group changing its character from one exclusively for members of the Benedictine order.

Rothfischer's publications, particularly his *Spiritus Privati*, published in Regensburg in 1747, attracted the attention of other Catholic scholars interested in the new philosophy. Prominent among these were Johann Georg Lori (1723–87) and Ignaz Dominicus Schmid (1707–75). Lori was a young lawyer who was employed by the elector of Bavaria as his commissioner of the mint and the mines. Schmid was the librarian of the University of Ingolstadt. They were both members of *Parnassus Boica*, a learned society in Bavaria founded in the 1720s by Augustinian friars. The society's journal, *Nova Acta Eruditorum*, was a major outlet for Enlightenment ideas in Germany and was widely read. The Benedictine discussion group thus centered on St Emmeram's was to remain informal but was referred to by its members as the Disputation College (*Disputier kollegium*).⁸ The intellectual standing of its individual members meant that the Disputation College was recognized as an important part of the Enlightenment movement. When it came to the defense of Andreas Gordon, the Jesuits had to defer to its intellectual arguments and the strength of its standing in the wider German Catholic community. Despite continued opposition from traditionalists, by the time of Gordon's death in 1751 Enlightenment philosophy had been firmly established in Catholic Germany and *Illuministi* held senior positions in Church, State and Academe.

The *Schottenklöster* had become part of this movement on account of the work of Andreas Gordon and Bernard Stuart and remained so thanks to the

⁷ The cardinal was the brother of the elector of Bavaria and highly influential at court.

⁸ Hammermeyer L., *Geschichte der Bayerischen Akademieder Wissenschaften, Band I, Gründungs- und Frühgeschichte 1759–1769* (Munich, 1983).

students of the Scottish seminary in Regensburg whom they had inspired. Following Gordon's death, St James' in Regensburg began to dominate the intellectual life of the Scots as the contributions of the other two *Schottenklöster* declined. Erfurt remained the predominant higher academic institution for Scots Benedictines and its new prior, Bernard Grant, actively corresponded with the Disputation College but none of the other Scottish professors gained any real distinction for their scholarship beyond the confines of the university. St James' monastery in Würzburg had fallen into serious decline following the death of Augustine Bruce (r. 1713–16). His successors as abbots, Maurus Strachan (r. 1716–37) and Augustine Duff (r. 1737–53), were closely involved in the insensitive treatment of Marianus Gordon in 1732 and their actions had lessened their standing in the Benedictine community. When Strachan died five years after Marianus' tragic suicide Duff was appointed abbot but proved himself to be a less than inspirational leader. The community in Würzburg sank to fewer than ten monks during his abbacy.⁹ When he died none of his community was deemed able to fill the position of abbot and Placid Hamilton (r. 1756–86) from Regensburg was appointed Duff's successor. Unfortunately, he proved to be even less effective than his two predecessors. He left Würzburg for London in 1763 and did not return. He continued to hold the office of abbot for thirty years but in practice the abbey was under the guidance of its prior, Benedict Mackenzie. He was subject to the authority of the abbot of Regensburg rather than Hamilton in London and although the life of the monastic community remained stable it was no longer able to make significant contributions to the training of novices.

Bernard Stuart died in 1755 and was succeeded as abbot of Regensburg by Gallus Lieth (r. 1756–75), the former professor at Erfurt and Andreas Gordon's early tutor. Lieth had returned to Germany following his involvement in the 1745 Jacobite Rising and subsequent unsuccessful attempts to gather support for the mission in Scotland. Although he did not follow an enlightened philosophy himself, he took a liberal attitude to those in his community who did and allowed their participation in the wider movement which was developing at the time. A major expression of this growing interest was shown in the founding of learned societies throughout Europe and North America. National academies were founded from the late seventeenth century onwards and regional societies followed. Their formation was particularly notable during the 1740s and 50s when on average two new academies of the sciences,

⁹ Dilworth, *Franconia*, 267.

medicine or the arts were established each year.¹⁰ These new foundations were in addition to the revitalization of some earlier societies such as the Royal Berlin Academy which had become moribund. Apart from the Ottoman Empire, scholars in all parts of Europe were inaugurating such societies. Countries of the Protestant north such as Prussia, the Netherlands and Britain participated early in this movement as did the Italian States and France. *Philosophes* in the territories of the Holy Roman Empire, however, were late in creating learned societies. Hostility to the new thinking shown by powerful sectors of the Church and State militated against their formation. The antagonism arose from more than just their innate conservatism. The authorities were concerned that these societies with their liberal thinking would disseminate ideas which could undermine the established order.¹¹ The influence of this anti-Enlightenment movement was strong enough to ensure that no formal academies were founded in the heart of the empire. Exceptions did occur in the smaller principalities. In 1764 the Duchy of Steyermark set up a society for the advancement of agriculture and the useful arts but even this politically harmless association was short-lived. Associations of more significance had to wait much longer before they were given official recognition. The Austrian Academy of Sciences was presented with its charter in 1847, more than a century after the creation of its equivalent in other major European states. In the 1750s, however, two important academies were set up by allies of the emperor. The first was established by the prince-archbishop elector of Mainz, Johann von Ostein, Andreas Gordon's protector during the period of the most dangerous attacks on him by the Jesuits. Ostein authorized the creation of the Erfurt Academy of Sciences (officially titled *The Mainz Electoral Academy of the Useful Arts and Sciences*) in 1754 with the full participation of the senate of University of Erfurt including its Scots Benedictine professors. Although he was a political ally of the emperor the elector was sufficiently powerful to follow his own enlightened ideas in this matter.

The second academy to be established in Catholic Germany was that of Bavaria in Munich. Johann Lori was the instigator. He had been canvassing support for such an institution amongst his associates in *Parnassus Boica* and the Disputation College. Many were supportive including Ildephonse Kennedy and in October 1758 Lori drew up rules for his self-styled Bavarian Scholarly

¹⁰ Scholarly Societies Project (University of Waterloo), *Chronicle for Societies founded 1740–1759*, http://www.scholarly-societies.org/1740_1759.html Accessed 27 August 2013.

¹¹ de Ridder-Symoens, Hilde, 'Training and Professionalisation' in Reinhard, Wolfgang, *Power Elites and State Building* (Oxford, 1996), 164–5.

Society (*Bayerische Gelehrte Gesellschaft*) and launched it without state approval. The Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian III Joseph, was not antagonistic, however, and a few months later to mark his birthday on 28 May 1759 he re-wrote the society's rules and created the Bavarian Electoral Academy of Sciences and Humanities (now The Bavarian Academy of Sciences). He appointed Count Sigmund von Hausen Heim, his director of the mint, as the figure-head president and Lori, who had been von Hausen Heim's subordinate in the Bavarian civil service, as its director. It was Lori who had responsibility for running the foundation. The new academy was to a large extent a continuation of the Disputation College. The list of founding members consists of eleven noblemen who were presented with honorary memberships, twenty-six friars and priests, the majority of whom were Benedictines, and four others.¹² Lori appears to have enrolled the members of the *Disputier kollegium en masse* into his new society; possibly without some of them having prior knowledge of their membership. Included in the surviving list of the founding members is Andreas Gordon despite the fact that the Scot had been dead for eight years when the elector presented the academy with its charter. This was probably due to Lori being unaware of the famous corresponding member's death. Bernard Stuart, who had died three years earlier, was known to him and was not included in the list of founding members. The only living Scot on the list was Ildephonse Kennedy but he was to play a pivotal role in the history of the academy.

The academy was structured in three classes – natural philosophy, mathematics and history. From its inception Kennedy actively participated. Despite his qualifications in mathematics and philosophy, Kennedy first turned his attention to research in history. He began by conducting a survey of the archives of all the abbeys and monasteries of the southern German speaking lands. The medieval manuscripts which these foundations held contained important historical information. Kennedy set about producing accounts of their contents and significance. His report covered previously unknown material from over seven centuries of German history and was published in the first edition of the academy's journal, *Monumenta Boica*, in 1763. Before it had been issued Kennedy's status within the academy changed and he was forced to abandon his historical research. The work was too important to be ignored, however, and Lorenz von Westenreider (1748–1829) took up where Kennedy had left off. Westenreider led the general research of the historical

¹² Hammermeyer L., *Geschichte der Bayerischen Akademieder Wissenschaften, Band I, Gründungs- und Frühgeschichte 1759–1769* (Munich, 1983).

class of the academy continuing to publish additional volumes on Kennedy's original research over the next century.¹³

Despite the significant work being carried out by Kennedy and others not all was well with the academy in its early days. Armed with the title of director, which he interpreted literally, Johann Georg Lori took an authoritarian approach to his role. This was not acceptable to the majority of the active members and almost immediately there were disputes. By July of 1761 the situation had become intolerable and in order to save the academy Lori was required to resign. Count von Hausen Heim stepped down from his position as president at the same time. The elector replaced him with another of his ministers, Count Joseph von Seinsheim, with the remit of rescuing the academy from the internal dissension created by Lori. The count decided that a secretary was needed rather than a director. His choice for the post was Ildephonse Kennedy who to his mind fitted the role well. The Benedictine was a gifted linguist being fluent in German and French as well as English and Latin. He had gained the respect of the members of the academy for his work as a mathematician and natural philosopher – two of the academy's three classes – and had shown himself capable in history – the third classification. As a Scot he was also free of accusations of partisanship which was important given the rampant nepotism prevalent in the German Church and the differing political interests which the academy embodied. Importantly also he had demonstrated his administrative abilities at St James' during Abbot Stuart's frequent absences. He had run the monastery's affairs efficiently both internally and externally. Through his contacts with the mission in Scotland and the authorities in Rome he had managed to maintain the monastery's standing within the wider Church during an extremely turbulent time for Scottish Catholics despite the neglect of St James' absentee abbot. He was a tactful correspondent in these most difficult of circumstances and through his diligence had ensured a steady recruitment of new students from Scotland and contributions from benefactors.¹⁴ Kennedy was also known personally to

¹³ The academy continues to publish the *Monumenta Boica*. The research into the archives of the monasteries has been published in thirty volumes from the start of the academy to the middle of the nineteenth century.

¹⁴ The details of Kennedy's high level of involvement in these matters survive in letters written by Alexander Smith, the vicar apostolic of the Lowland District in Scotland, which deal with potential recruits, benefactors and missionary activities. A letter to Kennedy from Italy shows the extent to which he was required to deal with the necessary arrangements following the death of Bernard Stuart there in 1755. SCA, SK/6/5/5, SK/6/6/3 and SK/6/5/9.

