

George Leslie, Jesuit, and the printing of Lesley's *De Origine*, 1675

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In a separate article it was established that the 1675 edition of the Roman Catholic Bishop John Lesley's *De Origine Moribus et rebus gestibus Scotorum*, without place or printer, was the work of the Dutch printer Henry Goddaeus, who also printed many of the Scottish covenanting books in the same period.¹ John Lesley (1527-1596) had been the Roman Catholic Bishop of Ross and his work was originally printed in Rome in 1578. According to the dedication in the 1675 edition, to John Leslie, Earl of Rothes (c. 1630-1681), the man behind the republication was George Leslie. The identification of George Leslie is uncertain, but, as Father Cody suggested in 1888, by far the most likely candidate is George Leslie (1610-1688), the Jesuit, who was a great grandson of the Bishop of Ross, and who had already shown his zeal for the promotion of Romanism in Scotland over the previous three decades.²

There is no convenient account either of George Leslie or of Scottish Jesuitism at the time, and in an attempt to uncover some background to the 1675 publication, we have gathered the following material. The first section describes George Leslie's life and wider family, both of which centred on Aberdeenshire. The second section, therefore, looks at Presbyterian/Jesuit conflict round Aberdeen from the 1650s to the 1670s to see if this sheds any light on the 1675 publication. From 1670 or earlier, George Leslie was staying with Alexander Leslie of Balquhain at Balquhain Castle near Inverurie, and in the third section we look at the important Roman Catholic family of Leslie of Balquhain. Here at last we find a likely reason for the publication: it seems to have been part of Count James Leslie's programme

¹ See D.W.B. Somerset, 'Scottish covenanting, Jesuit, and Quaker printing in Holland, 1664-1684', *Scottish Reformation Society Historical Journal (SRSJ)*, Vol. 10 (2020), pp. 82-113, where it was shown that Goddaeus and his widow printed such famous works as Samuel Rutherford's *Letters (Joshua Redivivus)* (1664, 1675), John Brown of Wamphray's *Apologetical Narration* (1665), James Stirling's *Naphtali* (1667), Sir James Steuart's *Jus Populi Vindicatum* (1669), Robert Fleming's *Fulfilling of Scripture* (1669, 1671), Robert Macward's *True Non-Conformist* (1671), David Calderwood's *True History of the Church of Scotland* (1678), and Thomas Forrester's *Rectius Instruendum* (1684).

² John Lesley, *The Historie of Scotland...translated into Scottish by Father James Dalrymple*, ed. E.G. Cody (2 vols., Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1888-1895), Vol. 1, p. xxiii.

for promoting Romanism, Jesuitism, Scotland, and the Leslies of Balquhain, in the years between his inheriting his continental estate in 1667 and his death in 1694.³ Count James was Alexander Leslie's exceedingly wealthy son. We still cannot establish any direct link with Henry Goddaeus, but we can at least give a probable explanation why the book was published at the time, and who paid for it.

1. George Leslie the Jesuit

George Leslie was the son of John Leslie of New Leslie, whose mother Janet was the illegitimate daughter of the Bishop, John Lesley. George was born in 1610. His father, who was the laird of New Leslie, 'by his Prodigality and Mismanagement squandered away the fortune' and in 1649 had to sell the lands. Four of John's daughters became nuns on the continent, another daughter called Isabella married Adam Gordon of Artloch sometime in the 1630s,⁴ and George was John's only son.⁵ George went abroad for his further education, being admitted to the Scots College, Douai on 31st October 1628;⁶ and after two years studying Philosophy and four studying Theology, he entered the Society of Jesus at Tournai on 4th October 1634. He returned to Scotland in June 1649, travelling incognito on a ship from Campvere to Leith in a ship which happened to have onboard the commissioners from the General Assembly, returning from an unsatisfactory meeting with Charles II. Leslie landed at Kirkcaldy on 27th June.⁷

On 29th January 1652, Leslie made profession of the four vows (poverty, chastity, obedience, and the Jesuit vow of 'special obedience to the sovereign pontiff') in Scotland, and on 20th April 1654 he was described in Jesuit correspondence from Douai to Rome as 'triumphing' (i.e., presumably, making great progress) in Strathbogie.⁸ The author of the letter, Father James

³ For Count James Leslie's programme, see P. Davidson and P. King, 'The Fetternear vestments at the Blairs Museum', *British Catholic History*, Vol. 33:2 (2016), pp. 259-277 (we have not seen the final version of this paper; all page numbers below are from the 12-page unillustrated preprint version, freely available on the internet.) The author is grateful to Peter Davidson for suggesting that the 1675 publication was part of Leslie's programme.

⁴ Artloch is three miles due west of Huntly. Adam Gordon is also referred to as 'of Valheades (Wellheads)'; see M.V. Hay, *Blairs Papers (1603-1660)* (London, 1929), pp. 208, 258. On 23rd June 1647, he and others were ordered by the Presbytery of Strathbogie to make their repentance in sackcloth the following Sabbath 'for their accession to the horrid rebellion', i.e. the campaign under the Marquis of Montrose, *Extracts from the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie, 1631-1654* (Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1843), p. 77.

⁵ Walter Macfarlane, *Genealogical Collections* (2 vols., Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1900), Vol. 2, p. 44; C. Leslie, *History and Records of the Family of Leslie, 1067 to 1868-9* (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1869), Vol. 3, p. 346. M.V. Hay thinks that the Jesuit, Father Andrew Leslie, was George's brother, *Blairs Papers*, p. 18, but this seems to be a mistake (see *History and Records of the Family of Leslie, 1067 to 1868-9*, Vol. 3, p. 373).

⁶ P.J. Anderson, *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon* (New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1906), Vol. 1, p. 24 (only vol. published).

⁷ *Blairs Papers*, pp. 18, 19. The commissioners from the Assembly included Robert Baillie, James Wood, George Winram of Libbertoun, and the Earl of Cassilis; see *Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, 1646-1652* (3 vols., Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1892-1909), Vol. 2, p. 236.

⁸ *Blair Papers*, p. 56.

Anderson, was the rector of the Scots College at Douai and was the brother of Aegidia, the first wife of Adam Gordon of Artloch.⁹ On 14th April 1655, Anderson further reported to his correspondent in Rome that

F. George Lesley taketh much paines in Buchane Garioche and therabowt, and not without profite, as wee are informed. His neuy [nephew] sayes he broke a ribbe in his syde the last year, it ware very needful he hade assistance in thes partes.¹⁰

The nephew referred to was John Gordon, a son of George Leslie's sister Isabella who was the second wife of Adam Gordon of Artloch. John was born about 1640 and entered the Scots College at Douai on 25th April 1655 aged fifteen.¹¹ He studied philosophy for two years and theology for four, and then became a Jesuit at Tournai in 1662. He is said (by Father Robb, who died in 1684) to have been 'for a long time missionary in Scotland', but he is not on the list of Jesuits in Scotland in 1664, so he must have gone shortly afterwards.¹² He then taught philosophy for nine years at Douai – apparently from 1672 – and in 1675 he took the four vows. About 1685, he was teaching at the Scots College in Madrid. In 1686, he appears on the list of Jesuits in Scotland, and may have been one of those who returned for the setting up of a Jesuit college at Holyrood Palace in that year. In 1690 he was going by the name of 'Reid' and was staying at Garleton Castle, near Haddington, the home of Sir John Seton of Garleton, having previously spent time in Galloway. In 1707 he was said to have been a missionary in Scotland for thirty years. He died in Aberdeen in October 1720.¹³

John Gordon had two younger brothers, Peter and George, who were also educated abroad. Peter was born about 1653, went to Douai in 1668, and then joined the Jesuits. From 1688 to 1691 he was procurator of the Scots College, Douai. He died at Paris on 10th September 1705.¹⁴ George was born about 1654, went to Douai in July 1669, then on to the Scots College in Madrid after a few months, where he remained until December 1673. The following June he returned to Scotland, having been summoned home by his parents.¹⁵

⁹ Adam Gordon and Aegidia were married by 1631, *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon*, p. 40.

¹⁰ *Blair Papers*, p. 207.

¹¹ See Henry Foley (ed.), *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (7 vols., London, 1877-1883), Vol. 7, part 1, p. 309, although the dates given in Foley do not exactly match those here. Foley says that John Gordon went to the Scottish mission in 1679.

¹² See 'Jesuit catalogues for Scottish Mission', ARSI, Angl. 24a, pp. 1-11 (p. 5, 1664). I am grateful to Mauro Brunello of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) for providing copies of these.

¹³ *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon*, p. 41; 'Jesuit catalogues for Scottish Mission', ARSI, p. 10, 1686 (which says that he joined the Jesuits in 1660); M. Dilworth, 'The Scottish Mission, 1688-1689', *Innes Review*, Vol. 20 (1969), pp. 68-79 (p. 73); M. Taylor, *The Scots College in Spain* (Valladolid, 1971), p. 303.

¹⁴ *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon*, p. 47; J.H. Baxter, 'The Scots College at Douai', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 24 (1927), pp. 251-257 (pp. 254, 256); Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. 7, part 1, p. 310.

¹⁵ *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon*, pp. 46, 48, 52, 199; Taylor, *The Scots College in Spain*, p. 308.

John Gordon also had an elder half-brother James who was the son of Adam Gordon's first wife Aegidia Anderson. James was born about 1631. He entered the Scots College at Douai on 23rd June 1649. He seems to have gone to Rome the following June, but then returned to Douai, and he left for Rome again on 4th April 1651, transferring to the Scots College in Rome on 27th May 1651. On 5th August 1651 he took the mission oath.¹⁶ He studied philosophy in Rome for three years and theology for one. In August 1655 he returned to France, but was delayed at Marseilles with a tertian fever (possibly malaria). By the time he reached Paris on 4th October he was in a state of great destitution. He entered the Jesuit order in Paris on 6th October 1656 at Clermont College (now Lycée Louis-le-Grand), and studied a further three years of theology at Collège La Flèche in the Loire Valley, taking the four vows at Douai on 2nd February 1671. At some point he taught philosophy for two years. By 1675 he was a missionary in Scotland, and in a Jesuit report of 1675 he was described as competent in intelligence; above average in learning; 'mediocris' (tolerable) in judgment, prudence, and experience of affairs; a mixture of sanguine and choleric in his 'natural complexion'; and useful for preaching and teaching. He remained in Scotland for many years, and in 1689 was staying in Leith with Lady Sempill (whose uncle, James Sempill was also a Jesuit priest). He became minister of the Scots College, Arras, dying there on 2nd August 1700.¹⁷

As long as his health lasted, George Leslie was one of the most active of the Jesuit priests in Scotland. A letter on 25th September 1655 from Father William Christie (Douai) to Father Gilbert Talbot (Rome) describes the distribution of Jesuits in Scotland and then says that 'Father George [Leslie] doe travel more than all.'¹⁸ A later Jesuit report from about 1660 says that he had been teaching Greek in Scotland; that 'the evidences of his work extended even beyond the bounds of the province, with great fruit'; and that 'he did not remain long in any place'. Latterly, however, he seems to have been based mainly at Balquhain Castle outside Inverurie.¹⁹ A report in 1675 described him as competent in intelligence; above average in judgment, prudence, experience of affairs, and learning; a mixture of melancholic and choleric in his 'natural complexion'; and useful for missionary work, teaching, and government.²⁰

¹⁶ The mission oath was a promise not to enter a religious order until one had laboured as a secular priest in Scotland for at least three years. It was introduced by the Congregation of the Propaganda in 1625 to stop the Jesuits from poaching the best students from the Scots Colleges abroad. There were ways round the oath, however, and it had limited effect; the example of James Gordon being a case in point. See *Blairs Papers*, pp. 130-139 (esp. p. 137); Brian M. Halloran, *The Scots College Paris, 1603-1792* (Edinburgh, 1997), p. 46.