Count Seinsheim who earlier had commissioned him to translate into German Joseph Black's groundbreaking book, *Experiments upon magnesia alba, quicklime and some other alkaline substances*, shortly after its publication in Edinburgh in 1755. In commissioning this work Seinsheim was attempting to ensure that the Bavarian government kept abreast of developments in commercially important technologies being pursued by British scientists. His interest in promoting Bavarian industry was shared by the elector who continued to use Kennedy in this capacity long after his appointment as secretary to the academy.¹⁵ The support of the Bavarian authorities and the respect of his fellow scholars ensured that Kennedy was an uncontroversial choice for the post. The only further requirement was that he be released from his monastic duties. Abbot Gallus Lieth was conscious of the honour shown by the appointment which reflected well on the Scottish Benedictine community and he duly gave Kennedy permission to take up the post and live outside the monastery. In July 1761, at the age of thirty nine, he left St James' and moved to Munich where he lived until his death in 1804 working as the academy's *secretarius perpetuus* on an annual salary of 600 gulden.

The initial problems he had to deal with on taking up his duties were related to the damage that Lori's dictatorial rule had done. The commitment of the founding members had been blunted and membership had stagnated. Following the enthusiastic enrolments of the inaugural year only four new members had been added during Lori's directorship. Despite the eminence of its individual members the academy had not established itself as a prominent institution of Enlightenment thought. Learned institutions were fragile entities and many lasted only a few years. The Bavarian Electoral Academy had no guarantee of survival. Positive action was required and Kennedy took steps to strengthen its position. During the two years in which Lori had been director he had engaged in correspondence with a range of prominent figures in Bavaria in the spheres of politics and scholarship. Kennedy greatly increased this correspondence in an attempt to gain support and develop cooperation between the academy and other learned societies. He was also anxious to increase membership as a means of enhancing its reputation and placed no restriction on nationality

¹⁵ Elector Max commissioned the Scot to translate William Bailey's work on improvements in manufacturing technology. The Bavarian State published it under the title *Theoretisch-praktisches Werk, die Kunst, die Manufacturen, und die Handelschaft betreffend* ... (Munich, 1779). Kennedy received substantial fees from the elector for his translations. Heigel, Karl Theodor von, 'Kennedy Ildefons' in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, (1882), <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd116130393.html?anchor=adb>. Accessed 28 August 2013.

or religion on who could be invited to join. The academy letter-book lists his communications with scholars in many of the German states as well as Russia, France, Italy and Britain. The tenor of his letters was one of respect, friendship and cooperation and he was tireless in his duties. Over the course of his forty three years tenure as secretary he wrote over a thousand letters to advance the work and status of the academy succeeding to the extent that nearly 300 new members were enrolled.¹⁶ He added to the membership a number of distinguished scholars among whom were Herder, Mesmer and Euler. The Prussian poet and philosopher, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), settled at the court in Weimar and corresponded with Kennedy¹⁷ as did Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815) the eminent physician at the Viennese court whom Kennedy addressed as *Magnetiseur*.¹⁸ The correspondence¹⁹ between Kennedy and the Swiss mathematician and physicist, Leonard Euler (1707–83) demonstrates the Scot's determination to establish the Bavarian Academy as the equal of other learned societies. Euler was a prominent member of both the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences and the Berlin Academy and in 1762 was one of the first scientists whom Kennedy encouraged to join the Bavarian Academy.

There is no doubt that the reputation of the academy was enhanced internationally by the enrolment of these luminaries but its standing within Munich still had to be established and here the Scot played a major role in ensuring that the citizens knew of and valued their new institution. Shortly after he was appointed, he undertook a major initiative on behalf of the academy which was born of admiration for his old tutor, Andreas Gordon. Gordon's success in Erfurt came in part from his willingness to communicate to as wide an audience as possible. Kennedy emulated him by instituting a series of lectures on practical aspects of natural philosophy which he personally conducted in Munich over a period of fifteen years, 1762–1776. These lectures were open to the general public and proved to be extremely popular. Like Gordon he constructed his own experimental equipment and illustrated

¹⁶ *Archiv der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Briefe*, (hereafter *ABA(B)*), <http://www.badw.de/digital/archivbestaende/index.html>. Accessed 20 October 2011.

¹⁷ *ABA(B)*, records for 1775–6.

¹⁸ Mesmer (of Mesmerism fame) had proposed the doctrine of 'animal magnetism' which was followed with great interest by scientists throughout Europe and held sway for more than fifty years. Kennedy's correspondence with him is held in *ABA(B)*, records for 1775–6.

¹⁹ The two men corresponded annually for nearly two decades. *ABA(B)*, records from 1762–75.

his lectures through practical demonstrations of the effects he described. His apparatus became the core of the academy's early collection of scientific instruments – its *physikalische Armarium*. Kennedy's salary was insufficient to cover the cost of manufacturing these instruments and he was reliant on St James' in Regensburg for a subvention to enable him to do this work.²⁰ Abbot Gallus Lieth's support for the academy was not limited to helping Kennedy. A second member of his community, Charles (Benedict) Arbuthnott, enrolled as a member in 1771, going on to research and present papers on natural philosophy and mathematics. For this work he was awarded the academy's gold medal (see Chapter 12).

A key feature of Kennedy's public lectures was that he delivered them in German which he spoke fluently. Academics at the time usually presented their dissertations in Latin which made them closed to all but scholars. By his use of the vernacular Kennedy made his lectures accessible to any interested party and brought the existence of the academy to the notice of the wider public. Again, like his mentor, Andreas Gordon, he published in German so that others could read about his experiments.²¹ Another purpose behind Kennedy's lectures, which was supported by Count von Seinsheim and the elector, was to encourage the growth of manufacturing industries in Munich. The city whose population numbered about 30,000 at the time was dominated by industries related to the surrounding agricultural economy. The new lectures were attended by, among others, the city's artisans who were keen to understand the science behind their crafts and learn new manufacturing techniques. Through his lectures, on light and optics particularly, Kennedy has been credited with the

²⁰ Lehner, *Enlightened Monks*, 87. The collection survives in the *Deutsches Museum* in Munich and possesses a number of electric generating machines from the period which show refinements on Gordon's earlier device. (Gordon's cylinder was replaced with glass discs which allowed increased contact between the leather pads and rotating discs.) These, at least in part, date from Kennedy's time as secretary. *Deutsches Museum* items numbers 1191 and 1283. The collection also includes variations on Gordon's bells and his electric whirl (item numbers 1268 and 1239).

²¹ Kennedy, *Hauptsätze und Erklärungen der Versuche auf dem akademischen Saale in München* (Munich, 1763) (*Accounts and Explanations of the Experiments in the Hall of the Academy in Munich* author's translation). This work shows that Kennedy's lectures encompassed much of the scientific knowledge of his day. It has chapters which go into detail explaining the laws of motion, simple machines and friction, forces acting at a distance (*vires centralis*), electricity and magnetism (Kennedy understood that they had attributes in common but still considered them separate phenomena), Aristotle's elements, the thermometer, the barometer, light, sound and the motion of the planets in relation to the earth. Each chapter was written to illustrate key points of the various sciences.

early growth of Munich as an industrial centre especially with the introduction of glass manufacture.²² A manufacturer of lenses, Georg Brander, who was an early member of the academy, benefited significantly from Kennedy's practical demonstrations and improved the quality of his work which allowed him to expand his manufacturing. The two men also worked together in the manufacture of apparatus used for Kennedy's lectures.²³

Kennedy's efforts were needed by the academy to enhance its reputation in the field of natural philosophy. A majority of the academy's members were registered in the classes for history and mathematics. Those who belonged to the natural philosophy class appear to have been largely inactive when the measure of their published research work is examined. During Kennedy's secretary-ship the academy published only 131 treatises on aspects of natural philosophy. This compares poorly with other similar establishments at the time. The learned society based at the University of Göttingen published 249; that of Prague 187 and the Erfurt Academy with which the Bavarian Academy cooperated in research (see below) produced 197 during this period. As well as conducting his public experimentation and lectures and publishing an account of them Kennedy also engaged in research. He published eight treatises on this work, a total unequalled by any other of the academy's local members. Without the contributions of the distinguished international scholars such as Euler, Scheidt and Karsten the Bavarian Academy would not have reached even the low average of three or four such treatises each year.²⁴ The major local contributors were the enlightened monks of the Disputation College of whom Benedict Arbuthnot can be considered typical with his contribution of four essays on chemistry, meteorology and mathematics. If it had not been for Kennedy's tireless efforts to promote the natural philosophy class, the

²² Klemm, 'Ildefons Kennedy vom Regensburger Schottenkloster, ein Förderer der Physik und Technik in Bayern' in *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Medizin, Naturwissenschaftlichen Nachrichtenblatt/1957–1959 Nr. 9–14* (Munich, 1959) *passim*.

²³ A microscope of Kennedy's design and construction but with lenses provided by Brander is held in the Deutsches Museum – Item No. 598. This instrument is the only one surviving in its original form which can be positively identified as Kennedy's as it is listed as such in the academy's 1808 catalogue of instruments. There is a general problem in identifying instruments in the collection as belonging to Kennedy. Prior to the academy handing them over to the Deutsches Museum they were used by a series of experimenters who, over the years, made alterations and additions. More than two thousand instruments came into the museum's possession but very few can be identified as solely of eighteenth century design and construction. Many have clear nineteenth century additions.

²⁴ Kraus Andreas, *Die naturwissenschaftliche Forschung an der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Munich, 1978), 123.

Bavarian Electoral Academy of Sciences would have had difficulty justifying its name.

During the early years when he was holding his public lectures Kennedy was becoming personally known in Munich which led to his wider engagement with Bavarian society. In 1763 the year following his inaugural lecture, Kennedy was invited by Elector Max Joseph to join his board of book censors. Press censorship in the southern German speaking lands had been in the hands of the Jesuits who had exercised their power with an ultra conservative interpretation of Church orthodoxy. This situation was resented generally but especially by the other religious orders. The elector was intent on removing Jesuit influence in this matter. He rescinded their authority and created his own board of censorship. The object of the change was to greatly relax the restrictions on what could be published. Kennedy was an enlightened scholar with liberal views and as such he encompassed the progressive attitudes that Max III Joseph wished to encourage. When in 1769 the elector enlarged the authority of his original board and elevated it to the status of a College of Censors, Kennedy was again a member.

His public role as secretary to the academy also enhanced his status within the Church. In 1768 he was appointed chairman of the examination board for secular priests in the whole of Bavaria – an unusual honour for a Benedictine monk and a post he was to hold for thirteen years. Again as a Scot, Kennedy's non-partisanship influenced his appointment. Local rivalries and nepotism made this position an extremely sensitive one and as chairman he was expected to show no favoritism to the various Bavarian candidates.²⁵ He had acquired these additional roles in less than ten years after taking up the position of secretary to the Bavarian Electoral Academy but the hard working Scot was then given his most demanding role with even greater responsibilities.

In 1773 the Society of Jesus was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV which prompted major changes within the life of the Church in Bavaria as it did in all parts of the world where the Society worked. In southern Germany Jesuits had controlled education for centuries and whenever possible they had strongly resisted any involvement by other religious orders. Latterly they had especially opposed involvement by those inclined to adopt Enlightenment thinking. Kennedy had always been interested in the promotion of change through education and as late as 1767 he had written to a friend in Regensburg

²⁵ Hammermeyer, 'Academiae Scientiarum Boicae Secretarius Perpetuus: Ildephons Kennedy O.S.B. (1722–1804)', Kuhn Ortwin Ed., *Grossbritannien und Deutschland*, (Munich, 1974) 491–3.

complaining that ‘Bavaria is not a country for a friend of books. The people have not the least notion of what we call true learning, nor will they soon obtain any idea about that until their schools be reformed [...] I am afraid I will not live to see it.’²⁶ On the latter point he was wrong. Following the suppression of the Jesuits the elector gave him responsibility for reforming the Bavarian school system. Johann Ickstatt (1702–76), an eminent German Catholic philosopher, was simultaneously given the task of reforming teaching in universities in Bavaria. At the time Ickstatt held the post of Director of the University of Ingolstadt which had previously been run by the Jesuits. Ickstatt had, like Kennedy, been a founding member of the Bavarian Academy and engaged in correspondence with the Scot.²⁷ The two men discussed their ideas on the changes they thought necessary but Kennedy already had strong views on the subject. He had been in regular correspondence with the abbot of the Augustinian monastery of Sagan in Silesia, Johann Ignaz von Felbiger (1724–88).²⁸ Felbiger had reformed the educational system under his authority and in 1761 had set out a school ordinance which included a teaching programme. His reforms had attracted praise from Catholics and Lutherans alike. When the elector asked Kennedy to help shape Bavaria’s educational system the Scot recommended that Felbiger’s school ordinance be adopted. The changes were put in place with marked success and the following year Austria adopted the same reforms. In keeping with his increased involvement in state affairs another distinction was conferred on Kennedy. That same year (1773) he was appointed to the Council of Clergy, *Geistlichen Rates*, which was the highest central ecclesiastical authority in Bavaria. The removal of the Society of Jesus from the workings of the Church had created this opening. The choice of Kennedy was, however, due to the effectiveness he had shown in achieving beneficial changes to the educational system and book censorship. His hard work and scholarship had earned him respect. His neutrality as a Scot free from bias in local politics was an additional factor in generating trust by those with whom he dealt. His new responsibilities caused an increased workload which made him tardy in replying to some of his correspondents especially those dealing with the history class. Despite his earlier researches in history, he did not see this class as important to the work of the academy as the natural

²⁶ Letter of 14 November, 1767 to the Protestant preacher and entomologist, Jakob Christian Schäffer, Hammermeyer, *Die Geschichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1759–1807*, vol. 1, Beck’she Verlagsbuch, 1983, 165.

²⁷ *ABA(B)*, correspondence in years 1761–3 and 1773.

²⁸ *ABA(B)*, correspondence in years 1766 onwards.

philosophy or mathematics classes and he began to favour them at its expense. Despite the general respect in which he was held this led to criticism from some members of the history class.²⁹ The solution was to appoint a secretary for the history class. Felix Lipowski, the encyclopedist, took on this role from 1771 to 1776. When Lipowski stepped down from this role Kennedy was required to resume the work and in doing so had to stop giving his long standing public lectures on natural philosophy.

Kennedy's involvement with the academy had ensured him a degree of prominence in Munich society but his appearance also was remarked upon when he strode through the streets. He dressed in his Benedictine habit over which he would wear the uniform of his appointment as ecclesiastical councilor and on his head he wore a peruque. This was his normal mode of dress even in summer: he was afraid of catching cold. To these eccentricities he added other habits of a hypochondriac, recording every minor illness. His diet consisted of drinking only water – no alcohol or coffee – and eating simply vegetables and fruit.³⁰ The academy arranged for him to have his portrait painted when he was in his late forties. It remains in its possession and shows Ildephonse Kennedy dressed in his Benedictine habit. The man portrayed is thin faced, almost gaunt, and although he is shown with a serious disposition his expression is kindly rather than forbidding. Despite his eccentric appearance and behaviour this man was able to form friendships with scholars, statesmen and nobility. The elector personally thought highly of him as is shown by the approval he gave for the number of appointments and commissions which the State and Church loaded onto him.

In 1777 Max III Joseph died childless and without any surviving close relatives. A disputed succession followed which led to the brief War of the Bavarian Succession (1778–9). The matter was settled by the Treaty of Teschen by which Bavaria ceded some of its southern lands to Austria and a distant cousin of Max Joseph succeeded to the title. The cousin, Karl IV Theodor (1724–99), was already the Elector Palatine who held court in Mannheim. On claiming the Bavarian title in 1778 Karl Theodor attempted to exchange the whole of southern Bavaria for the Austrian Netherlands which would have extended his Palatinate possessions. Emperor Joseph of Austria was agreeable but Prussia objected to the enlargement of Habsburg territory in the southern German speaking lands and this led to war. The resolution of the dispute was that Karl Theodor was confirmed as Elector but Bavaria lost some territory

²⁹ Lehner, *Enlightened Monks*, 88.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 87.

for no material gain. This soured the Bavarians' relationship with their new elector. The resentment lasted for the whole of Karl Theodor's reign and in 1788 the relationship had deteriorated to the point where he transferred his court from Munich back to Mannheim. This proved to be a dangerous move, however, since unrest continued in Bavaria and he returned the following year to secure his hold on his much larger southern territory.

Karl Theodor's accession was also unpropitious for the Bavarian Electoral Academy of Sciences. In 1763, as Elector Palatine, he had established a rival academy in Mannheim. The action was resented by the academy in Munich since it had drawn a number of its members from Mannheim and saw the new institution as a rival. Karl Theodor, therefore, was viewed with concern but when, in 1786, the Bavarian Academy was publicly attacked he defended it. Accusations of heresy had come from two reactionary supporters with traditionalist views, Father Frank and Baron Johann Caspar von Lippert (1729–1800).³¹ Fr. Frank was an ex-Jesuit who had been Karl Theodor's confessor and Lippert was a Professor at the University of Ingolstadt who had taken up a position of minor court functionary in Munich following Ickstatt's reforms. He was also a member of the Bavarian Academy – Georg Lori had recruited him in 1761. Both Frank and Lippert bore grudges for the changes in education introduced by Ickstatt and Kennedy. Ickstatt had died but Kennedy was open to attack. They accused him and indeed the whole academy of heresy on spurious grounds. They had some influence with the elector and had previously been successful in persuading him to suppress secret societies in Bavaria. In 1784 they had told Karl Theodor that the *Illuminati*, the society of Freemasons in Munich, were plotting against him and the Church. Given his poor relationship with the Bavarian populace the elector believed them. Their persuasiveness in part rested on the fact that they were both members of the *Illuminati* and claimed inside knowledge of the plot. Karl Theodor issued an edict of suppression, an action which worsened the Bavarians' attitude to him. However, when, two years later, Frank and Lippert attacked the academy he decided not to further irritate his subjects and exonerated the academy and Kennedy. Count Seinsheim showed himself to be a powerful advocate for the academy during this time but the affair had an effect in that no new members were recruited in 1786 while the matter was being judged.

The elector's decision was not based solely on a desire to avoid a worsening of relationships with his Bavarian subjects. The academy had gained his good

³¹ Heigel, 'Kennedy Ildefonso', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, (1882), http://www.deutsche_biographie.de/pnd116130393html?anchor=adb. Accessed 20 August 2013.

opinion by cooperation with the societies he had created in Mannheim. In 1780 he had founded the *Societas Meteorologica Palatina* in order to conduct a major research programme into weather predictions. The plan was to collect meteorological data from around the world. The society provided instruments – barometer, thermometer and hygrometer – to over thirty stations and gave the participating observers instructions on the standardization of data.³² The results were sent to Mannheim and published yearly from 1783 to 1795.³³ This was the first large scale international programme of research into weather ever attempted. Scientific interest in meteorology derived from a general concern to improve agriculture and the objective was to forecast weather. For over two centuries it had been believed that the sun and moon influenced terrestrial weather in a similar way to the effect they had on tides and that therefore aspects of the weather could be predicted.³⁴ The programme, which required readings to a standard format at set times each day, was conducted by a number of academic institutes across Europe. Kennedy's friend and correspondent, Coelestin Steiglehner OSB who was a professor of mathematics at the University of Ingolstadt, had been collecting weather data continuously since 1771 on his own account and along with other Benedictines was prepared to participate in the international programme. Karl Theodor proposed that the Bavarian academy become involved formally by setting up a Bavarian wide network to record observations. Kennedy ensured that the results of the twenty-one stations thus formed were collated and shared with Mannheim before being published in Bavaria.³⁵

Early results showed that there were regular variations in air pressure over large areas and the Bavarian academy decided to launch an international competition with the objective of finding an explanation of the observations

³² Examples of the original instruments – barometer, rain gauge and hygrometer – are preserved as part of the academy's collection in Deutsches Museum. Items 259, 92, 34.

³³ *Ephemerides Societatis Meteorologicae Palatinae*. The results covered the years 1781 to 1792. Cassidy, David, 'Meteorology in Mannheim: The Palatine Meteorological Society, 1780–1795' in *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften*, Vol. 69 (Stuttgart, 1985), 8–25

³⁴ Stöffler, *Ephemerides anno salutigeræ incarnationis* (Leichtenstein, 1524) referenced in Lüdecke Cornelia, *Astrometeorological Weather Prediction at the time of the Societas Meteorologica Palatina*, 2004, http://www.meteohistory.org/2004polling_preprints/docs/abstracts/luedecke_abstract.pdf. Accessed 23 September 2013.