¹⁷ *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon*, pp. 40, 47, 114; 'Jesuit catalogues for Scottish Mission', ARSI, p. 7, 1675; *Blairs Papers*, pp. 84, 132, 137; M. Dilworth, 'The Scottish Mission, 1688-1689', *Innes Review*, Vol. 20 (1969), pp. 68-79 (p. 73); Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. 7, part 1, p. 309.

¹⁸ *Blairs Papers*, p. 210.

¹⁹ He spent 'the last thirty years almost constantly with the Barons of Balquhain'; see [W.A. Leslie], *Laurus Leslaeana explicata* (Graecii [Graz, Austria]: Apud haeredes Widmanstadij, 1692), Section 102.

²⁰ 'Jesuit catalogues for Scottish Mission', ARSI, pp. 4, 7.



Balquhain Castle in the nineteenth century.

In September 1655 he was recommended by Father James Anderson to be the successor to Father Robert Gall as Superior of the Scottish Jesuit mission, but it was not until 1664 that he was appointed to that position, which he held for five years.²¹ The Jesuit mission was steadily increasing in Scotland after 1660. Between 1580 and 1650, the number of Jesuits had averaged between 6 and 10, but there were 8 in 1658, 9 in 1662, 11 in 1664, 13 in 1675, 14 in 1678, and 20 in 1686 when the Jesuit college was set up at Holyrood.²² The bridling of Presbyterianism by Cromwell after 1650, and then its persecution by Episcopalians after 1660, both tended to make things easier for Romanism.²³

By 1670, Leslie's health was probably starting to fail, and in that year he donated 2000 merks (about £10,000 in current terms) to the Scots College at Douai. 'He lived thereafter for the most part in Balwhaine [i.e., Balquhain Castle] under the name of Johnstoun.' The Jesuit report for 1675 describes him as 'infirmus'. He is last mentioned in 1686, and died in Scotland on 27th September 1688.²⁴

²¹ *Blairs Papers*, pp. 207-208.

²² R. Scott Spurlock, "I do disclaim both Ecclesiastick and Politick Popery": lay Catholic identity in early modern Scotland', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society (RSCHS)*, Vol. 38 (2008), pp. 5-22 (p. 13).

²³ *Blairs Papers*, pp. 32-33, 207; W. Forbes Leith, *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries* (2 vols., London, 1909), Vol. 2, p. 104. See Spurlock, "I do disclaim both Ecclesiastick and Politick Popery": lay Catholic identity in early modern Scotland', p. 15ff for some illustrations.

²⁴ *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon*, p. 24; Macfarlane, *Genealogical Collections*, Vol. 2, p. 44; Leslie, *History and Records of the Family*

2. Protestant/Jesuit confrontations in the North East after 1650

From the 1650s onwards, the North East of Scotland – and Aberdeen in particular – was a ferment of differing religious opinions.²⁵ The Presbyterians were acrimoniously divided into Resolutioners and Protestors; there was a short-lived Independent congregation in Aberdeen during the period of English rule;²⁶ the Quaker movement gathered strength in the 1660s; the Episcopalians were always strong; and the Romanists were emboldened by the suppression of Presbyterianism. A number of public debates and confrontations occurred, notably those between the Romanist Alexander Irvine of Drum and the Presbytery of Aberdeen in 1651-1652, and between William Gordon of Dumbennan and the Presbytery of Strathbogie in 1652;²⁷ the sequel to which was the publication in 1657 of an anti-Protestant work *Presbyteries Triall*, by the secular Roman priest John Walker *alias* Ross who stayed at Drum.²⁸ Another important debate was the one staged in Aberdeen in 1675 between the two local Quakers, Robert Barclay and George Keith, and some divinity students studying under the Professor at Marischal College, John Menzies.²⁹ A consequence of this was the publication in 1676 of Barclay and Keith's *Quakerism Confirmed*, possibly printed by Henry Goddaeus.³⁰ A third debate, slightly earlier, was closely related to Jesuitism.

of Leslie, 1067 to 1868-9, Vol. 3, p. 346; 'Jesuit catalogues for Scottish Mission', ARSI, p. 10; Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. 7, part 1, p. 453.

²⁵ See R. Scott Spurlock, "Anie Gospell Way": Religious Diversity in Interregnum Scotland', *RSCHS*, Vol. 37 (2007), pp. 89-119.

²⁶ G.D. Henderson, *Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 100-116.

²⁷ See Spurlock, "I do disclaim both Ecclesiasticke and Politick Popery": lay Catholic identity in early modern Scotland'.

²⁸ W.J. Anderson, "Presbyteries Triall", *Innes Review*, Vol. 8 (1957), pp. 86-90. The work gave an account of the conversion to Romanism of Alexander Irvine (d. 1657) but Anderson strongly doubted the accuracy of that account.

²⁹ See G. DesBrisay, 'Quakers and the University: the Aberdeen debate of 1675', *History of Universities*, Vol. 13 (1994), pp. 87-98. The Quaker disputation in Aberdeen extended back at least as far as 1668; see the preface to Robert Barclay, *Truth cleared of Calumnies* (1670) for an account of the exchanges up to 1670. Most or all of the publications on both sides are listed in J.F. Kellas Johnstone and A.W. Robertson, *Bibliographia Aberdonensis* (2 vols, Third Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1929-1930), Vol. 2, p. 414 ff.

³⁰ See Somerset, 'Scottish covenanting, Jesuit, and Quaker printing in Holland, 1664-1684', pp. 104-105. The reader should be alerted that Barclay and Keith's *Quakerism confirmed, or, A vindication of the chief doctrines and principles of the people called Quakers from the arguments and objections of the students of divinity (so called) of Aberdeen in their book entituled Quakerism convasssed* (1676), 4+88 pages, is not the same work as [Alexander Skene *et. al.*], *Quakerism confirmed: in answer to Quakerism convasssed; wherein the account the students of divinity of Aberdeen gives of the dispute they had with the Quakers, is examined, and from their own words they are proved guilty of many gros lyes, contradictions and prevarications; which also is attested by the subscription of severall students, present at the dispute, and since come to own and walk with the people called Quakers* ([Aberdeen], 1676), 29 pages. In his account of the debate, DesBrisay mentions the latter work but seems to have been unaware of the former; and G.D. Henderson, *Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 270 made the same mistake.

(a) The Cants and John Strachan, 1659

Here is Thomas Orem's account of a public confrontation between the Cants and other Aberdeen ministers, and John Strachan, regent at King's College, Aberdeen, in 1659:

The said Mr Strachan was the best Scholar that ever was in the College. But the Cants and the rest of the clergy in Aberdeen had prejudice at him, because he was a Royalist; and because his uncle, Sir John Strachan, was with King Charles II.

At last, the said Strachan was to graduate his scholars of the magistrand class; and after he had printed his theses, and distributed them, the day appointed for the graduation in the common school of the College, then Mr Andrew Cant, regent in Marischall College, and the rest of the clergy, accused Mr Strachan for his theses, and said he had set down popish positions in them. But Mr Strachan said he would defend all that was inserted in his theses; whereupon the diet of the graduation was altered, and a new diet to be at S. Machar's Church in Old Aberdeen. When the day came, there was a great confluence of gentry from all places of the country, who came to S. Machar's Church. Thence came over the Cants, and Mr Menzies, and all the rest of the clergy of Aberdeen, and with them Mr Alexander Cant, minister of Nether Banchory, and placed themselves in the Marquess of Huntly's loft, opposite to the pulpit; for Mr Strachan had taken the pulpit, and no person with him but Professor Douglass, who sat on the latron, and Principal Row sat alone in the college-loft.

Mr Strachan began with a prayer, and after had a long harangue; which, being ended, he invited them to impugn his theses. Then they began to object, and he answered their arguments readily; but to his solutions they all answered *una voce*, which made a great confusion in the disputations. Yet learned men said that Mr Strachan had the better of it that day. This dispute continued long; at last, when it was ended, and the people dismissed, coming out of the church door, Mr Strachan accuses young Mr Andrew Cant, regent, for some reflecting answer he had given him in the time of the dispute, and would have trampled him under his feet, if the gentry had not interposed, and taken Mr Strachan away with them. For Mr Strachan was a gentleman, and a pretty man both in parts and in body, and undervalued all the Cants. His father was Mr Alex. Strachan, minister of Logie-Durno, and parson of Fetterneir.

Before the dispute, Mr Strachan graduated his class; and the Earl of Aberdeen, who became chancellor of Scotland, was first graduated; then the rest. And immediately thereafter, Mr Strachan demitted in favours of Mr George Gordon, with consent of the College, because he could not live at peace with the Covenanters. And thereafter, the said Mr Strachan went abroad and studied physick. Then he came home to see his father and his friends; and after that he went again abroad, turned popish, and died abroad, etc.³¹

John Strachan was born about 1630, and graduated at King's College in 1648 or 1649, becoming one of the regents in 1651. One of his uncles, Andrew Strachan, had briefly been Professor of Divinity at King's College, dying in 1636; another uncle, James Strachan, had been minister of Kinneff, being

³¹ William [actually Thomas] Orem, *Description of the Chanonry, Cathedral, and King's College of Old Aberdeen in the years 1724 and 1725* (Aberdeen, 1791), pp.177-178; P.J. Anderson (ed.), *Officers and Graduates of University and King's College, Aberdeen* (New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1893), pp. 56-57.

deposed by the Covenanters in 1639; while the uncle mentioned above, Sir John Strachan, held a number of distinguished political offices including Receiver of His Majesty's Rents in 1665.³² The family was certainly royalist, and it is little wonder that the Presbyterian Cant family viewed John Strachan with suspicion. The theses disputed by the Cants were published, as stated, but no copy has survived, so we have no details of the debate or opportunity of assessing the theological discernment of the Protestant ministers.³³

By October 1659, Strachan was at the Scots College in Paris, from which James Macbrec, the Jesuit rector of Clermont College, was trying to entice him to join the Jesuits. Macbrec described him as 'ane rare youth, and of as good expectation as of any I did know, converted to our religion by God's grace and his own reading.' Strachan seems to have concealed his new religious views to some extent, however, and in September 1660 he received a Doctorate of Medicine at Leyden University.³⁴ He entered the Jesuit order in Naples on 13th May 1662, and was ordained priest in 1667. He taught philosophy at Cosenza in Calabria in southern Italy until 1670, and in November of that year he became rector of the Scots College in Rome. He died the following February, however, and was buried in the Chapel of St Francis of Assisi in Rome.³⁵

The 1659 debate was not strictly a Protestant/Jesuit confrontation, but it gives further light on why the Protestant ministers in Aberdeen were alarmed about the apparent spread of Romanism, and were preaching and writing on the subject.