³⁵ The organizer of the network was Bavarian Academician, Franz Xaver Epp (1753–89). The Bavarian Academy published the results annually from 1781 to 1789 in *Der Baierschen Akademie der Wissenschaften in München meteorologische Ephemeriden*.

which could be tested against the astro-meteorological theory of planetary influence. Although some small awards were made to a number of entries which were judged to advance the science, no one was able to demonstrate a valid connection. The work done by the observers did, however, yield valuable advances in the understanding of weather. Kaspar Sterr (1744–1844), an ex-Jesuit who was a teacher of fine arts in Neuburg an der Donau in Bavaria, recognized that falling barometric pressure was often accompanied by stormy weather and westerly winds. Although he believed the astro-meteorological theory Sterr postulated that it would be impossible to predict weather due to a series of accidental causes. Included in these causes was the influence of human beings. The Bavarian Academy awarded him a gold medal for his work.³⁶ Another pioneer involved in the research programme was Kennedy's friend, Coelestin Steiglehner. He conducted an analysis of the data recorded over a large area of northern Europe and was able to show that weather patterns moved from west to east. He calculated that it took eight and a half hours for barometric pressures recorded in London to be repeated in Regensburg and a further three and a half hours to be recorded in Vienna. He found that the patterns were later repeated in St Petersburg. When he published his findings in 1783 he was the first person to recognize this feature of the northern climate.³⁷

Before Frank and Lippert made their accusations against Kennedy in 1786 the academy had not only demonstrated its wholehearted support for the elector's own foundations but had shown itself to be of capable of the highest standards in scientific research gaining international recognition in the process. In 1785 an honorary membership was offered to and accepted by Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society in London. Despite the limited number of treatises on natural philosophy published by the Bavarian Academy the quality of its research ensured that it ranked alongside the most prestigious learned institutions. Ildephonse Kennedy, who at this point had been secretary for twenty five years, played a crucial role in coordinating the work, not just of the Bavarian academy but with scientists in the Netherlands, Russia, Britain and France. Karl Theodor was appreciative of these efforts and was to remain supportive of both Kennedy and the academy for the rest

³⁶ Lüdecke Cornelia, *Astrometeorological Weather Prediction at the time of the Societas Meteorological Palatina*, 2004, http://www.meteohistory.org/2004polling_preprints/docs/abstracts/luedecke_abstract.pdf. Accessed 23 September 2013.

³⁷ Steiglehner, *Atmosphærae Pressio varia, observationibus baroscopicis Propriis et alienis quesita* (Ingolstadt, 1783).

of his reign. The remainder of Kennedy's time as secretary, however, was increasingly dominated by the momentous changes brought about by the French Revolution. The world that the Scots Benedictines in Germany had become familiar with and in which they had made their home was about to change forever.

12 Dignified Endings

Ildephonse Kennedy had been acting as secretary to the Bavarian Electoral Academy of Sciences for a decade when his fellow Scottish Benedictine, Charles (Benedict) Arbuthnot, joined the academy as an ordinary member. Arbuthnot enrolled in 1771 and began to distinguish himself as a mathematician and natural philosopher. Kennedy was fourteen years senior to Arbuthnot and had been his tutor and mentor in Regensburg. They had become good friends who came to rely on each other for support. When Kennedy left to live in Munich, Arbuthnot was appointed his replacement as professor of mathematics at the seminary. They kept up a correspondence both before and after Arbuthnot joined the academy but the greatest cooperation came when Arbuthnot was elected abbot of St James' Regensburg in 1776.

In intellect the two men complemented one another but in temperament and physical appearance they contrasted strongly. Kennedy, the gaunt hypochondriac, eccentrically dressed, could not have been more different from Arbuthnot. The younger man was altogether a more imposing figure. Thomas Campbell (1777–1844), the poet, was charmed by him when he was the abbot's guest while on a visit to Regensburg in 1800. Arbuthnot was in his early sixties at the time. Years later when he heard of the abbot's death Campbell wrote to a friend describing him as

*one of the handsomest and strongest men I have ever seen [...] his head was then quite white, but his complexion was fresh and his features were regular and handsome. In manners he had a perpetual suavity and benevolence. I think I see him still in the cathedral with the golden cross on his fine chest, and hear him chanting the service with his full deep voice.*¹

In 1811 to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination a group of

¹ Beattie, *Life and Letters of Th. Campbell*, vol. II (London, 1849), 375.

Arbuthnot's friends commissioned his portrait. It shows him at the age of seventy-four but the figure portrayed is still that of a robust man. He is dressed in Benedictine habit with a black skullcap and wears his abbatial golden cross and chain. The face is full but not corpulent: the flesh firm and free from wrinkles. He has a look of authority which is not intimidating but the strongest impression given is that of a man of keen intelligence.² The portrait fits the description given by Campbell but it also testifies to the life Arbuthnot had led.

Charles Arbuthnot was born on 5 March 1737 (New Style) near Peterhead. He was the eighth child of James Arbuthnot of West Rora and his wife, Margaret. Theirs was a large family: in total they had twelve children although only six survived to adulthood.³ James Arbuthnot belonged to the landed gentry of the northeast of Scotland, but being his father's third son the portion of the estate which he received was limited to the farm of West Rora. James worked hard at improving the land making it prosperous enough to support his large family in some comfort. James' wife, Margaret, was the daughter of Gordon of Auchleuchries, another member of the landed gentry but again of limited means.⁴ The Gordons of Auchleuchries were Catholic and Margaret raised the children in her faith. In 1748 when Charles was eleven years of age his parents decided to send him to a Scots college on the continent to receive a Catholic education. During the years when the penal laws were applied against Catholics and especially immediately following the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 it was impossible for anyone to receive a higher education in Scotland while professing the Catholic faith. The Arbuthnots' action in sending their young son abroad, therefore, was not unusual and others shared the same experiences. In his case, however, the letters that he sent home to his family in Scotland have survived and in the early ones he describes his experiences and gives an account of his education at a Catholic college from his perspective as a young student. In total his family received and preserved thirty-nine letters from him,

² The portrait was held in the Benedictine abbey of Fort Augustus in Scotland until it closed in 1993. An earlier portrait exists in the form of an engraving showing Arbuthnot in non-clerical garb, possibly produced during his visit to Scotland in 1772 before he was elected abbot. This portrait also impresses with the intelligence and urbanity of the man. Arbuthnot P S-M, *Memories of the Arbuthnots of Kincardineshire and Aberdeenshire* (London, 1920), 422.

³ Arbuthnot, *Memories of the Arbuthnots of Kincardineshire and Aberdeenshire*, 254–6

⁴ Margaret's great uncle, General Patrick Gordon, was a younger son who left Scotland and made his career in Russia, serving with distinction in the army of Peter the Great. He died in Russia in 1699.

although many others were lost in transit.⁵ The first was sent from Rotterdam after his sea passage from Aberdeen and the last was written in Regensburg in 1819, over seventy years later. They represent a unique record not only of Charles' experiences as a scholar at a continental college but of much of the ecclesiastical and political environment in which he later served as ordained monk and mitred abbot in the final years of the Holy Roman Empire.

In his first letter dated 22 September 1748 the eleven year old boy tells his father of his journey to Rotterdam which took twenty days. After leaving Aberdeen his ship encountered storms which forced it to take shelter first in Montrose and after a second attempt to cross the North Sea again in Whitby. He writes of being almost constantly seasick and of his great relief at finally being able to leave the vessel. Although he was probably unfortunate in having such a bad experience, travel from Scotland to the continent was not easy for any of the hundreds of young Catholic boys who were sent to the Scots colleges abroad during the two centuries of penal legislation. These trials were shared by their many Protestant compatriots who went to universities such as Geneva and Leiden for their higher education. The second half of Arbuthnot's letter acquaints his father with a decision that young Charles had taken to disobey his parent's instructions. It had been their intention that he should attend the Scots College of St Andrew's in Douai in northern France. On his arrival in Rotterdam, however, he had made the acquaintance of a Dutchman, Mr John van Wingerden, who told him that he had sent one of his sons to be educated in Douai and later had sent another to study at the Scots seminary in Regensburg. From their experiences he was of the opinion that the standard of education provided in Regensburg was greatly superior to that of the college in Douai. This decided Arbuthnot to travel to Regensburg in the company of four other prospective students.⁶ For each of the next six years young Charles wrote home to his parents. However, only four of the letters reached their destination. He received none in reply. In his letter of 14 May 1753 he wrote saying that he feared that their silence was due to their displeasure at his disobedience in not enrolling at the college in Douai

⁵ They remained part of the family papers until the twentieth century and are now in the care of the Aberdeenshire Museum Service, Mintlaw, Archival Reference: PEHMS: P3422.

⁶ PEHMS: P3422/1 Arbuthnot makes no mention of the fact that the party was being led to Regensburg by Fr. Erhard Grant and that two of the other students were Charles Gordon of Beldorny and John Anderson of Teinet. Father Alexander Forsyth also appears to have been shepherding the party of students which included a young relative of his with the same name; see below.

for which he begged their forgiveness. His parents had, in fact, been sending letters but none had arrived. Mail between Scotland and Regensburg appears to have had extreme difficulty in being delivered. In 1754 Bishop Alexander Smith of the Lowland Vicariate complained in a letter to Ildephonse Kennedy that he had not been remiss in replying to Kennedy's previous letters since none had arrived.⁷ The reliability of the post to and from the seminary only improved after Kennedy transferred to Munich and communications with the monastery in Regensburg were addressed through him as secretary of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. For much of his time in Munich Kennedy acted as unofficial postmaster for the Regensburg community of Scots.

The effect on young Arbuthnot of the lack of communication with his parents and his belief that they had ostracised him is shown in his early letters. After having been at the college for six years and nearing the end of his course of studies he wanted to discuss his future with his father. He asked Fr. Alexander Forsyth to intervene to heal the rift which he imagined existed between them. Fr. Forsyth wrote to James Arbuthnot explaining that it was he who had brought his son to Regensburg and that young Charles had excelled at his studies there. He also informed him that he had received much praise for his contributions to the college's annual theatrical performances, 'Spectacles', presented by the seminary scholars for the entertainment of local dignitaries.⁸ Remarkably the elder Arbuthnot's reply to Forsyth's letter arrived in less than a month and young Charles' concerns were relieved. A channel for the delivery of mail between father and son was established through a Mr Gordon of Aberlour and Charles was able to ask for and receive his parents' permission to become a priest in the Benedictine Order.⁹ He was ordained in January 1761 and the following year his parents asked him to return home to Scotland as a missionary.¹⁰ Their son had been eleven years of age when he had left home and they had not seen him for fourteen years. Given these circumstances and the fact that the Mission in Scotland was in desperate need of priests this was a reasonable request. Charles, who had taken as his religious name Benedict, was anxious to see his elderly parents and was willing to return but could not

⁷ SCA, SK/6/4/5 This letter had been sent on 20 December 1754 from Perthshire in the hands of Messrs Coutts who took it to Mr Robertson of Strachan based in Rotterdam for onward transmission to Regensburg. Such complicated and *ad hoc* postal arrangements were always at risk of failing.

⁸ PEHMS: P3422/4 letter from Fr. Alexander Forsyth to James Arbuthnott dated 2 October 1754.

⁹ PEHMS: P3422/6 letter from Charles to his father dated 5 August 1756.

¹⁰ PEHMS: P3422/12 letter from Charles to his father dated 5 August 1762.

do so without his abbot's permission. Abbot Gallus Leith would not allow him to leave and Arbuthnot was required to remain at St James'.¹¹ It would appear that he was too valuable a member of the seminary's teaching staff to be released. He had been appointed professor of mathematics to replace Kennedy following his secondment to the Bavarian Electoral Academy of Sciences. He did not, however, abandon his hopes of seeing his parents again but in 1767 again he was refused permission to leave.¹² By that time the young man had concerns for the health of his parents. These fears were well founded for in 1770 he received news from his brother, Tom, of the death of their father. Abbot Leith, although still refusing him permission to join the Mission, was persuaded to give Arbuthnot leave to visit his mother and help deal with his father's estate. In 1772 he spent several months in Scotland meeting up with various members of his family including nephews with whom he was to maintain correspondence for the rest of his life.

The year before he returned to Scotland he wrote to his brother in London explaining that he would not accept his share of his father's estate, and requesting that it should be given to other deserving relatives but later in his career he was able to use the ambiguity regarding this inheritance to protect the interests of the monastery in Regensburg. (See below) In the same letter he told him that he had been awarded a gold medal from the Bavarian Electoral Academy of Sciences for a paper he had submitted as his entry in a competition which the academy had organised to provide an answer to the question "*If and what remedies there are to disperse thunder and hail, and to free a land from them: and if it be possible to find a new remedy by the electrical experiments.*" The medal was awarded at a ceremony held at the University of Salzburg and was accompanied with a cash prize equivalent to five pounds sterling.¹³ Arbuthnot was clearly very pleased with the award since it followed immediately upon his enrolment at the academy. It is likely that he was enticed to join by the competition which the academy had sponsored as part of its research into agricultural improvements. He saw this work almost as a religious duty since he believed that by studying the laws of nature he was gaining a better understanding of the immutable laws of God and their divine purpose.¹⁴ In total he submitted four papers to the academy for publication but the quality of his work varied. Although he

¹¹ PEHMS: P3422/15 letter from Charles to his father dated 4 August 1763.

¹² PEHMS: P3422/22 letter from Charles to his brother, Tom, dated 14 September 1767.

¹³ PEHMS: P3422/24 letter from Charles to his brother, Tom, dated 5 May 1771.

¹⁴ Kraus, *Die naturwissenschaftliche Forschung an der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, 18.

was essentially a mathematician his interests were in all aspects of scientific research and his lack of specialisation in natural philosophy limited the depth of his scholarship. In a paper of 1775 “*Von den Kräfte der Körper und Elemente*” he displayed his ignorance of recent research by other natural philosophers and he was guilty of repeating the errors of the earlier researchers with whose work he was familiar.¹⁵ Nevertheless, Arbuthnot received another prize from the Bavarian Electoral Academy for this work.¹⁶ Arbuthnot was not alone in such failings in research. Clear distinctions had appeared between those who worked in specialised fields such as Andreas Gordon in electricity and generalists of whom the academy had many among its members. Significant progress in the advancement of science was being achieved by the former while the latter showed greater interest in the provision of education. The limitations on the scope of Arbuthnot’s research were also due in part to the demands on his time made by his life as a monk and his teaching duties at the seminary. On his election as abbot of St James’ in 1776 this workload increased and he had to curtail the time he spent on activities relating to the academy although he continued to correspond and engage in cooperative research with other members especially the German Benedictines. He was held in high regard as a scholar and in 1792 the senate of the University of Salzburg chose him as its president for a three year period.¹⁷

On the death of Gallus Leith, Arbuthnot was the obvious replacement as abbot. Apart from his personal commitment to the religious life, which the thirty-nine year old had demonstrated for over a quarter of a century, his intellect and standing among Church authorities and secular society equipped him well for the dignity of his new role. The abbot of Regensburg was leader not simply of the monastery in that city but of all three Scottish Benedictine communities in Germany. Those of Würzburg and Erfurt were in reality priories of Regensburg. Arbuthnot was elected at a time when the communities were in good heart. Since 1713 when the seminary had been given formal recognition by both the papacy and the emperor it had attracted significant numbers of Scots anxious to receive a higher education. The policy whereby Benedictines returning from Scotland would accompany aspiring students to Regensburg had continued to prove successful. Records are incomplete but at least sixty such have been identified as arriving in the first half of the

¹⁵ Kraus, 63.

¹⁶ Sitzungprotokolle der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Signaturen: Protokolle 6, 283v–284r, Meeting of 24 March 1789. Also: Fischer, 150.

¹⁷ PEHMS: P3422/27 letter from Charles to his brother Thomas dated 30 May 1792.

eighteenth century. In the third quarter of the century a further twenty one are noted. Arbuthnot, when he returned following his visit in 1772, brought with him six students from Scotland.¹⁸ When he was appointed abbot in 1776 each of the monasteries had strong communities and the seminary had a thriving student body.

Since the reforms achieved by Abbot Fleming at the end of the seventeenth century, the Scots Benedictines had maintained an enviable reputation for their moral rectitude as well as their scholarship. Their exemplary behaviour had restored respect for them within the German community. To this Arbuthnot, as abbot, began to build an image of heightened status through portraying his community as part of a social elite in Scotland – albeit a persecuted one. The college students came largely from families of the gentry and nobility.¹⁹ Being of good family was regarded as important and the status of its students added to the reputation of the Scots college in the eyes of German society. The premier German Benedictine monastery in Regensburg, St Emmeram's, recruited its students exclusively from nobility and gentry. The improvement in its relationship with St James', which was its near neighbour, was made easier by virtue of the perception of their equal social standing despite the relative poverty of the Scots. However, this change in the German perception of the Scots was not achieved quickly nor easily.

Before Arbuthnot could receive the papal bull which formally recognised his installation as abbot he had to pay the traditional tax to the pope.²⁰ He used the services of a Scottish priest based in Rome, Fr. Peter Grant, to help negotiate the sum required with the papal bureaucracy and the secretary to *Propaganda Fide*, Cardinal Stephen Borgia. The dealings with Father Grant are revealing of the position in which the *Schottenklöster* were held in Rome. The papal authorities would not discount the amount of tax which was calculated at 240 Roman crowns despite having done so for previous holders of the abbacy of St James'. The Roman bankers also refused to accept Arbuthnot's bill of exchange drawn on Regensburg bankers. He was reduced to having to ask Ildephonse Kennedy to prevail on his personal friends, the Neckar

¹⁸ RSC, 253.

¹⁹ This had markedly been the case from the late seventeenth century onwards. Most students came from families of the gentry and nobility. Charles Drummond, son of the exiled Duke of Perth, enrolled in 1756.

²⁰ This was the same demand for annates which Placid Fleming had refused to pay. His obduracy had enabled his successors to convince Rome to accept reduced fees. However, Arbuthnot was not in such dire financial straits and he was required to pay the annates in full; see Chapter Seven.

brothers, who were international bankers based in Munich, to stand surety for him. The whole tenor of the correspondence between Arbuthnot and Grant speaks of the difficulty of raising such a sum and the lack of consideration in Rome for the limited circumstances of the Scottish monastic community. At one point in the process Grant borrowed money on his own account to pay the outstanding charges to prevent the Roman authorities delaying the formal ratification of Arbuthnot's installation.²¹ After several months and following completion of all payments, Pope Pius VI sent Arbuthnot his Decree of Installation and included in the correspondence a portrait of himself. Cardinal Henry of York, the Cardinal Protector of Scotland who was brother to Charles Stuart pretender to the British thrones, also wrote to the abbot congratulating him on his appointment and offering help in any future dealings with Rome.²²

Arbuthnot was not slow to take advantage of this offer. Almost immediately he requested indulgences which would allow the Scots Benedictines to hold special services on a number of feast days throughout the year.²³ By this means he hoped to raise increased donations to his community. His next petition to Rome was in defence of his independence from the authority of the episcopal consistory in Regensburg who claimed the right to tax the Scots.²⁴ He was successful in both these matters and to emphasise his independent authority he next tried to turn the tables on the prince-bishop of Regensburg by attempting to exert influence over the cathedral chapter itself. In 1779 a vacancy arose for a canon of the cathedral. Arbuthnot proposed a personal friend – an unnamed German count – for preferment and succeeded in enlisting two cardinals to support his case in Rome. Unfortunately for Arbuthnot's friend the emperor championed another candidate who was subsequently appointed.²⁵ His interference in the selection of a canon did not endear him to the cathedral chapter and shortly afterwards they objected to his wearing a mitre. Arbuthnot

²¹ *SCA*, SK 6/12/7 Letter from Grant to Arbuthnot dated 7 August 1776.

²² *SCA*, SK 6/12/11 Letter from Grant to Arbuthnot dated 16 November 1776.

²³ *SCA*, SK 6/12/13 Letter from Grant to Arbuthnot dated 1 February 1777. The indulgences were for the feast days of Saints James, Andrew and Benedict. Later he also included the feast of St Margaret. Each of these saints had special association with the monasteries or Scotland.

²⁴ *SCA*, SK 6/12/15 Letter from Grant to Arbuthnot dated 26 July 1777.

²⁵ *SCA*, SK 6/15/6; SK 6/13/7–8 Letters dated August 1779. The cardinals were Defacio and Albani. It appears that the Cardinal Duke of York was not approached on this occasion. The emperor's candidate was the nephew of the prince-bishop of Regensburg, Anton Ignaz von Fugger-Glött. By seeking the support of the emperor the prince-bishop clearly understood where the real power of ecclesiastical appointments in the German lands lay.

had started making greater displays of ceremony while conducting services in his abbey church. As a mitred abbot of the Holy Roman Empire he was entitled to such displays but his actions were clearly to denote his independence from all Church authority other than that of the pope. On appeal to Rome the decision went in Arbuthnot's favour and the church authorities confirmed that the Scottish abbots had this right by tradition.²⁶ Arbuthnot constantly upheld the dignity of his office and tried to present his community – despite its relative poverty – as the equal of its German neighbours. He succeeded in large part through his own commanding presence and the dignified way in which he conducted himself as “a true prince of the Church” in which role he became “a conspicuous figure in the aristocratic circles of the day”.²⁷

In all of his correspondence with Henry, Cardinal Duke of York, Arbuthnot never failed to express his personal as well as his community's continued espousal of the cause of the House of Stuart in support of its claim to the British thrones.²⁸ The sentiment was no doubt genuine but neither man held any serious hope of the overthrow of the House of Hanover. Abbot Placid Fleming had actively used the resources of the *Schottenklöster* to further the Stuart cause when James VII/II lost his thrones nearly a century earlier and Andreas Gordon had published a polemic in support of the Stuarts when Prince Charles Edward was engaged in the unsuccessful Jacobite rising in 1745–6.²⁹ However, on the death of James VIII/III in 1766, Pope Clement XIII refused to recognise his son as king thereby giving tacit recognition to the House of Hanover. The pope was attempting a *rapprochement* with the British State and in pursuit of this he also forbade churchmen from making any open expression of support for the Stuarts.³⁰ After Clement's death in 1769 this became the settled policy of the papacy and, as the political situation changed, legal conditions for Catholics in Britain began to improve. In 1778 the British parliament passed the Papists Act, which gave a measure of relief from the Popery Act of 1698. Arbuthnot followed these events closely and, when mob reaction to them resulted in first the burning down of Bishop Hay's house and

²⁶ *SCA*, SK 6/13/12 Letter dated 3 June 1780.