(b) The Dundee/Aberdeen controversy, 1664-1686

In February 1661, an Act of the Scottish Parliament prohibited all Jesuits, seminary and mass priests, and trafficking papists from saying mass, commanding them within a month to 'remove furth of the kingdom under the paine of death'. This act had little effect, however, and the main weight of government displeasure fell on the Presbyterian party. In 1664 – the year that George Leslie became Superior of the Scottish Jesuit mission – the Jesuits felt bold enough to resume public controversy. In Dundee, the minister William Rait, had published a short 'Dialogue between a Papist and a Protestant'. This was in response to the conversion of several of his parishioners to Romanism.³⁶ A sixteen-page answer was circulated, written by a Jesuit.³⁷ To this, Rait replied in his *Vindication of the Reformed Religion*, eventually published in

³² Charles Rogers, *Memorials of the Scottish Families of Strachan and Wise* (privately printed, 1877), pp. 60-61.

³³ *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, Vol. 2, pp. 378, 385-6.

³⁴ *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 391-392.

³⁵ See Brian M. Halloran, 'John Strachan SJ, rector of the Scots College, Rome, 1670-1671', *Innes Review*, Vol. 48 (1997), pp. 85-87; H. Scott (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation* (2nd edn., 8 vols., Edinburgh, 1915-1950), Vol. 6, p. 151 and Vol. 8, p. 564. Halloran seems to have been unaware of the debate, above, described by Orem.

³⁶ It seems that no copies of William Rait's original 'Dialogue' have survived.

³⁷ Forbes Leith, *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, Vol. 2, pp. 102-3. Of the Jesuits in Scotland in 1664, the one most likely to have composed the answer was Father James Anderson (mentioned above), who was in Scotland from 1659 to 1665, when he became rector of the Madrid College; see M. Taylor, *The Scots College in Spain* (Valladolid, 1971), p. 301.

1671. Rait's reply takes the form of a 'Dialogue betwixt a Papist and a reformed Professour', presumably expanded from the original Dialogue to include the Jesuit's response and Rait's answer to that. One part of the Jesuit's answer that was obviously highly regarded by Romanists was his conclusion; and this was quoted in the 'Annual Letter of the Scottish Mission of the Society of Jesus for 1664'; by Rait in his *Vindication* (together with an answer to it); by David Abercromby in his 1669 *Scolding No Scholarship* (see below); and in a form retorted on Romanists by John Menzies in his 1675 *Roma Mendax*.³⁸

While this literary skirmish was proceeding in Dundee, the Romanists round Aberdeen had been even bolder, challenging the Protestant ministers there, and especially John Menzies, to a public debate. According to the Jesuit 'Annual Letter for 1664', this challenge was first issued in that year by 'a noble lady', presumably Lady Mary Gordon (the daughter-in-law of Alexander Irvine of Drum, mentioned above). At that stage, Menzies referred the challenge to the newly formed Court of High Commission; but a year later the challenge was renewed by Francis Irvine of Hilton (the brother of Alexander Irvine of Drum), and this time Menzies acceded.³⁹ On 19th April 1666, he and his ministerial colleague George Meldrum went round to Irvine of Hilton's house (presumably his town-house) where they found a crowd of people assembled, including the Jesuit Francis Dempster 'being set in a great chair at the head of the table', and a 'popish youth, who had been educated in the Scots College in Paris at his elbow, as a scrivener'.⁴⁰ From the records of the Scots College in Paris, it seems that this 'popish youth' must, in fact, have been Robert Barclay, who was shortly to become a Quaker, and was subsequently the famous Quaker apologist already mentioned.⁴¹ Barclay often alludes to Menzies' debate with Dempster in his own 1675 debate with Menzies' students, but he does not mention that he was present at its opening session.⁴²

³⁸ Forbes Leith, *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, Vol. 2, p. 103; William Rait, *A Vindication of the Reformed Religion from the Reflections of a Romanist* (Aberdeen: John Forbes, 1671), p. 263; [David Abercromby], *Scolding No Scholarship* (1669), pp. 297-8; John Menzies, *Roma Mendax* (London, 1675), p. 382.

³⁹ Forbes Leith, *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, Vol. 2, p. 104.

⁴⁰ John Menzies, *Papismus Lucifugus* (Aberdeen: John Forbes, 1668), sig. ††2.

⁴¹ Barclay returned to Scotland about August 1663, see D. Elton Trueblood, *Robert Barclay* (New York, 1968), pp. 27-28. He became a Quaker in June 1667. Halloran gives the date of Barclay's return to Scotland as 1665, but without stating his reason; see *The Scots College Paris, 1603-1792*, p. 208. It should be noted that Halloran's 'partially reconstructed register' of the Scots College, Paris is certainly incomplete: Barclay mentions that Alexander Young, Bishop of Edinburgh, 1672-1679, had also been educated there; see Barclay and Keith, *Quakerism confirmed, or, A vindication of the chief doctrines and principles of the people called Quakers*, p. 14. (For a further account of Alexander Young, using this information, see Appendix 1).

⁴² Alexander Skene et al., *A true and faithful accompt of the most material passages of a dispute betwixt some students of divinity (so called) of the University of Aberdene and the people called Quakers held in Aberdene* (London, 1675), pp. 15, 58. In his mocking of John Menzies, Robert Barclay used the same incidents as earlier Roman Catholic writers (ibid., pp. 59-60): 'Hast thou forgotten (*John*) how thou and thy Elder Brother *Andr. Cant*, who both affirmed the Scripture to be the only certain Rule, & yet oftentimes before the same Auditory in the same Pulpit did from the very same *ver.* of Scripture, *Ps 93. 5. Holiness becometh thy house O Lord, for ever*, draw different and contradictory Doctrines, Uses

Menzies' opponent in debate, Francis Dempster, was born about 1605 and studied at the Scots College, Rome from August 1628 to 1631.⁴³ He entered the Jesuit order in Rome on 27th October 1631. Thereafter, he taught philosophy and theology in Rome, receiving a doctorate of theology, and being rector of the Scots College, Rome from 1646 until 1649. He took the four vows in Rome on 9th June 1647. About August 1654 he came to Scotland and worked on the Jesuit mission until June 1657 when he was captured by trickery in Edinburgh and imprisoned, probably in the Tolbooth. From his prison he issued a challenge to the Edinburgh Presbytery to debate with him, a challenge that was ignored. In very poor health, he was released from prison in November 1657 and banished; and returning to Rome, he was reappointed rector of the College. Leaving Rome again in April 1663, he returned to Scotland in 1664, this time to Aberdeen, and re-issued his challenge to a debate. He was described as 'infirma' in the Jesuit report for 1664. His health must have been deteriorating by the time of the debate with Menzies, and his contributions are somewhat lacking in energy. The exchange of papers between the two men continued until May 1667, when Dempster returned to Douai. The intention of printing Menzies' account of the exchange, *Papismus Lucifugus*, is mentioned in the Aberdeen Council records on 15th January 1668, and the book probably appeared in the spring or summer of the year.⁴⁴ Dempster is said to have died 'a twelvemonth' before this, so his death must have been about June 1667.⁴⁵

In 1668, however, a more youthful and vigorous Jesuit disputant appeared in the person of David Abercromby. Abercromby was born about 1643 at Seton, near Cullen. According to *Bibliographia Aberdonensis* he belonged to the Glassaugh family from Banffshire.⁴⁶ He entered the Scots College at Douai in 1658 aged fifteen, his parents being named in the register as Sir Thomas Abercromby and Helen Brown.⁴⁷ He became a Jesuit novice in September 1663 in Nancy, Lorraine, and taught mathematics and philosophy in the university there. He also graduated in medicine. He must have arrived in Scotland about the middle of 1668, because he relates that, on his arrival:

I was put instantly to work by the Jesuits; against M. Menzeis, Doctor and Professor of Divinity in Aberdeen. I wrote then in a short time a Treatise of some bulk against his way of defending the Protestant Religion.⁴⁸

and Applications?... Or tell me, John, honestly, did the Scripture deceive thee when thou preached upon that Text, *Why mournest thou for Saul?* (cf. *Presbyteries Triall*, pp. 21-22; *Scolding No Scholarship*, p. 5). Barclay denied, however, that he had been relying on these sources, *Quakerism confirmed, or, A vindication*, pp. 86-87.

⁴³ The information is in this paragraph is taken from J.F.S. Gordon, *The Catholic Church in Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1874), p. 541; *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon*, pp. 108, 190; *Blairs Papers*, pp. 93-100; 'Jesuit catalogues for Scottish Mission', ARSL, p. 5, 1664.

⁴⁴ J. Stuart (ed.), *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1643-1747* (Scottish Burgh Record Society, Edinburgh, 1872), pp. 247-248.

⁴⁵ *Scolding No Scholarship*, p. 7.

⁴⁶ *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, Vol. 2, p. 420.

⁴⁷ *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon*, p. 43. Christopher Abercromby, who may have been a younger brother of David, entered the Scots College, Douai on 28th August 1664 aged 16, and became a Jesuit at Paris in 1669, *ibid.*, p. 45.

⁴⁸ David Abercromby, *Protestancy to be embrac'd or, A new and infallible method to reduce Romanists from popery to Protestancy* (London, 1682), p. 10.

The preface to Abercromby's work, *Scolding No Scholarship*, says that it was ready for printing within a month of the appearance of Menzies' *Papismus Lucifugus*. It was 'offered to the Press at Aberdene,... but the Stationer being inhibited by Publick Authority (and that as is thought at M. Menzeis desire) I was forced first to make it to be transcribed, and then fitted for abroad, where it is not easie to us to have any thing well Printed or returned in hast.⁴⁹ The work was probably printed at Douai and appeared in 1669.⁵⁰

Abercromby says that after two years in Scotland he went down to London (presumably in 1670, therefore), where he practised medicine and started publishing on that subject. Menzies wrote a reply – which was circulating in England in manuscript in June 1674 – to Abercromby's *Scolding No Scholarship*, but this reply was not published until 1675. At that time, Menzies still did not know who was the author of *Scolding No Scholarship*. Part of the reason for Menzies' delay in publishing his reply was his low opinion of the book, much of which he thought had been plagiarized from earlier Roman Catholic disputants.⁵¹ Abercromby may have returned to Scotland in 1680,⁵² but in 1682 he became a Protestant and published his *Protestancy to be embrac'd*, with an enlarged edition the following year.⁵³ This was answered by the Jesuit Alexander Con in 1686.⁵⁴ By this time Abercromby was publishing in metaphysics as well as medicine and belonged to the circle of Robert Boyle, a number of whose works he translated into Latin for him.⁵⁵ In 1690 Abercromby published *A Moral Discourse of the Power of Interest*, with further material against Roman Catholicism, but this was not directly in answer to Con.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ *Scolding No Scholarship*, sig. A2.

⁵⁰ *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, Vol. 2, p. 420.

⁵¹ Menzies, *Roma Mendax*, pp. 1, 10.