²⁷ Fischer, 149–50.

²⁸ *SCA*, SK 6/14/9 Letter dated 28 January 1779.

²⁹ Gordon, *The Origin of the present War in Great Britain being prosecuted by Charles Edward Stuart: In a brief presented and promoted to the parlement at Strasbourg* (Strasbourg, 1746).

³⁰ In defiance of the pope's instructions the rectors of the English, Irish and Scottish Colleges in Rome jointly welcomed the prince as King Charles III. Clement immediately stripped them of their offices and in the case of the Scots College appointed an Italian rector. McCluskey (ed.), *The Scots College Rome 1600–2000* (Edinburgh, 2000), 52.

chapel in Edinburgh in 1779 and in the following year the Gordon Riots in London led by Lord George Gordon, he urged the Roman authorities to help with the cost of rebuilding the chapel and commented that “Gordon should be hanged for treason”.³¹

The British government had decided to ease conditions for Catholics for very pragmatic reasons. When war broke out between Britain and France in 1756 the British army needed Irish and Scottish Highland Catholics for the series of major conflicts in which it became engaged. To avoid provocation of their Catholic troops the Penal Laws were not applied with any strictness although no changes were made to them at the time. In 1776 Britain was at war with its American colonies who were receiving aid from the Dutch Republic, Spain and especially France. Again Britain needed to count on the loyalty of its Catholic troops and hence the need for the Papists Act of 1778. King George III was very anti-Catholic and did not support his prime minister on these relief measures. As a constitutional monarch he could not prevent the passage of the new act which, as well as easing conditions for Catholics, included an oath of loyalty to the House of Hanover which British Catholics could take with a clear conscience.³² In 1778 France openly engaged in the war on the side of the colonies and the Prime Minister, Frederick Lord North, was keen to construct continental alliances against the French.³³ Britain and the Austro-Hungarian Empire should have been natural allies. The empire and France had been on opposing sides in a number of European wars and King George as Elector of Hanover supported the interests of the Holy Roman Emperor,

³¹ *SCA*, SK 6/13/13 Letter dated 19 July 1780. The easing of the Penal Laws against Catholics allowed Bishop Hay to sue Edinburgh City Council for the damage done to his home by the mob and the cost of rebuilding the house with its attached chapel was borne by the citizens of Edinburgh. In London the Gordon Riots caused much greater damage and concern to the authorities since the rioters attacked foreign embassies damaging Britain's relations with important Catholic powers. Gordon's behaviour is ironic in that he was a grandson of the second Duke of Gordon who was the last member of the Scottish nobility to declare himself Catholic and was a strong defender of his Catholic relatives and tenants. The duke's widow continued with this protection although she raised her two sons as Episcopalian (her own faith) in a move which protected the family estates from the anti-Catholic laws. Lord George Gordon was not hanged for his part in the disturbances, as many of the rioters were, but his behaviour grew increasingly unbalanced and he ended his life in Newgate Prison.

³² Gordon, *Catholic Church in Scotland*, 145.

³³ However, the king's opposition prevented a number of later attempts to improve the lot of Catholics until the concern caused to the British government by the French Revolution meant continental alliances were again needed and a further relief act was passed in 1791.

Leopold II. However, the emperor's father, Francis I, had overseen improved relations with France with the marriage of his daughter, Marie Antoinette, to the dauphin in 1770. By 1778, as wife of Louis XVI, she was queen of France and French and Austrian interests were no longer openly opposed. Nevertheless Britain hoped to bring Austria onto its side. Spain's enemy Portugal had already allied itself with Britain but the Holy Roman Empire remained neutral. By easing conditions for Catholics in Britain Lord North hoped to improve relations with these important Catholic powers. The attacks on the embassies of Catholic countries during the Gordon Riots of 1780, therefore, were severely damaging to British foreign relations.³⁴

The American Declaration of Independence had drawn on Enlightenment ideas of government and partly for that reason the Americans' action had gained support in Europe. *Philosophes* espoused the declaration of a democracy based on a broad franchise. Although most European heads of state were absolute monarchs, Empress Catherine II of Russia and King Frederick II of Prussia, despite their autocratic rule, considered themselves to be enlightened. They believed that it was their duty to promote and implement improvements in society and government through enlightened absolutism. To a lesser degree other monarchies held to the same beliefs although in the case of France and the Holy Roman Empire with fewer enlightenment credentials. Britain's constitutional monarchy was based neither on a wide franchise nor on enlightened absolutism and in European eyes was viewed as an inferior and inadequate system of government. To these monarchs the Gordon Riots in Britain's capital city, which took nearly a week to quell, were proof of the inherent instability of the British State. Britain did not gain any diplomatic advantage from its concessions to Catholics in 1778 and, despite naval victories against the French and Spanish, in 1783 it was forced to recognise the independence of its American colonies.

In Regensburg Benedict Arbuthnot kept abreast of international events through his correspondence with Rome and Scotland as well as attendance at the Bavarian and Imperial Courts.³⁵ One of his nephews, Captain Robert Arbuthnot, an officer in the British army, spent time in Paris in 1788 before journeying on to Regensburg where he recounted to his uncle his experience

³⁴ The rioters' targets were all properties belonging to Catholics and of the embassies attacked those of Bavaria and Sardinia were completely destroyed.

³⁵ PEHMS: P3422/28, 29, 31, 32 letters from Charles to his brother Thomas dating from 1793 to 1801.

of Paris as a city in turmoil with much of its population in dire poverty.³⁶ The captain's intelligence was a forewarning of the following year's catastrophe when economic conditions in France forced Louis XVI to recall the Estates General. The example of the fledgling United States of America provided encouragement to revolutionaries in France and demands for reform coupled with increasing social chaos led to the king losing control of his government. In 1792 Emperor Leopold II declared his support for the old order in France although he had no intention of intervening in any practical manner.³⁷ This angered the French populace and in a desperate attempt to regain popularity King Louis supported a declaration of war on Austria. The King of Prussia, Frederick William II, sided with Austria and invaded France threatening the French with retaliation if they resisted the advance of their armies or refused to reinstate the monarchy.³⁸ This was seen by the French as proof that their king was their enemy and a traitor. The French defeated the allied armies and while advancing into the Austrian Netherlands proceeded to execute Louis, Marie Antoinette and many of the nobility and clergy. Their actions alarmed much of Europe and attempts were made to construct effective military alliances against them. Britain, the Dutch Republic, Spain, Prussia and the Holy Roman Empire formed a grand coalition but after two years of warfare the allies were defeated. France annexed the Austrian Netherlands, expelled the House of Orange and created a new Batavian Republic as a client state which allowed it to control all of the Low Countries. By spring 1795 the members of the first coalition with the exceptions of Britain and Austria had sued for peace.

At this stage in the war diplomatic relations between these two allies were vitally important and the British ambassador at the Imperial Diet relied on the Scots Benedictines in Regensburg to help in his dealings with the Court. Austria's temporary withdrawal from hostilities after its defeat in 1797 did not lessen the need for effective diplomatic contact. When Austria re-entered the war and a second coalition of allies was formed in 1799, Abbot Arbuthnot was again called on to act as interpreter and facilitator for a series of British ambassadors.³⁹ St James' monastery in Regensburg extended hospitality to a number of British visitors⁴⁰ and in 1800, while he was Arbuthnot's guest

³⁶ PEHMS: P3422/26 letter from Charles to his brother Thomas dated 6 July 1788.

³⁷ The emperor was near the end of his life. He died later that year and was succeeded by his son as Francis II.

³⁸ Declaration of Brunswick, 1792.

³⁹ Ed. Alexander Clinton Fraser, *Narrative of a Secret Mission to the Danish Coast in 1808 by Rev. James Robertson, edited from the author's MS* (London, 1863), 2.

⁴⁰ PEHMS: P3422/32 letter from Charles to his brother Thomas dated 4 November

Thomas Campbell, the poet, saw the retreating Austrian and Bavarian armies stream through Regensburg following their defeat by the French at the Battle of Hohenlinden. The sight moved him to write one of his most famous poems.⁴¹ The French troops followed up their victory by occupying cities in Bavaria and Austria.⁴² The second coalition of allies against the French had collapsed. The southern German allies sued for peace and were forced to concede territory to the French. It was General Moreau's army which gained these victories over the Germans in 1800 but another French army commanded by General Bonaparte had already conquered Italy including the Papal States. In 1798 the French took over the civil administration, declared Rome a republic and exiled Pope Pius VI and his entire college of cardinals. The elderly pope died the following year and due to their exile and dispersion over much of Italy it was impossible for the cardinals to elect a new pope. The Catholic Church was effectively leaderless with little ability to direct its affairs. This remained its position during almost all of Napoleon's reign despite the election of Pius VII and the temporary reinstatement of the papal territories. In 1809 the French imprisoned the new pope and made the Papal States a department of metropolitan France. Only when Napoleon was defeated did the pope return to Rome and resume the administration of the Church.

These events had profound consequences for all the nations of Europe but it is impossible to overstate the effect they had on the *Schottenklöster*. The Scots became the victims of the great shifts of power in Europe. The cost of the wars had been immense for every country. To pay for them France had confiscated all Church property and taxed its own citizens heavily but also exacted levies from the defeated nations.⁴³ The Germans had been forced to cede considerable areas of their territories, particularly in the Netherlands. In order to ensure that the client states could meet his financial demands, Bonaparte, as First Consul of the French Republic, ordered the secularisation – confiscation by the State – of Church property in Germany. This was not the first attack on Church property: German princes had been annexing ecclesiastical lands since 1795 to fund the wars. In a letter to his brother, Tom, in December 1797 Benedict

1798.

⁴¹ Fischer, 150. One of Campbell's most famous poems, *Hohenlinden*, was written to commemorate the battle.

⁴² Arbuthnot stated that the French invested Regensburg but the troops did not enter the city. PEHMS: P3422/33 letter from Charles to his brother Thomas dated 29 October 1801.

⁴³ In 1803 Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States of America to help fund the wars.

Arbuthnot wrote of his worries regarding the rumours that the bishoprics and other ecclesiastical institutions of the empire were to be secularised.⁴⁴ But it was Napoleon's diktat of 1803 which resulted in the wholesale dissolution of prince-archbishoprics and confiscation of Church property. The city of Erfurt, part of the arch-bishopric of Mainz, was one of the territories given to Prussia as compensation for its loss of territory to the French. The Prussians closed the University of Erfurt – the third oldest in the German speaking lands – and confiscated St James' monastery. The monks were evicted and with their expulsion the Scottish connection with Erfurt ended.

No prince-bishopric was spared and when Würzburg was secularised its territory, which had been the old Duchy of Franconia, was added to that of the Electorate of Bavaria. Its Scots monastery was closed and the monks evicted. The same fate was expected for the Scots in Regensburg but Arbuthnot was not prepared to allow that to happen without a fight. He began a political campaign to retain St James' for the Scots. A member of his community, Fr. James (Gallus) Robertson, was in Paris and presented a petition personally to Bonaparte.⁴⁵ The arguments set out stressed that St James' was a college for the education of Scottish youths and should not be included in the secularisation of churches and monasteries. The property belonged to the Scottish nation and could not be confiscated by the French or Germans.⁴⁶ At the time the French and British were at peace having signed the Treaty of Amiens and there may have been a disinclination on the part of the French to upset the British over such a matter. Robertson later wrote that he obtained an exemption for St James' from Bonaparte.⁴⁷ Whether Bonaparte was swayed by his arguments is unknown. It is more likely that the intervention of General Jacques Macdonald, the French born son of a Scottish Jacobite exile, was more effective.⁴⁸ Whatever the case the result of the representations of Robertson and Macdonald was a postponement not an exemption of the secularisation

⁴⁴ PEHMS: P3422/31.

⁴⁵ *RSC*, 253, 285.

⁴⁶ Previous to Robertson's petition the French had had representations from the British government for compensation for the loss of the Scots College in Paris which had been confiscated at the outbreak of the revolution a decade earlier. The French refused but as part of its attempts to ensure Catholic loyalty in 1799 the British government funded the building of a new college for the Scots at Acquhorties in the north east of Scotland. M G Rapport, "A Community apart? The Closure of the Scots College in Paris during the French Revolution 1789–1794", *Innes Review* (Spring 2002), 107.

⁴⁷ Fraser (ed.), *Narrative of a Secret Mission to the Danish Coast in 1808* (London, 1863), 127–8.

⁴⁸ Fischer, 151.

measure in the case of the Scots monastery in Regensburg. While these troubles were besetting the Scots, Arbuthnot was deprived of his old friend and ally. For a number of years Ildephonse Kennedy's strength had been failing and after an earlier request to retire had been denied the academy finally accepted his resignation aged 80 in 1801.⁴⁹ He retired to St James' monastery in Regensburg but did not survive long dying in 1804.⁵⁰

Arbuthnot was aged over sixty, but he was still in robust health and was not prepared to let events take their course. Unwilling to rely on the reprieve given by the French, he also sought support from the Bavarian and Viennese Courts to resist the ever encroaching wave of secularisation of Church property. The imperial free city of Regensburg was changed to a principality and given to Prince Carl Theodor von Dahlberg who had previously been prince-archbishop of Mainz. Dahlberg's former principality had been annexed by the French and, in the case of Erfurt, handed over to the Prussians. The gift of the Principality of Regensburg was in compensation for his compliance in these exchanges. The immense lands and wealth of St Emmeram's were given to the Prince of Thurn und Taxis, again as compensation for the loss of his lands in the Austrian Netherlands. The last prince-abbot, Coelestin II Steiglehner, Arbuthnot's friend and fellow academy member, together with his entire monastic community was evicted and given a pension in compensation.

With such major shifts of power and ownership it is remarkable that Arbuthnot's appeal to leave St James' monastery untouched was heeded. This was due in large part to his personal standing at the Bavarian Court but he also played another card in his dealings with the duke. His argument was that St James' was truly part of Scotland's heritage and not subject to any Bavarian authority. Even though it was placed in German lands it had always been unequivocally Scottish. Maximilian was sympathetic to the man and prepared to accept his assertion. He used his influence with Dahlberg to allow the Scots to continue to administer their revenues for the upkeep of the monastery.⁵¹ He also chose one of its monks, Fr. Archibald McIvor, to be personal tutor to Crown Prince Ludwig, his son and heir.⁵² Arbuthnot continued with this argument at the Imperial Court. But there he added a financial dimension. The monastery had deposited its funds with the imperial bank in Vienna. Under secularisation all

⁴⁹ Sitzungprotokolle der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Signaturen: Protokolle 7, 156r-158r. Meeting held on 15 December 1801.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 265. Meeting held on 10 May 1804.

⁵¹ PEHMS: P3422/35 Letter from Charles to his brother, Tom, dated 2 October 1803.

⁵² McIvor was later appointed dean of Regensburg cathedral, a position he was to hold until his death in 1832. *RSC*, 254.

ecclesiastical accounts which had belonged to German religious orders were confiscated. In the case of St James', Arbuthnot claimed that the greater part of the money in the monastery's account was his personal patrimony – his share of his father's estate – and could not, therefore, be taken by the state.⁵³ The sum was large enough to give cause for reconsideration. Returning it to Arbuthnot would have strained the already greatly indebted imperial treasury. As in the case of the monks of St Emmeram's, on secularisation all members of German religious orders had been given pensions. These pensions could be afforded from their confiscated funds. If the emperor was unable to appropriate Arbuthnot's bank account it would be cheaper for him to allow the Scots to stay in their monastery than be forced to pay them pensions from his own treasury.⁵⁴ These arguments never resulted in an outright declaration of exemption for St James' but they did deter the various authorities from acting to evict the Scots. In his letters home the abbot continued to mention that the situation remained unresolved.

*It is true we have not been dissolved, and pensioned, as all other monasteries have been in Bavaria yet we only retain the administration, and cannot say, that we are masters of our revenues; nevertheless we cannot complain of any kind of oppression, so that we can live in peace and contentment.*⁵⁵

It was several years, however, before the monks of St James' could live "in peace and contentment". In 1806 a fourth coalition of allies was formed from the countries of northern Europe with the objective of driving the French from the Netherlands.⁵⁶ To counter the combined threat from Britain, Sweden, Prussia and Russia, Napoleon formed his client states of southern Germany into a confederation of the Rhine. In order to achieve this change in political allegiances he forced Emperor Francis II to dissolve the Holy Roman Empire. The former imperial electorates became independent principalities

⁵³ This argument had already been used by a number of Jesuits on the suppression of their order in 1773. They were able to hold onto some Jesuit property by claiming successfully that it was their private property which they had brought with them on joining the Society.

⁵⁴ PEHMS: P3422/36 Letter from Charles to his brother, Tom, dated 9 April 1806.

⁵⁵ PEHMS: P3422/38 Letter from Charles to his brother, Tom, dated 12 September 1816.

⁵⁶ A third coalition had been decisively defeated in 1805 at the Battle of Austerlitz. Austria had been forced to cede the Veneto to French controlled Italy and the Tyrol to Bavaria which had supported the French at Austerlitz.

with Saxony⁵⁷ and Bavaria being made into kingdoms with enlarged territories. These new dependent states were required to provide armies to support the French. By the end of 1807 France had reduced Prussia and Sweden to the status of client states. It then forced Russia to sue for peace and had seen neutral Denmark join in the war on its side. It was at this point that the Scots monks of Regensburg became involved in a strange and dangerous enterprise.

Prior to the resumption of hostilities in 1804 Charles Lennox, 4th Duke of Richmond, had lodged at the monastery while on a visit to Germany. Richmond was a Scot who was related to the Gordon family and held a number of estates in Scotland in addition to his English dukedom. During his time in Regensburg he formed a favourable impression of both Arbuthnot and his prior, James Robertson, the monk who had petitioned Napoleon. In 1808 Richmond proposed to Lieutenant-General Arthur Wellesley⁵⁸ that Robertson be used as an emissary on a delicate mission to the Spanish general, the Marquis de Romaña. In 1806 King Charles IV of Spain had been coerced by Napoleon to provide a Spanish army of 18,000 men headed by the Marquis to serve in the “Division of the North” under Marshal Bernadotte. The regiment was stationed on the Danish island of Fünen and even though it had sustained losses it still numbered 12,000 in 1808. At that time in the Peninsular War while fighting against Portugal and Britain the French were frequently attacked by Spanish guerrillas. This caused them to turn on their Spanish allies. Romaña and his army were trapped in the north and unable to act in the defence of their own country. A plan was devised by the British to evacuate Romaña’s army thereby depriving Napoleon of troops in the north and by the same action gaining additional forces for the war on the Iberian Peninsula.

Wellesley persuaded Father Robertson to visit Romaña on Fünen and present him with this escape plan and if possible get his agreement. Robertson’s credentials for the assignment were his command of languages and the intrepid spirit he had shown in his personal dealings with Napoleon. The Royal Navy landed him on Heligoland (a British possession at the time) from where he arranged to be smuggled into Germany and then Denmark using the passport of a German friend. By presenting himself as a commercial traveller in cigars and chocolate he obtained a private interview with the Marquis who until that point was unaware of the British efforts on his behalf. It speaks highly of Robertson’s abilities that he succeeded in persuading the

⁵⁷ Saxony had initially been part of the fourth coalition of allies but was soon subdued.

⁵⁸ Earlier Wellesley had served as Richmond’s secretary when he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

marquis to agree despite at first his having serious reservations. The British plan was risky to the point of being foolhardy. Romaña was under constant supervision by the French. The army was stationed in the port of Nyborg which was being blockaded by British warships. The proposal was that he and his army would embark on British transport ships which would sail into the harbour at his signal and depart before the French were aware of the evacuation. The marquis refined the plan by organising a formal inspection of his troops by Marshal Bernadotte and on that pretext he arranged a rehearsal in which he gathered on parade as many of his men as possible in full ceremonial uniform and equipment. The French officers observing were overpowered and the Spanish signalled the British fleet stationed offshore to come into the harbour and begin embarkation. Almost 10,000 troops had been evacuated before Bernadotte arrived with a regiment of French to halt the operation. The ships sailed safely to northern Spain where Romaña's army joined in the fighting on the side of the Portuguese and British allies. Father Robertson made his escape south to Bavaria and rejoined his monastery but decided to flee to England in case his role in the matter was suspected.⁵⁹ The mission was extremely dangerous and he would have faced execution if he had been captured. Also it is unlikely that his Benedictine brethren would have escaped punishment. Given the precarious nature of their continued tenure of St James' it speaks highly of their courage that Arbuthnot and his community gave Robertson their support. After the Napoleonic wars, he was openly lauded as a hero by his fellow monks who, thereafter, referred to him as Romaña Robertson.⁶⁰

While Fr. Robertson was attempting to fulfil the mission entrusted to him by General Wellesley, Benedict Arbuthnot was involved in resurrecting the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. King Maximilian I of Bavaria (previously Elector Maximilian IV Joseph of the Palatinate) had withdrawn financial support but after a gap of three years had been persuaded to re-establish the academy and present it with a new charter as the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences. Many of the members of the former institution including Arbuthnot immediately enrolled and the foundation quickly resumed its role as a leading learned society of Europe. Arbuthnot was too old (he was seventy-one) to contribute learned articles as he had in the past but his interest in education was undiminished. During the whole of the period of disruption by the wars and political realignments, St James' college continued to educate students

⁵⁹ Fraser (ed.), *Narrative of a Secret Mission*, 112–34.