⁵² Gordon, *The Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 514.

⁵³ *Protestancy to be embrac'd*, pp. 7-9 gives a damning account of the Jesuit morality of the period. Con responded to this on pp. 4-5 of his *Answer* (see next footnote), but it would be interesting to have more information on this point.

⁵⁴ [Alexander Con], *An answer, to a little book call'd Protestancy to be embrac'd or, A new and infallible method to reduce Romanists from popery to Protestancy* (1686). According to *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, Vol. 2, p. 500, it was printed at the Holyrood press. On p. 137, Con mentions a further edition of Abercromby's book with the title *Protestancy Proved Safer than Popery*.

⁵⁵ E.B. Davies, 'The anonymous works of Robert Boyle and *Reasons why a Protestant should not turn Papist* (1687)', *J. History of Ideas*, Vol. 55 (1994), pp. 611-629 (pp. 627-628). For further information on Abercromby, see the entries on him in *Dictionary of National Biography* and *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB) (the earlier article being more informative in several respects than the later one).

⁵⁶ Another tract now usually attributed to Abercromby is the anonymous *Reasons why a Protestant should not Turn Papist* (1687) (subsequently published with the title *Good and Solid Reasons why a Protestant should not Turn Papist*). The authorship of this work, which used to be attributed to Robert Boyle, has been a subject of controversy; see Davies, 'The anonymous works of Robert Boyle and *Reasons why a Protestant should not turn Papist* (1687)'; R.D. Tumbleson, *Catholicism in the English Protestant Imagination: Nationalism, Religion, and Literature, 1660-1745* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 230n; D. Thorburn Burns, 'Borderlines or Interfaces in the Life and Work of Robert Boyle (1627-1691): the authorship of *Protestant and Papist* revisited', in R. R. Bertomeu-Sanchez, D. Thorburn Burns, and B. Van Tiggelen, *Proceedings: Neighbours and Territories, The Evolving Identity of Chemistry* (Louvain-la Neuve, 2008), pp. 273-281. In any event, the tract was not an answer to Con either.

3. Count James Leslie's programme

From about 1670, as we have mentioned, George Leslie, S.J., was living at Balquhain Castle outside Inverurie, and there can be little doubt that the reprinting of John Lesley's *De Origine* in 1675 was connected with other events happening in the family of Leslie of Balquhain at that time.

1. The Leslies of Balquhain

The original seat of the Leslies of Balquhain was Balquhain Castle, but in 1566, in recognition of his assistance in saving St Machar's Cathedral from the Reformers in 1560, Bishop William Gordon of Aberdeen granted to William Leslie, 9th baron of Balquhain, the estate and barony of Fetternear, his episcopal summer palace. The 10th baron, John, lived extravagantly, however, and in 1595 he had to mortgage Fetternear to a cousin; and his son John, the 11th baron, continuing the extravagance, Fetternear did not return to the main line of the family until 1690.⁵⁷ Thus Balquhain Castle was still the family seat when George Leslie was residing there.

John Leslie, 11th baron of Balquhain, died in 1638 and was succeeded by his son, also John, the 12th baron, who went abroad and was killed at the storming of Igolwitz, Poland in 1655. He, in turn, was succeeded by his uncle William, the second son of the 10th baron, who became the 13th baron and started to restore the family fortunes.⁵⁸ He lived in Holland, however, and the Balquhain estate was managed by his half-brother Alexander, who in 1671 inherited the estate as the 14th baron on William's death.⁵⁹ Alexander lived until 3rd March 1677, and it was with him that George Leslie, S.J., was staying when *De Origine* was republished in 1675.

Meanwhile, by his third wife, the 10th baron John had a son Walter (1606-1667) who also went abroad, and fought initially on the Protestant side in the Thirty Years war, but then transferred to the Roman Catholic side. In 1634 he played a leading part in the assassination of the Imperial general Albrecht von Wallenstein, for which he was rewarded with great wealth, and in 1637 he was made a Count of the Holy Roman Empire. According to David Worthington,

He received the title in response to a letter he had sent to the emperor claiming in his support a 600-year family connection with the Habsburg lands, that represented by the elusive Count Bartholomew or 'Bartolf'. This was a man reputed to have been both a chamberlain to Margaret (the later-to-be-canonised eleventh-century queen of Scots) and founder of the Leslie family in Scotland.⁶⁰

By 1662 Walter was sending money back to his brother Alexander at Balquhain; and, having no children he bequeathed his estate on the continent to his nephew James, Alexander's eldest surviving son. James accompanied him in 1665 and 1666 on his diplomatic journey as Imperial ambassador to Sultan

⁵⁷ Leslie, *History and Records of the Family of Leslie, 1067 to 1868-9*, Vol. 3, pp. 67, 77-79.

⁵⁸ William was a Protestant. His wife was Marjory Bernard, and his sole surviving daughter Mary married Sir Elias (Elisha, Ellis) Leighton, younger brother of Archbishop Robert Leighton, who became a Roman Catholic in 1652, and for whose unhappy career see *ODNB*.

⁵⁹ Alexander became a count of the Holy Roman Empire in 1662; Leslie, *History and Records of the Family of Leslie, 1067 to 1868-9*, Vol. 3, p. 103.

⁶⁰ Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences and Impressions of Central Europe, c. 1560-1688* (Routledge, 2016), p. 170.

Mehmet IV in Constantinople. His account of this mission was published posthumously in 1672.⁶¹ He was buried in the former Benedictine Abbey of the Scots in Vienna in which he had furnished two chapels.

In 1667, his nephew James succeeded to his title and estates and continued to accumulate wealth and to send money home to Balquhain. James adopted and extended his uncle's programme of promoting Romanism and aggrandising the Leslie family. In March 1677 James's father Alexander died, and, by arrangement, James's younger brother Patrick inherited the Balquhain estates and became the 15th baron. Another younger brother, Alexander, joined James on the continent, marrying Cressentia Christina, Countess Herberstein, but he was killed at the siege of Vienna in 1683.⁶²

A fourth brother was William Lewis (or Aloysius) Leslie.⁶³ William Aloysius was born in 1641, enrolled in the Scots College, Douai on 6th January 1657, and then became a canon of the cathedral church of Wratistaw (Wrocław or Breslau).⁶⁴ In 1662 he entered the Jesuit *Collegio Romano* in Rome (not to be confused with the Scots College, Rome), along with Count Walter's brother-in-law, Franz Anton Dietrichstein (1643-1721). The pair of them successfully defended their doctoral theses,⁶⁵ and became Jesuits, on 2nd May 1666, being admitted by Cardinal Pallavicini, the author of the celebrated work on the Council of Trent. Walter himself was also present.⁶⁶ Thereafter William Aloysius taught philosophy at Perugia, and on 30th March 1674 became rector of the Scots College, Rome, a position which he occupied until November 1683.⁶⁷ In 1675, he published *Vita di S. Margherita, regina di Scozia, raccolta da diversi autori* at Rome, and the following year, on 15th August, he professed the four vows. In 1683 he went to the Scottish mission, where he became Jesuit Superior. In 1686 he was described as 'infirmus'. By 1690 he was the Superior of the Jesuit house in Graz,⁶⁸ where in 1692 he published *Laurus Leslaeana*, a history of the Leslie family. From June 1692 until September 1695 he resumed

⁶¹ *De l'Empire Ottoman ou l'Ambassade a la Porte Ottomane, ordonnée par Sa Majesté Imperiale Leopold I. Exécutede par Gaultier de Leslie, Comte du S. Empire. Commencée le 25 may de l'an 1665, & finie le 26 mars de l'an suivant 1666* (1672), 222 pages.

⁶² Leslie, *History and Records of the Family of Leslie, 1067 to 1868-9*, Vol. 3, p. 113; Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences and Impressions of Central Europe, c. 1560-1688*, p. 116.

⁶³ See entry by Brian M. Halloran for W.A. Leslie in ODNB.

⁶⁴ *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon*, pp. 42-43. The ODNB entry says that W.A. Leslie entered the Scots College, Rome in 1657, but this is a slip. Both the Douai register and his doctoral thesis describe him as 'Count', presumably a courtesy title after the ennobling of his father in 1662.

⁶⁵ A copy of W.A. Leslie's thesis, printed on silk, is in the Aberdeen University Library, *Conclusiones Theologicae* (Rome: H. Corbelletti, 1666); see *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, Vol. 2, p. 413. It would be interesting to know its provenance. Presumably the *de luxe* nature of its production relates to Count Walter's visit to Rome.

⁶⁶ Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. 7, part 2, p. 1463.

⁶⁷ W.A. Leslie was appointed rector on 10th February 1674, Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. 7, part 1, p. 454. The previous rector, Hector de Marini, had fallen out with the students, and the College was in a reduced condition; see R. McCluskey (ed.), *The Scots College, Rome, 1600-2000* (Edinburgh, 2000), pp. 32-33.

⁶⁸ According to Abbé MacPherson, however, W.A. Leslie was reappointed rector of the Scots College, Rome, on the death of the previous rector on 4th December 1690, but went instead to visit his brother James in Graz; W.J. Anderson, 'Abbé Paul Macpherson's History of the Scots College Rome (1600-1792)', *Innes Review*, Vol. 12 (1961), p. 55.

as rector of the Scots College in Rome, before returning to the Scottish mission for the second time where he died on 26th March 1704.

One other Leslie of significance was William Laurence Leslie, of the Leslies of Rudderie, a cadet branch of the Leslies of Balquhain.⁶⁹ He was born about 1622 and entered the Scots College, Douai on 30th September 1636. In 1641, he transferred to the Scots College in Rome where he studied for seven years, being ordained priest in 1647. He was attached to the powerful Cardinal Carlo Barberini, and in 1661 became the permanent archivist for Propaganda. For many years he acted as the agent in Rome for the Scots mission. He was in continual dispute with the Jesuits – especially with his cousin W.A. Leslie from 1674 – over their attempts to entice Scottish students to join them. As part of this struggle, for example, his cousin insinuated an accusation of Jansenism against him in 1675, to try to neutralize his influence among the students at the Scots College, Rome. He died in 1707.⁷⁰

Count James Leslie's programme of promotion and aggrandisement took advantage of the popularity of the cult of Queen Margaret of Scotland (St Margaret), with whom the Leslies claimed a family connection, as we have seen, and of this we must now give an account.

2. Queen Margaret of Scotland

The life of Queen Margaret of Scotland (c.1045-1093) is well known.⁷¹ She was born in Hungary where her English father, Edward the Exile, had gone after his own father, Edmund Ironside, lost the throne of England to Canute. Her mother Agatha was Hungarian. In 1057 she returned to England with her father in anticipation that he would be restored to the throne, but he died soon after arriving; and in 1068 she fled to Scotland once William the Conqueror had captured England. In 1070 she married Malcolm III (Canmore) of Scotland. They were a devoted couple and had eight children: six sons, three of whom became kings of Scotland (including David I), and two daughters, one of whom, Matilda, married Henry I of England. Unlike her husband, Margaret could read,⁷² and she was deeply religious. With his approval, she did much to promote religion in Scotland.