⁶⁰ *RSC*, 253, 285.

from Scotland. Twenty were enrolled in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Numbers dropped to only eight students in the first two decades of the nineteenth century due to the difficulties experienced by Scots travelling to Bavaria. Nevertheless, the continued availability of entrance to St James' for Scottish students was important since almost all other educational opportunities on the continent had been closed to them. The Scots Colleges in Douai, Paris and Rome had been confiscated by the French and the Scots College in Valladolid in Spain, again due to the war, was struggling to survive having been reduced to two students by 1803.⁶¹ The easing of the penal laws in Scotland allowed Catholics to obtain a general education at Scottish universities but the new college at Acquhorties was the only one where those who sought ordination could train. The standard of education that St James' could offer was superior to Acquhorties and it was important that Scots Catholics had access to that continental college. But eventually it was denied them. King Maximilian I of Bavaria waited until the death of Abbot Arbuthnot in 1820 to prohibit the Scots from enrolling any more students. Arbuthnot was to be its last abbot and with his death the monastery was to be reduced to the status of a priory. St James' had been an anomaly within the Church in Bavaria and Maximilian's delay in resolving the issue can be attributed to the respect in which he held the old abbot. He was not alone in Bavaria in holding him in high regard as can be judged from a report of his death which was published in a Scottish newspaper. The account ended with the following paragraphs:

So highly was this amiable man respected by the German Princes, that when the Diet of Ratisbon at the instigation or rather command of Bonaparte, had resolved to secularize the church lands of the Empire, they made an express exemption in favour of Abbot Arbuthnot, permitting him to enjoy the revenues of the establishment during his life.

The abbot's funeral was solemnised with the greatest pomp, and attended by the crowds of the German nobility, eager to pay this last mark of respect to the remains of a man so universally beloved and so deeply regretted.⁶²

The abbot was buried in the grounds of the monastery and in addition to his tombstone a red marble monument was erected in his memory on the inner south wall of the church with an inscription which endorses and even

⁶¹ SCA, CA/3/17/1 Letter from Paul Macpherson in Rome to the Cardinal Protector of Scotland, Charles Erskine, dated 21 December 1803.

⁶² PEHMS: P3422/ end notes.

surpasses the praises given in the newspaper report. It is clear from these accounts that Benedict Arbuthnot was much respected for his piety, integrity, scholarship and above all his good sense and affability. The *Schottenkloster* could not have had a worthier last abbot. The survival of the distinctive Scottish Catholic presence in Germany was no longer as necessary as it had been. The outlawing of their religion in their own country, which had been the original driving force for the Scots' occupation of the monasteries, was on the point of being repealed. The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 removed almost all of the remaining civil restrictions on Catholics in Britain. Scots Benedictines remained in Regensburg for another four decades but the final years of their occupation of St James' were considerably more tranquil than their earlier history. In 1862 the last of the Scottish Benedictine monks came home to Scotland ending nearly three centuries in which their community had made often heroic efforts in the service of their religion, their homeland and their host, the erstwhile Holy Roman Empire.

13 Epilogue

When King Maximilian of Bavaria forbade the Scottish college in Regensburg from enrolling new entrants in 1820, the removal of places for Scottish students to study was a clear blow not only for the monks but also for young Scots seeking a higher education. The problem was alleviated in the same year when the Scots College in Rome reopened after a gap of nearly a quarter of a century. The college in Valladolid in Spain was also available but the demands on these colleges were greater than they had previously experienced. The three former continental Scots colleges of Douai, Paris and latterly Regensburg were no longer available but the number of potential students had grown due to the Catholic population in Scotland having increased dramatically. The initial loss of Catholics caused by the government reprisals following the 1745 Jacobite rising had been reversed as the penal laws were eased. As this recovery was taking place the Clearances began which were to have an extremely detrimental effect on the population of the Highlands including the remaining Catholics. However, these changes were outweighed by the number of Irish Catholic immigrants being drawn to work in the factories, mines and mills of Scotland. In the century between the passing of the first Catholic relief act (Papists Act 1778) and the restoration of the hierarchy in 1878, the Catholic population grew from about 30,000 to over 330,000.¹ This brought about a greatly increased need for priests. In 1829, in an attempt to cope with the increase demand, the small college at Acquhorties and a second college on Lismore, which had been set up in 1803 to educate Gaelic speaking seminarians, were amalgamated to form a new enlarged college at Blairs in Aberdeenshire. This college became a junior seminary which sent many of its students abroad to the senior seminaries of Rome and Valladolid. Nevertheless there was still a strain on the educational system available for Scots seminarians.

¹ Darragh, James, "The Catholic Population of Scotland since the Year 1680", *Innes Review*, Vol. 4 (1953), 49–59 and Darragh, James, "The Catholic Population in Scotland, 1878–1977", *Innes Review*, Vol. 29 (1978), 211.

King Maximilian had died in 1825 and the new king of Bavaria, Ludwig I, was asked to lift the restriction his father had placed on St James'. It is likely that the approach was made by Fr. Archibald McIvor, the king's former tutor, who was dean of Regensburg Cathedral at the time. King Ludwig granted the Scots permission in 1827 and the first of the new student intake from Scotland arrived in 1830. In total the college accepted forty-two students before it was finally closed. Although it was now only a priory the institution functioned as a seminary run and taught by Benedictines and was able to achieve a degree of success in this role. It was able to ordain fourteen of its students as priests who returned to serve in Scotland.² The level of education offered was also of the standard achieved by Arbuthnot, Kennedy and their predecessors in the previous century. One of the students, John Lamont, was an outstanding scholar who entered the college in 1817 (one of the last before Maximilian's prohibition) and excelled at mathematics. He received individual tuition from the prior, Fr. John (Benedict) Deasson and continued to develop an interest in astronomy. After leaving St James' which he did without joining the Benedictine Order he gained his doctorate in natural philosophy from Munich University in 1830 and joined the staff of the Royal Bavarian Observatory later becoming its director. At that institution he distinguished himself by publishing extremely detailed star maps and leading international scientific research into mapping the earth's magnetic field. In addition in 1852 he was appointed professor of the University of Munich but by that time King Ludwig had heaped additional honours on the Scotsman. As well appointing him Bavarian Astronomer Royal, he entered him into the ranks of Bavarian nobility as Johann von Lamont. The contributions to the advancement of science which Andreas Gordon and others had made in the eighteenth century were worthily continued by Lamont in the nineteenth century.

Despite these successes in education St James' college was struggling to maintain its complement of monks and teachers. Its status as a priory and the hiatus in its educational role limited its ability to gain new entrants into the order. By 1847 these difficulties had become so acute that James Gillis, Bishop of the Eastern District of Scotland,³ visited Bavaria to assure King Ludwig that the Scots were fully committed to the college and to ask that the Scots be allowed to remain. Again Ludwig was sympathetic to the Scots but

² Fischer, 153, 295–6.

³ The increasing Catholic population had required a major reorganisation of the Church in Scotland. The former Lowland and Highland Districts had been replaced by Western, Eastern and Northern Districts in 1827.

because of political unrest in Bavaria in 1848 he was forced to abdicate in favour of his son, Maximilian, who, although he was not as sympathetic to the Scots as his father had been, allowed the monks to continue to run their college. Thirteen students arrived in 1852 but three years later the last three students were enrolled. By 1862 these students had completed their studies and returned to Scotland leaving only two monks remaining, who constituted the whole of the college staff. The archbishop of Regensburg, Ignatius von Senestré, chose this low point in the history of the Scots Benedictines to petition King Maximilian II of Bavaria and Pope Pius IX for possession of St James' buildings to be used as his diocesan seminary. The Scottish bishops decided that, in the circumstances, they could not oppose the request and by a papal Breve dated 2 September 1862 St James' monastery was dissolved. Archbishop Senestré had succeeded where so many of his predecessors had failed. The monastery's revenues were divided evenly between the new Bavarian seminary and the Scots College in Rome as compensation to the Scots for the loss of their property.

Fr. William (Anselm) Robertson, one of the two remaining monks, loaded a cart with archives and as many books from the monastery's extensive library as he could and travelled home to Scotland. There was no Benedictine house in Scotland but he was welcomed by his English brethren. The English Benedictine community of Lamspring near Hanover, which had cooperated with the Scots during the abbacy of Alexander Baillie in the seventeenth century, had been secularised in 1803. When the monks returned to England they set up a small community at Broadway in Worcestershire. New communities were added which formed themselves into a new General Chapter of the English Benedictine Community. In 1875 the Chapter agreed to establish a new foundation in Scotland on the banks of Loch Ness at Fort Augustus. The land and buildings were donated by Simon Lovat, 15th Lord Lovat. The first novice at this new foundation was Andrew Delaney and Anselm Robertson was present at his inauguration. This was a deliberate action on the part of the community to emphasise the continuing tradition between the new Abbey of St Benedict, Fort Augustus, and the *Schottenkloster* of St James', Regensburg.⁴ Fr. Robertson brought with him the archives, books and paintings he had rescued from Bavaria and they remained in St Benedict's until its closure in 1993. Many of the books and other materials are now housed in the National Library of

⁴ Turnbull, Michael, *Abbey Boys Fort Augustus Abbey Schools* (Perth, 2000), 12–14.

Scotland while letters and other manuscripts are held in the Scottish Catholic Archives at the University of Aberdeen.

Today the buildings of St James' monastery in Regensburg survive largely intact. The diocesan seminary still occupies the premises and its church is called the *Schottenkirche*. In Erfurt the old church of the Scots monastery serves as a parish church for the city. In Würzburg the monastery buildings have had a chequered history. Following their secularisation in 1803 they were converted into a military academy and barracks. In 1945 Würzburg was fire-bombed and the old city including the buildings of St James' monastery was reduced to burned-out ruins. The reconstruction is impressive and externally the city looks much as it did. Unfortunately, all of the interior detail of the monastery church as the Scots would have known it has gone. Today the buildings, called the *Schottenkloster*, are used as a residential school for boys. The books and manuscripts which had been confiscated at the time of secularisation, fortunately, were saved and are housed in the library of the University of Würzburg. Here as in many corners of Germany there remain reminders of the Scots Benedictines' long sojourn in what became home for so many refugees and exiles from Scotland for nearly three centuries.

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