A few aspects of Margaret's religion would commend themselves to Protestants – her zeal for Sabbath observance; her care for the poor; her desire for the release of slaves; her opposition to marriage with a deceased wife's

⁶⁹ Leslie, *History and Records of the Family of Leslie, 1067 to 1868-9*, Vol. 3, p. 372.

⁷⁰ Anderson, 'Abbé Paul Macpherson's History of the Scots College Rome (1600-1792)', p. 52; Gordon, *The Catholic Church in Scotland*, pp. 575-576; McCluskey, *The Scots College, Rome, 1600-2000*, pp. 27-28.

⁷¹ See Margaret's entry by G.W.S. Barrow in *ODNB*, and, for a modern scholarly discussion, Catherine Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). A short, well-referenced account of her life can be found in W. Moir Bryce, 'Saint Margaret of Scotland and her chapel in the Castle of Edinburgh', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, Vol. 5 (1912), pp. 1-66.

⁷² One of Margaret's books, consisting of lavishly decorated extracts from the Latin Gospels, is in the Bodleian Library. Its purchase for £6 in 1887, its identification by Miss Lucy Hill, and its remarkable prior history, is told in W. Forbes Leith (ed.), *The Gospel Book of Saint Margaret* (Edinburgh, 1896), pp. 1-8; see also, Moir Bryce, 'Saint Margaret of Scotland and her chapel in the Castle of Edinburgh', p. 23.

sister; and her enthusiasm for the Psalms⁷³ – but on the whole her devotion ran in Roman Catholic channels. She heard numerous masses; prized an ornate crucifix; visited hermits; promoted pilgrimages (Queensferry is named after her because she arranged free transit for pilgrims going to St Andrews); sought Scottish conformity to Roman Catholic practice regarding Lent, Easter, and the mode of celebrating mass; and was responsible, perhaps unintentionally, for the introduction of Benedictine monasticism into Scotland.

Much of the information about Margaret comes from a life of her written – at the request of her daughter Matilda – by Turgot, prior of Durham, who had been her spiritual advisor.⁷⁴ Macewen comments that

few medieval lives have been recorded so vividly and picturesquely, without appeals to superstition or bigotry. No miracles are ascribed to her except for the recovery of her favourite copy of the gospels which had been dropped in to a river, and Turgot records even that incident with an apology.⁷⁵

Catherine Keene observes, however, that Turgot virtually turns Margaret into a Benedictine abbot:

Like the ideal Benedictine abbot, Margaret is depicted as a model of good behavior, focusing unwaveringly on her eternal reward. She is moderate in her joy and hilarity, righteous in her anger, friendly in her justice, wise in her speech, silent and serious. The Benedictine Rule likewise stresses moderation in all things, advising that an abbot should not be overly joyous, angry or talkative....Turgot's portrait of Margaret as the embodiment of abbatial authority is underscored by drawing parallels between Margaret's royal court and a properly administered monastic cloister. He describes Margaret's attendants almost as Benedictine nuns: they are noble and proper; they were never in the company of men unless escorting the queen, implying a type of claustration; they were never familiar with any man; and they were never frivolous.⁷⁶

Turgot had little to say about Margaret's devotion to her husband and her children, as not suiting the picture that he wished to present; and he may well

⁷³ Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, pp. 190, 195-197, 199-201, 203-204. Margaret's enthusiasm for the Psalms consisted in their frequent recitation, but to what extent she pondered their meaning is not stated. One modern Scottish historian describes her as a woman of 'outstanding piety and religious devotion' but characterises her regard for the Lord's Day as 'the extremes of Sabbatarianism'; see G.W.S. Barrow, 'From Margaret to David I: Benedictines and Tironians', *Innes Review*, Vol. 11 (1960), pp. 22-38 (p. 24).

⁷⁴ The Latin text of Turgot's life survives in two main manuscripts, one in the British Library and one in Madrid; see Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, pp. 3-6. For the former, see J. Hodgson-Hinde (ed.), *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea* (Surtees Society, Durham, 1868), pp. 234-254, with an English translation in W. Forbes Leith, *Life of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1884). For the latter (with English translation), see Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, pp. 135-221. The Madrid manuscript was probably taken to Spain by the Count of Gondomar, ambassador to London from 1613 to 1622; see J. Durkan, 'Three manuscripts with Fife associations: and David Colville of Fife', *Innes Review*, Vol. 20 (1969), pp. 47-58.

⁷⁵ A.R. Macewen, *A History of the Church in Scotland* (2 vols., London, 1913-1918), Vol. 1, pp. 156.

⁷⁶ Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, p. 84.

have suppressed other facts, such as her trip to the shrine at Laurencekirk,⁷⁷ and her nightly visits to a cave near Dunfermline for prayer,⁷⁸ for the same reason.

Of particular interest to the Leslie family was Margaret's traditional connection with them:

The first ancestor claimed for the Leslies is Bartolf (or Berthold or Bartholomaeus) the Hungarian, who is said to have accompanied St Margaret of Scotland from Hungary to England and thence to Scotland. He is claimed as a direct founder of the Leslie fortunes by standing in such high regard with King Malcolm that, as well as being knighted and made Keeper of Edinburgh Castle, he was granted lands in those parts of Scotland where branches of the Leslies were to become established: Fife, Angus, the Mearns, Cushnie in Mar and Leslie in the Garioch.⁷⁹

Bartolf had also rescued Margaret when she had got into trouble crossing a river:

The authorship of Father William Aloysius Leslie is assigned to *Laurus Leslaëana*, the anonymously written history of the Leslie family, which begins with the claim that Bartolf originated in Hungary, like St Margaret, and that he rescued her when she was fording a river on horseback. The Leslies of Balquhain were extremely proud of this legendary family connection.⁸⁰

Margaret died on 16th November 1093 and was buried in the church that she had built at Dunfermline. St Margaret's chapel in Edinburgh Castle was founded by her son David I.⁸¹

3. The cult of St Margaret

Margaret's church and tomb at Dunfermline quickly became one of the religious centres of Scotland,⁸² and in 1250 she was canonized by Pope Innocent IV,⁸³ with her body being transferred to a shrine.⁸⁴ A large collection of legendary miracles connected with her cult was compiled at this time.⁸⁵

⁷⁷ Moir Bryce, 'Saint Margaret of Scotland and her chapel in the Castle of Edinburgh', pp. 14-15; Alan Macquarrie, 'An eleventh-century account of the foundation legend of Laurencekirk, and of Queen Margaret's pilgrimage there', *Innes Review*, Vol. 47 (1996), pp. 95-109.

⁷⁸ Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, pp. 74, 85.

⁷⁹ Davidson and King, 'The Fetternear vestments at the Blairs Museum', p. 4. See John Lesley, *De Origine Moribus et rebus gestibus Scotorum* (1675), pp. 200-201; *Laurus Leslaëana*, sig. A1r and v.

⁸⁰ Penelope Dransart and Nicholas Q. Bogdan, 'The material culture of recusancy at Fetternear: kin and religion in post-Reformation Scotland', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, Vol. 134 (2004), pp. 457-470 (p. 460); *Laurus Leslaëana* sig. A2, which traces the Leslie motto 'Grip Fast' to this incident. More recent Leslies suggest that Bartolf may have been Flemish; see Barry Leslie Gordon, 'Origin of Bartolf?', *Grip Fast Down Under*, Vol. 1:11 (July-September 2001), pp. 2-4 (The Newsheet of the Australian and New Zealand Branch of the Clan Leslie Society).

⁸¹ Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, p. 100.

⁸² John McIntyre, 'St Margaret and the Scots College Rome', *Innes Review*, Vol. 44 (1993), pp. 186-192 (pp. 189-190); M. Dilworth, 'Jesuits and Jacobites: the *cultus* of St Margaret', *Innes Review*, Vol. 47:2 (1996), pp. 169-180.

⁸³ Margaret's (assumed) canonization in 1249 or 1250 is discussed in Dilworth, 'Jesuits and Jacobites: the *cultus* of St Margaret', pp. 169-170 and Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, pp. 119-123. Keene does not refer to Dilworth's paper nor to the puzzling papal letter of 1487 asking the Archbishop of St Andrews to investigate Margaret's holiness with a view to canonization.

⁸⁴ Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, pp. 121-122.

⁸⁵ See R. Bartlett (ed.), *The Miracles of St Æbbe of Coldingham and St Margaret of Scotland* (Oxford, 2003) for the transcription of a thirteenth-century account of miracles ascribed

In March 1560 Margaret's shrine at Dunfermline was destroyed by the Reformers, and there is what Mark Dilworth calls 'a weak tradition' that Margaret's skull was preserved, and that it continued with the Duries of Dunfermline until 1597 when it was taken by a Jesuit to Antwerp. The skull in Antwerp was moved to the Scots College, Douai in 1623 where it was placed in a jewelled silver bust and became an object of veneration until its disappearance at the French Revolution. In 1645, Pope Innocent X offered 'plenary indulgence to all the faithfull, who having first confes'd, and communicated, would pray before this Relick'.⁸⁶ Certainly the jewelled bust at Douai existed, but whose skull it contained is a question. Other supposed relics of Margaret were at Windsor, Worcester, the Escorial in Spain, and the Scots College, Rome.⁸⁷

From the early seventeenth century, there was a continental vogue for Roman Catholic works about Scotland: for example, lives of Mary Queen of Scots and of Archangel Leslie.⁸⁸ Various accounts of Margaret's life appeared at this time: in Spanish (1617),⁸⁹ in Italian (1627),⁹⁰ and in French (1660).⁹¹ The French account was then translated into English by 'J.R.' (1661), into Italian by

to her, and SangDong Lee, 'The miracles and cult of St Margaret of Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 97 (2018), pp. 1-11 for an analysis of them.

⁸⁶ M. Dilworth, 'Dunfermline, Duries, and the Reformation', *RSCHS*, Vol. 31 (2001), pp. 37-67 (pp. 62-63). Others have expressed greater confidence in the tradition: D. McRoberts, *St Margaret, Queen of Scotland* (Catholic Truth Society, [1957]), pp. 28-33; Durkan, 'Three manuscripts with Fife associations: and David Colville of Fife', p. 48; McIntyre, 'St Margaret and the Scots College Rome', pp. 191-192; Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, pp. 133-134; M.E. Horan, 'Queen Saint Margaret, Jesuit devotion, and seventeenth-century Scottish Catholicism', *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, Vol. 7:1 (2020), pp. 83-102 (p. 92); and Dilworth himself in an earlier paper, 'Jesuits and Jacobites: the *cultus* of St Margaret', pp. 171-174.

⁸⁷ Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, pp. 133-134. Some of these relics survive to this day.

⁸⁸ See T.G. Law, 'The legend of Archangel Leslie', in *Collected Essays and Reviews* (Edinburgh, 1904), pp. 332-364 (pp. 335-6); Stefano Villani, 'From Mary Queen of Scots to the Scottish Capuchins: Scotland as a symbol of Protestant persecution in seventeenth-century Italian literature', *Innes Review*, Vol. 64:2 (2013), pp. 100-119.

⁸⁹ Juan de Soto, *Margaritas preciosas de la Iglesia, la virgen y martir, la llamada Pelagio Monge. La Serenissima Reyna de Escocia. En tres libros* (Alcala, 1617). This is described as a 'somewhat orotund treatise', and 'the choice of Margaret of Scotland is probably dictated by Margaret of Austria as the work is dedicated to her husband, Philip III'; see Durkan, 'Three manuscripts with Fife associations: and David Colville of Fife', pp. 48-49.

⁹⁰ Ranuccio Pico, *La Principessa Santa, ouero, La vita di Santa Margherita Reina di Scotia* (Venetia, 1627). 'The author Rannuccio Pico was secretary to Margherita Aldobrandini, Duchess of Parma. In 1623 he presented his mistress, for her "onomastico" or name-day on 10th June with twelve brief lives of saints called Margaret, then in the following year a fuller account of our own St Margaret'; see McIntyre, 'St Margaret and the Scots College Rome', p. 190.

⁹¹ *L'idée d'une reine parfaite en la vie de S. Marguerite Reine d'Escoce* (Douay [Douai], 1660). The authorship of this has been attributed to W.A. Leslie, see *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, Vol. 2, p. 389; D. McRoberts, *St Margaret, Queen of Scotland*, p. 31; McIntyre, 'St Margaret and the Scots College Rome', pp. 189-190, and to Turrien Lefebvre, catalogue of the National Library of Scotland. Dilworth rejects both these in favour of 'the Douai College of the Scots of the Society of Jesus', 'Jesuits and Jacobites: the *cultus* of St Margaret', pp. 174-175.

W.A. Leslie (1675), and into Spanish by Alexander Sinclair (1679).⁹² A recent detailed discussion of the French original and these translations brings out their various purposes (for example, raising money for the Scots Colleges in Rome and Madrid), and shows in particular that they were especially targeting royal and noble ladies. The French account has a preface headed 'Aux Dames'; the English translation was dedicated to the Roman Catholic Countess of Arundell and Surrey (c.1609-1676); Leslie's Italian translation to the heiress Olimpia Aldobrandini Pamfilia (1623-1681), married to the nephew of Pope Innocent X;⁹³ and Sinclair's Spanish translation to the remarkable María Guadalupe de Lancaster (1630-1715).⁹⁴

A further development in the cult of St Margaret came in December 1673 when, in response to a petition 'in the name of all the Scots Catholic clergy', Pope Clement X agreed to extend the Feast of St Margaret, which 'had been for some centuries observed with great devotion in Scotland', to the whole Roman Church.⁹⁵

Quite where the initiative for this petition came from is not clear, but it can probably be traced back to Count James Leslie. In 1672, Paul Menzies of Pitfoddels, who was in the service of the Russian Tsar Alexis, was sent from Moscow on a diplomatic mission to Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, Venice, and Rome. It is possible that he met Count James in Vienna. He reached Rome on 8th/18th August 1673 and left again on 13th/23rd September. His diplomatic mission was unsuccessful in that he failed to persuade the Pope to give aid to the Tsar, his work faltering on the question of whether the Tsar was entitled to be called by that name or was merely the Grand Duke of Muscovy.⁹⁶ On another matter, however, he was more successful. According to William Aloysius Leslie, Menzies was also prevailed upon to present the petition regarding St Margaret.⁹⁷ The request came before the Congregation of Rites on 2nd December, and was approved by the Pope on 20th December.⁹⁸

W.A. Leslie was presumably still in Perugia at this stage, but on 30th March 1674 he became rector of the Scots College, Rome, and continued to promote the cult of St Margaret. On 12th March of the following year, his book *Vita di santa Margherita, regina di Scozia* received its imprimatur, and on 14th April, 'he obtained for his college a relic of the saint [Margaret] taken from

⁹² *The Idea of a Perfect Princesse, in The Life of St. Margaret Queen of Scotland* (Paris, 1661); W.A. Leslie, *Vita di Santa Margherita regina di Scozia* (Rome: Per Michel'Ercole, 1675); [Alexander Sinclair], *La idea de una perfecta princesa representada en este compendio de la vida de Santa Margarita Reyna de Escocia* (Madrid, 1679).

⁹³ Olimpia Aldobrandini was a niece of Margherita Aldobrandini mentioned above; see George L. Williams, *Papal Genealogy: The Families and Descendants of the Popes* (Jefferson, NC and London, 2004), p. 96.

⁹⁴ Horan, 'Queen Saint Margaret, Jesuit devotion, and seventeenth-century Scottish Catholicism', pp. 96, 98-100.

⁹⁵ Anderson, 'Abbé Paul Macpherson's History of the Scots College Rome (1600-1792)', p. 40.

⁹⁶ Paul Dukes, 'Paul Menzies and his mission from Muscovy to Rome, 1672-1674', *Innes Review*, Vol. 35 (1984), pp. 88-95.

⁹⁷ Paul Menzies had been at the Scots College, Douai from 1647 to 1652, and Dilworth suggests that at this 'formative period of his life, [he] became acquainted with devotion to St Margaret focused on her relic', 'Jesuits and Jacobites: the *cultus* of St Margaret', p. 176.

⁹⁸ W.A. Leslie, *Vita di santa Margherita, regina di Scozia* (Rome, 1675), pp. 102-103.

the head at Douai and guaranteed authentic by Fr Thomas Robb, the rector there. About this time too he had St Margaret's altar in the college chapel adorned with a large picture depicting the saint in prayer, provided by his uncle, Count Walter Leslie.⁹⁹

In 1676, W.A. Leslie 'petitioned for a ruling as to whether she [Margaret] could be regarded as the patron of Scots living outside Scotland. He was rewarded with a Curial compromise extending this title to the Scots Colleges.'¹⁰⁰ In 1677, he further petitioned that the feast of St Margaret be transferred from 10th June to the more convenient and, as he thought, appropriate date of 16th November. The Congregation of Rites, however, transferred the feast with its office and Mass to 8th July. The decree, dated 22nd January 1678, was ratified by Pope Innocent XI on 9th February. In September 1691, the office of St Margaret, which had been optional, was made obligatory for all.¹⁰¹ A further change came in 1693 when Pope Innocent XII restored the feast 'to 10th June on the plea of the exiled James VII and II, whose heir had been born on 10th June 1688 and who wished to invoke the protection of St Margaret on the troubled realm which had rejected him.'¹⁰² This continued to be the date of the feast until 1969 when it was moved, as W.A. Leslie had desired, to 16th November.

4. The programme of promotion and aggrandisement

We have described the first step in Count James Leslie's programme, which was the securing of general acceptance for the Feast of St Margaret in 1673, along with the subsequent developments in promoting that cult. As several writers have observed, the effect of W.A. Leslie's campaign was to transfer the centre of the of cult St Margaret from Douai to Rome. We have no direct evidence for the involvement of Count James Leslie in this first step, but it seems highly likely.

The next step in the programme was the two publications of 1675. One of these, William Aloyius Leslie's *Vita di santa Margherita, regina di Scozia*, has already been mentioned. It was not a simple translation of the French life of 1660, but involved considerable historical research.

The Italian text... aims to be more historical in nature, as it references nearly twice as many historical sources as the French edition....Whereas the other three books [French, English, Spanish] possess the common title, 'The Idea of a Perfect Queen', Leslie goes for a less poetic and more biographical title, 'The Life of Saint Margaret Queen of Scotland, collected by different authors and published by Fr. William Leslie'. Instead of an epistle to women, Leslie offers an apology to the reader if his account deviates from the historical truth since he uses several historical authors who do not always agree. Leslie assures his readers that if they are upset by any historical discrepancies in his discourse, that the ancient manuscript of Margaret's life confirms the

⁹⁹ Dilworth, 'Jesuits and Jacobites: the *cultus* of St Margaret', p. 176. Count Walter died in 1667 so the benefactor for the altarpiece must in fact have been Count James Leslie. Pictures of the altarpiece and of W.A. Leslie's note from 1675 regarding the relic can be found in <http://saintsandrelics.co.uk/onewebmedia/St.%20Margaret.pdf>.

¹⁰⁰ McIntyre, 'St Margaret and the Scots College Rome', p. 187.

¹⁰¹ Dilworth, 'Jesuits and Jacobites: the *cultus* of St Margaret', pp. 177-178.

¹⁰² McIntyre, 'St Margaret and the Scots College Rome', p. 187.

most important points. He tells us that the Jesuits in Antwerp hold Turgot's manuscript.¹⁰³

Leslie footnotes his sources at the end of each chapter, very much in the modern style, which was something of an innovation in those days.

The other publication of 1675 was Bishop John Lesley's *De Origine*. This gave a Roman Catholic perspective on the history of Scotland, including the Reformation, but it also served the purpose of promoting Scotland in Europe, and – along with Scotland – the Leslie family through their link with Queen Margaret. Part of its aim was to assert the view that the Scots had been early missionaries to Germany:

This belief was given explicit expression in print by John Lesley in his *History [De Origine]*, which he published in 1578 in the midst of his partially successful exertions to have the Scotie monasteries [in Germany] restored to the Scots. Not only is the story of William's foundations repeated but the Scotie saints Columbanus, Gall, Kilian, Colman, and even the Englishman Boniface, all of whom labored in German lands, are explicitly called Scots. With Lesley and his protégé Ninian Winzet, the legend reached maturity as far as the monasteries were concerned.¹⁰⁴

The promulgation of this view obviously suited Count James Leslie, as a Scottish settler in central Europe.

A third step in the programme was some building work which appears to have taken place at Balquhain Castle in 1677. This is now represented by a plaque, set in a cottar-house at Mains of Balquhain, bearing the inscription 'IHS. MRA. 1677' [Iesus Hominum Salvator. Maria Regina Angelorum]. Presumably the plaque was originally part of the castle, and related to some modification that Patrick Leslie made when he became the 15th baron on the death of his father that year.¹⁰⁵

A fourth step was the plan in 1681 to publish a supplement to Lesley's *De Origine*. In August 1681, William Aloysius Leslie was in touch with Bernard Maxwell, Abbot of the Scottish Benedictine monastery in Würzburg, seeking material for a proposed continuation of *De Origine* (which stops in 1571).¹⁰⁶ Nothing came of the proposal, however, possibly because Leslie was moved to the Scottish mission in 1683. The same year, Count James Leslie was at the siege of Vienna, and acquired exceedingly valuable spoils from the defeated Muslim army, and some of these seem to have been made into mass-vestments and sent back to Balquhain, where they would presumably have been worn by William Aloysius Leslie during his time in Scotland.¹⁰⁷

A fifth step was the rebuilding of Fetternear, after it had returned to the possession of Patrick Leslie, 15th of Balquhain, in 1690.

¹⁰³ Horan, 'Queen Saint Margaret, Jesuit devotion, and seventeenth-century Scottish Catholicism', p. 92.

¹⁰⁴ M. Dilworth, *The Scots in Franconia* (Edinburgh, 1974), p. 213; Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences and Impressions of Central Europe, c. 1560-1688*, p. 177.

¹⁰⁵ For a picture of the plaque, see Dransart and Bogdan, 'The material culture of recusancy at Fetternear: kin and religion in post-Reformation Scotland', p. 463.

¹⁰⁶ Dilworth, *The Scots in Franconia*, p. 246.

¹⁰⁷ Davidson and King, 'The Fetternear vestments at the Blairs Museum', pp. 6-11.



The ruins of Fetternear (COURTESY OF ALLAN MACIVER).

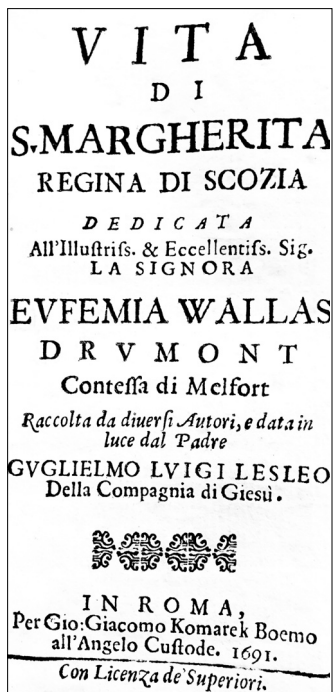
In 1691-3 Patrick Leslie transformed this much extended house into something approaching a Continental palace by rebuilding the central block as the north side of a symmetrical cobbled forecourt... Patrick's elder brother and uncle had served as marshals of the Holy Roman Empire and Patrick acquired a fine collection of pictures. To house these pictures he rebuilt the central block on its present line... The dates of Patrick Leslie's reconstruction can be surmised from three carved panels above the doorway. Between second-floor windows two small panels display initials I.H.S. and M.R.A., together with the initials of Patrick and his wife, Mary Irvine of Drum and the date 1691... Beneath, his heredity is expressed much more boldly – a magnificent panel 1.8m high displaying his arms impaled with those of his wife, supported by griffins and surmounted by a helmet, mantling and crest, dated 1693; the coronet above is presumably that of a Count of the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁰⁸



Patrick Leslie's arms above the door at Fetternear.

Thereafter, Fetternear became the seat of the Leslies, and Balquhain Castle was abandoned completely in 1710.

¹⁰⁸ J. Sharples, D.W. Walker, and M. Woodworth, *Aberdeenshire: South and Aberdeen* (The Buildings of Scotland series, Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 491-492. The carved panels are illustrated in Dransart and Bogdan, 'The material culture of recusancy at Fetternear: kin and religion in post-Reformation Scotland', p. 462.



Title-page of the 1691 edition of W.A. Leslie's *Vita di santa Margherita*.

In 1691, a second edition of W.A. Leslie's *Vita di santa Margherita, regina di Scozia* appeared, with a dedication, dated 28th August, addressed to Euphemia Wallace Drummond, Countess of Melfort. The dedication was signed by 'the teachers and students of the Scots College, Rome'. From the register, there seem at that time to have been four pupils and presumably the only teacher was the Vice-Rector Father Musanti, who was an Italian. He was acting – since the death of the previous rector Andrew Mackie in December 1690 – in the absence of the appointed rector W.A. Leslie in Graz. Like the late Pope, Innocent XI (died August 1689), Musanti had at first been violently anti-Jacobite (because James II & VII, on fleeing England, had gone to the Pope's great enemy, Louis XIV of France). A serious row had ensued in the college between Musanti and his loyally Jacobite students, who had threatened to leave as a body.¹⁰⁹ The row had been resolved, partly by the agent William Laurence Leslie, and this publication may have been one of the consequences of the ensuing peace. The Countess of Melfort's husband, the Earl of Melfort, was the Jacobite ambassador

to Rome. As Mark Dilworth observes, the Drummonds, too, had a traditional connection with Queen Margaret:

The ship that brought Margaret to Scotland was the *Dromont*, and these Drummonds believed themselves to be descended from its Hungarian captain and to be named after the ship. Also among this man's descendants and Melfort's ancestors, the dedication [to *Vita*] continued, was Annabella Drummond, who was married to King Robert III and was thus a progenitor of James VII & II.¹¹⁰

The publication was thus an attempt to ingratiate the Scots College with the Jacobite exiles, and particularly with the female aristocrats:

Like the first edition, this reprint was directed at a special clientele of the royal and titled ladies of Europe. The closing passage in each edition urged them to take St Margaret as their model and pray to her that their children would grow up virtuous.¹¹¹

The final step to mention in the programme is the publication of the Leslie history *Laurus Leslaeana* in Graz in 1692. In 1684, Count James Leslie purchased the so-called Leslie-hof in Graz and four years later the nearby castle of Pernegg.

¹⁰⁹ Anderson, 'Abbé Paul Macpherson's History of the Scots College Rome (1600-1792)', pp. 55-56.

¹¹⁰ Dilworth, 'Jesuits and Jacobites: the *cultus* of St Margaret', p. 178.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 178.

About 1690, W.A. Leslie went to stay in Graz,¹¹² apparently at the Jesuit College, and in 1692 he published *Laurus Leslaeana*. As Davidson and King comment:

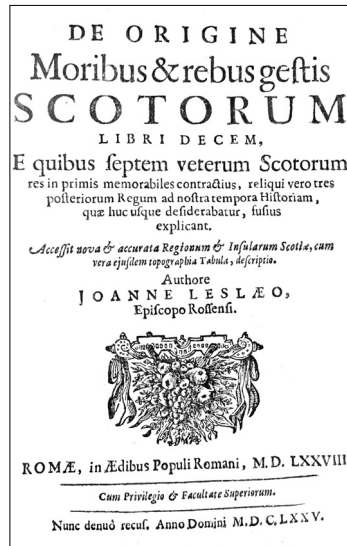
By 1692, Count James was so profoundly associated with the Catholic community in Scotland that he is addressed as ‘Domino ac Patrono nostro Gratosissimo’ by his kinsman William Aloysius Leslie SJ (1641-1704), who describes himself and his Jesuit colleagues as ‘Patres Societatis Jesu, Missionis Scotiae’ in a remarkable baroque history of the family published as the *Laurus Leslaeana*. This *Laurus Leslaeanus* is a work of considerable interest: seldom has a British Catholic family, successfully established on the continent, set forth their perception of themselves, their position, and their origin with more confidence.¹¹³

Count James died in 1694, bringing his programme of aggrandisement to an end.

4. The publication of *De Origine* in 1675

After all this, it is not very clear what part George Leslie, S.J., played in the republication of Lesley’s *De Origine*. The idea for its republication may have come from him, but it seems just as likely to have come from one of the brothers, Count James or William Aloysius Leslie. George may have put up the money for the publication, but most of it probably came from Count James to whom money was no object. The actual printing was presumably supervised by some continental member of the Leslie/Jesuit network near Rotterdam.¹¹⁴ From the absence of an errata leaf, usual in Goddaeus publications, it seems probable that someone was on hand to check the proofs.

Why Henry Goddaeus should have been chosen as the printer is not obvious. Presumably Rotterdam was convenient for importing copies to Scotland and for distribution in mainland Europe. Goddaeus must have had a reasonable reputation for quality. A considerable number of engravings were needed, so the printer had to



Title-page of the 1675 edition of John Lesley’s *De Origine*.

¹¹² According to *ODNB*, while W.A. Leslie was in Graz he managed to procure the freedom of Roman Catholic priests and laymen who had been captured in the British ‘Glorious Revolution’ by getting his brother, Count James Leslie, to intercede with Emperor Leopold on their behalf.

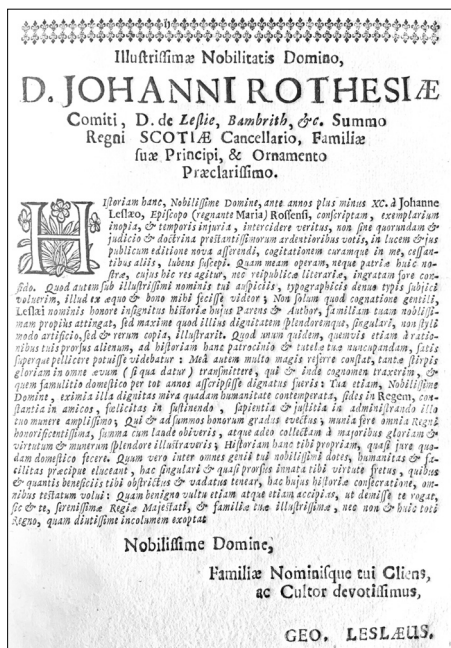
¹¹³ Davidson and King, ‘The Fetternear vestments at the Blairs Museum’, p. 3. JISC suggests Franz Höbbling as the author of *Laurus Leslaeana*, based on ‘an old catalogue’. Col. C. Leslie says that W.A. Leslie was ‘the chief compiler’, *History and Records of the Family of Leslie, 1067 to 1868-9*, Vol. 3, p. 112.

¹¹⁴ George Leslie’s nephews John and Peter Gordon were both probably in Douai (about 160 miles from Rotterdam) at that time, but the Leslies of Balquhain may well have had other contacts nearer to Rotterdam.

be able to cope with these. Perhaps also a printer who was accustomed to operating anonymously was required. The title-page is obviously intended to give the impression that the work was printed in Rome (as with the original 1578 edition) but perhaps the Leslies wished to avoid the imprimatur that would have been necessary in a Roman Catholic country but might have been unwelcome to Protestant readers.

Kellas Johnstone describes the production as ‘not well done’, and certainly there is a major pagination error, some of the print is not as crisp

as it might be, and the layout is less elegant than in the 1578 edition.¹¹⁵ By the standards of Henry Goddaeus, however, it is a neat production, and he obviously put considerable effort into it. It is not a sumptuous work, but it compares favourably with other books available in Scotland at the time.¹¹⁶ The vignette portraits and genealogical tables, reproduced from the 1578 edition (albeit less successfully), must have entailed considerable trouble and expense, and there can be little doubt that they were paid for Count James Leslie.



Dedication leaf printed by Andrew Anderson.

We have no idea of the size of the print-run, but it is not a particularly uncommon book. Presumably some copies were intended for distribution in mainland Europe, particularly among those whom the Leslies

wished to impress, while others were for Scotland, and perhaps England. In both cases, it is probably the nobility who were targeted. Copies intended for Scotland had a separate leaf inserted, printed by Andrew Anderson, Edinburgh, with a Latin dedication to John Leslie, 7th Earl of Rothes, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and the name ‘Geo. Leslaeus’ at the bottom.¹¹⁷ Evidently George Leslie felt safe to declare himself in this way. Most surviving copies listed on WorldCat are in American institutions so that one cannot easily tell whether they have a British or a European provenance.

¹¹⁵ *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, Vol. 2, p. 443. A note at the start of the index in *De Origine* observes that pp. 475-488 had been repeated, but presumably by this time it was too late or too complicated to correct the pagination. In the displays on pp. 3, 16, etc. one of the acorns is of a different variety to the others – a typical Goddaeus blunder.

¹¹⁶ Curiously, Kellas Johnstone describes Goddaeus’ 1675 edition of Rutherford’s *Letters* as ‘well printed’ (*Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, Vol. 2, p. 446), although it seems to the present writer to be less satisfactory than his edition of Lesley’s *De Origine*.

¹¹⁷ According to his ODNB entry, Rothes was unable to read Latin.

A number of copies of *De Origine* were left over, and in 1677 these were re-issued by the London printer Robert Boulter with a replacement title-page bearing his own imprint: '*Excusum pro Roberto Boulter, ad insigne Capitis Turcæ, ex adversum Mercatorio Regali, in Vico vulgo Cornhill dicto, MDCLXXVII*'. This re-issue is puzzling. Stephanie Coster has shown that Robert Boulter (d. February 1683/4) was an admirer of Oliver Cromwell, a member of the 'Cross Party' in the 1660s, and was pro-Dutch in the Anglo-Dutch wars.¹¹⁸ He was a commercial publisher, but he tended towards the Puritan side, publishing, for instance, John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667), works by John Flavell and Thomas Gouge, and Matthew Poole's *Nullity of the Romish Faith* (1679).

Boulter's signature on the 'Monster Petition', his deposition in the Popish Plot trials and latterly his involvement in the Rye House Plot are all characterized by anti-popery. Popery in this sense was not just a synonym for Catholicism. Because of the association popery made between Roman Catholic claims of the pope's infallibility and despotism, it could be applied to any arbitrary exertion of power, and clericalism—it was a common jibe to call bishops or Tory politicians attempting to undermine Parliament 'popish'. Anti-popery often coincided with concerns about Parliament and the constitution. Boulter appears to have shared in the expectation that Parliament should meet regularly and have the power of independent action and free debate. While deeply concerned about neutralizing Catholic perfidy, both the 'Monster Petition' and the Rye House Plot were also reactions to the loss of the House of Commons as a forum in which to air grievances. The Civil War shaped many Whigs' perceptions of how Parliaments should properly function. This is likely to have been especially true of Boulter. The Cross Party's politics point to the parliamentarianism, and even republicanism, of the 1640s and 1650s, with many members preserving lasting connections with parliamentary commissioners and Interregnum politicians.¹¹⁹

It seems likely, therefore, that the 1677 re-issue of *De Origine* arose from a negotiation between printers to dispose of surplus stock rather than from contact between Boulter and the Leslie/Jesuit circle.

5. Conclusion

In the preface to his edition of Bishop Lesley's *Historie of Scotland*, Father E.G. Cody wrote:

Copies of the original publication [of *De Origine*] at Rome still exist, though very rare. That which is now before me, and which is commonly referred to as 'Leslie's History' is a facsimile reprint, made in the year 1675. The title-page still retains the date – 'Romæ, in Ædibus populi Romani, 1578'; but beneath is added, 'Nunc denuo recus. Anno Domini 1675'. From this it would be gathered that the reprint was made in Rome...

¹¹⁸ Stephanie Coster, 'Robert Boulter and the publication of Andrew Marvell's *Miscellaneous Poems*', *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, Vol. 69, No. 289 (2018), pp. 259–276. The Cross Party was a Presbyterian/Independent political group connected with the celebrated Col. Thomas Blood, and occasionally involved in violence.

¹¹⁹ Coster, 'Robert Boulter and the publication of Andrew Marvell's *Miscellaneous Poems*', p. 272.

The George Leslie mentioned in connection with this personage [the Earl of Rothes] cannot, of course, be certainly identified; but at the date with which we are here concerned there was living a Jesuit priest of that name, who was great-grandson to our author, Bishop Leslie of Ross....Now this George Leslie lived until the year 1687, and had spent his last thirty years as Provincial of the Society of Jesus, and Superior of the Missions in Scotland, chiefly at Balquhain, the ancestral home of his branch of the Leslie family. Here he would have known William Leslie, thirteenth baron of that ilk, a famous royalist, and personally a friend of the Earl of Rothes, also a royalist and a Leslie; and he would thus have been a very likely person to issue a reprint of the writings of his great ancestor, and to dedicate it to one who, in addition to being a personal friend, and the acknowledged head of the name and family of the writer, was also one of the foremost men in Scotland, and of equal influence at the court of a reigning monarch, whose tolerance and even personal leanings towards the Catholic faith had raised the greatest hopes of those interested in its restoration in this country.

As a Jesuit provincial, Father Leslie would be in constant communication with Rome, so that there would be no difficulty in the fact of the reprint being made in that city;.... Moreover, a motive for the reprint may be found in the renewed vigour in the work of the Mission to Scotland which appears about this time. ...The republication of the Bishop's history would be quite in keeping with an attempt to rouse the question of the claims of the Catholic Church upon the people of Scotland.¹²⁰

Father Cody's various suppositions are very plausible, and the present writer was inclined to many of them (though not that the 1675 publication had been printed in Rome) when he began this present research. But as we have seen, a far more likely explanation is that the book had rather little to do with George Leslie and events in Scotland, and much more to do with Count James Leslie and events on the continent. We have not proved this, but possibly a proof will emerge in due course.

The present writer also assumed, early on, that the appearance of Lesley's Roman Catholic *De Origine* in 1675 was a stimulus to the appearance of David Calderwood's covenanting *True History of the Church of Scotland* in 1678, ironically at the hands of the same printer. It is now by no means clear, however, that there was any connection between the two publications. We have not seen any contemporary reference to the 1675 re-publication of *De Origine* in covenanting circles, nor to Calderwood's *History* in Roman Catholic circles. The intended markets for the two publications seem to have been quite different, and it is even possible that the groups responsible for the two publications remained unaware of each other's work for a considerable length of time, though they may even have seen each other as strangers at Goddaeus' printing house (Robert Macward was seeing the third edition of Samuel Rutherford's *Letters* through the Goddaeus press in 1675).

¹²⁰ Lesley, *The Historie of Scotland...translated into Scottish by Father James Dalrymple*, Vol. 1, pp. xxii-xxv.

Appendix 1.

Alexander Young, Bishop of Edinburgh (1672-1679) and of Ross (1679-1684)

We mentioned above that Robert Barclay states that Alexander Young, Bishop of Edinburgh, had attended the Scots College in Paris:

Reader, R. B. was educated in a popish colledge; ergo, say the Students, *our answer is not that which the Jesuit used against our master*. It seems the Students are offended that R. B. hath forsaken popery, or otherwise their charging him with his education must be very impertinent, as indeed it is no less foolish, then if we should upbraid Luther, Calvin and all the first Reformers as Papists, for being so educated, and though it is no wonder their folly and malice led them into this impertinency, yet it might have been expected that their gratitude to the Bishop of Edinburgh [Alexander Young], who was pleased to permitt their book to be printed, might have hindered them from this folly, seing he was educated in the same Popish Colledge R. B. was, and owes some of his Philosophy to it, whereas R. B. learned only there a litle grammar, and came thence in his 15 Year, but the Bishop was there professing popery in his more mature age. So if this reflect any thing upon R. B. it will much more against the Bishop, which they will do well to clear, and be sure not to omitt, when they write next, or else acknowledge their impertinency herein.¹²¹

This statement enables us to fill a gap in the little that is known about Alexander Young. In the *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, he simply appears as being ordained minister of Dalmeny on 28th November 1663, with no information about his earlier life.¹²² A little digging in the references adds that he was of the family of Young of Aldbar near Brechin and that he was born in Aberdeen. The records of Marischal College, Aberdeen then disclose that he matriculated there in 1647 and was in the third class in 1649.¹²³

With the information from Robert Barclay, we can now supplement this. In *Records of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon*, we find a student of the same name who was born about 1633 near Fraserburgh, his parents being Alexander Young and Mariota Fraser. In 1656, at the age of twenty-three, he entered the Scots College at Douai, and then went to Paris to study logic. Thereafter, according to the Douai register, he returned to Scotland and 'apostatized'. There can be no doubt that this was the future Bishop. Robert Barclay is thought to have gone to Paris in 1659,¹²⁴ and from his statement quoted above, it seems likely that he overlapped there

¹²¹ Barclay and Keith, *Quakerism confirmed, or, A vindication*, p.14. The Bishop of Edinburgh had presumably been appointed by the Privy Council and the Archbishop of St Andrews to review the students' book for publication. Samuel Colvil's *Grand Imposter Discovered* (Edinburgh, 1673) was reviewed for publication by John Paterson, Dean of Edinburgh (see final leaf).

¹²² Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, Vol. 1, p. 201.

¹²³ Robert Keith, *Catalogue of the Bishops of the Several Sees within the Kingdom of Scotland, down to the year 1688* (Edinburgh, 1755), p.40; P.J. Anderson (ed.), *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae* (3 vols., New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1889-1898), Vol. 2, pp.213, 215.

¹²⁴ Trueblood, *Robert Barclay*, p. 27.

with Young. Thus it is likely that Young converted to Romanism about 1656 (if, indeed, he had not been a secret Romanist all along) and was still a Romanist as late as 1659.

The minister of Dalmeny from 1656 was the Protestor Alexander Hamilton, who was deprived by the Privy Council in October 1662 for not submitting to episcopacy. In his place, the people of Dalmeny got Alexander Young, a man of dubious religious antecedents, as their 'curate' or spiritual instructor, whose ministrations they were obliged to attend. The following year Young was translated to nearby Cramond, presumably a more agreeable parish, and on 28th September 1665 he became the Archdeacon of St Andrews.¹²⁵ In the absence of Archbishop John Sharp – then at the height of his political power – Young was in charge of administration and discipline in the whole diocese.¹²⁶ Thus within a very few years of his conversion back from Romanism, Young had become one of the most important men in the Church of Scotland. Why he had been promoted so rapidly is not clear, but Sharp must have trusted him and regarded him as a man of great ability.

In July 1672 Young received further promotion when he was consecrated Bishop of Edinburgh. Meanwhile in September 1669, Alexander Hamilton had accepted the Indulgence and been restored to the ministry of Dalmeny. In March 1677, however, Hamilton was ordered to leave Dalmeny and to move to the parish of Dalserf. The reason for this move, according to Robert Wodrow, was that 'a good many serious people used to go out of Edinburgh to Dalmenie, to hear Mr Hamilton, which grated the Bishop [of Edinburgh] and his party there very much.'¹²⁷ Thus resentment against his predecessor at Dalmeny from 1663 was probably still working in Young. In March 1679, Young himself was translated to the See of Ross so that John Paterson, the favourite of the Duchess of Lauderdale, could be made Bishop of Edinburgh. In 1684 Young went to France for a lithotomy operation but died a week afterwards. He was, says Robert Keith, 'a man of great worth and reputation'.¹²⁸

Whatever Young's 'worth and reputation', his career provides a painful illustration of the working of episcopacy in Scotland at that period, and it is not difficult to see why the Covenanters were so active in opposing it and in publishing books against it.

¹²⁵ *The Diary of Mr John Lamont of Newton, 1649-1671* (Edinburgh, 1830), p. 183.

¹²⁶ J. Buckroyd, *The Life of James Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrews, 1618-1679* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 83; J. Dowden, *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1910), p. 219. On p. 220, Dowden explains the Scots use of the word 'Archdean' – the word employed by Lamont – in place of 'Archdeacon'.

¹²⁷ R. Wodrow, *History Of The Sufferings Of The Church of Scotland* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1721-1722), Vol. 1, p. 437.

¹²⁸ Keith, *Catalogue of the Bishops of the Several Sees within the Kingdom of Scotland, down to the year 1688*, p. 120.