

#### IV.

### NOTES ON THE AUGUSTINIAN HOUSE OF SAINT ANTHONY, LEITH.

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The Augustinian House of St. Anthony, Leith, founded about the year 1430, is kept in remembrance by places in the locality which bear the name of the Saint to whom the House was dedicated, although no trace of the buildings which comprised the House can now be seen.

Prior to 1430 there were no members of the Augustinian Order of St. Anthony in Scotland. The principal establishment of the Order was at Vienne in France, where the relics of the Saint were preserved.<sup>3</sup>

A list<sup>4</sup> of the principal benefactors of the House, for whom masses were instituted, has for an introductory: "It is statuet and ordanit in our scheptour for sindri resonabil causis that the saulis of thaim that has gevin zeir lie perpetuall rent to this abbay and hospital of Sanct

<sup>1</sup> *Inventory of Monuments in Galloway, cit.*, No. 137.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i., County of Wigton, No. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Spotswood's *Religious Houses*, p. 241, states that the first officials of St. Anthony's, Leith, came from Vienne.

<sup>4</sup> Roger's *St. Anthony's Monastery at Leith, etc.*, p. 26. Roger quotes, with translations where necessary, most of the *Rentale Buke of Sanct Anthoni's and Newhavin*, a MS. in the National Library.

Antonis besyd Leith or has augmentit Goddis seruice be fundacion, or any vther vays has gevyn substancially of thair gudis to the byggyn reparacion and vphaldyng of the forsaied Abbay and place, that thai be prayit for ylk Sunday till the day of dome," etc. The first entry in the list reads: "In the fyrst for Kyng James, ye first and Quhen Jane, his spous yair predecessouris and successourys." The second entry is for James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews. The third entry, for Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, refers to him as "our fowndour." A similar reference is contained in the obituary connected with the list of benefactors. There is also a record<sup>1</sup> of a charter of 1430 by Bishop Wardlaw of St. Andrews, confirming the founding of a chapel<sup>2</sup> of St. Anthony by Robert Logan of Restalrig but unfortunately the record does not specify the location of the chapel to which it refers. It is also on record,<sup>3</sup> however, that St. Anthony's, Leith, was built at the instance of King James the First.

That Sir Robert Logan was the founder of St. Anthony's, Leith, has been generally accepted by writers dealing with the subject but the contents of the following document would be unknown to earlier writers and, since the publication of the translation, has remained unconsidered.

EUGENIUS IV.<sup>4</sup> 8th February, 1443.

"To the bishops of Aquila and Argyll. Mandate as below.

The recent petition of Michael Gray, preceptor, and the canons of the house of St. Anthony near the town of Leith in the diocese of St. Andrews, of the order of St. Augustine, contained that the late James, king of Scots, began about fourteen years ago to build the said house, with church, hospital, cloisters, dormitories, refectories and other necessary offices, with the intention that a preceptor and several canons of the said order should continually remain therein and serve at mass and other divine offices, that poor persons and those affected with the disease called St. Anthony's disease, and noble and honest persons should be received and lodged therein; that although the said King died before he had completed his intention, nevertheless since his death a preceptor and four canons of the said order have remained in the said house; that poor and noble and other persons have been received and lodged and received refreshment and charity, and still do so; that the place in which the said house was founded, and in which, before the said building was begun, wayfarers suffered many dangers, plunderings and other evils, is now turned into a house of devotion and piety; and that divers magnates and other nobles of the realm, when they come to the royal parliament<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Roger's *St. Anthony's*, p. 7, quotes MS. in National Library.

<sup>2</sup> The mandate of 6th January, 1443, quoted in the text, refers to dedications to St. Anthony unconnected with the "Order." Mackinlay's *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland* gives several dedications to St. Anthony.

<sup>3</sup> Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. iv. p. 769, footnote (f), quotes MS.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of Papal Registers*, vol. ix. p. 405.

<sup>5</sup> Parliament Place, Leith, may still indicate the location.

in a place near the said house, are received and lodged, as well as sailors on their way to a certain seaport also near the said house. At the said petition—which added that the petitioners busy themselves with the building, and propose to devote themselves to its completion, to the better provision for poor and other comers, the easier maintenance of the preceptor and canons, and the keeping of hospitality, etc.; that the fixed (certi) fruits of the said house are slender, and that the collections (queste) made in the realm in the name of the monastery of St. Anthony in the diocese of Vienne, of the said order (on which depend the said house and its preceptorship, which is general, and by canons of which it is wont to be governed) are slight (modice) in comparison with the burdens of the said house; and that they fear lest, for want of means, they may fail in so useful and laudable a purpose; that the devotion of the faithful of the said realm toward the said Saint is daily increasing; and that there is no other house in the realm of the said Saint and order—the pope hereby orders the above two bishops, if they find the above to be true, to appropriate in perpetuity the parish church of Liston in the said diocese, value not exceeding 60 l. sterling, to the said house, the fixed value of which and of its preceptorship does not exceed six gold florins of the camera; so that on the cession or death etc. of the rector John Gray, a master in medicine, to whom a life pension shall be paid, they may take possession etc. as usual, a yearly portion of 20 l. sterling being reserved for a perpetual vicar.”

The mandate embodies the purport of a petition from the preceptor and canons at Leith, who are therefore responsible for the statement that King James began the building of the House but died before he had completed his intentions. Sir Robert Logan is not mentioned in the mandate. The preceptor and canons of St. Anthony, in the year 1443, must have been aware of the founder of their institution, and there is no reason to suppose that they commenced their petition to Rome with a false statement or that it was in any way advantageous for them to do so.

The Logan family<sup>1</sup> at that period were wealthy landowners living in the vicinity of the House and, had Sir Robert been the founder, would have been obliged to complete the buildings which, however, according to the officials at Leith, were incomplete owing to the death of the King before his intentions were fulfilled.

King James the First had been nineteen years in captivity in England where several institutions of the Augustinian Order of St. Anthony existed. While there he may have acquired a practical knowledge of the association of the Order with the care of those afflicted with erysipelas, then thought to be a form of leprosy and termed St. Anthony's fire, which was so prevalent in Scotland that it was a matter of concern

<sup>1</sup> In the Appendix to vol. i. of *Leith and its Antiquities*, by J. Campbell Irons, are quoted two charters concerning the acquiring of rights and lands by the City of Edinburgh from the Logans. Chapter v. of *The Story of Leith*, by John Russell, gives an account of the Logans of Restalrig.

for the nation and formed the subject of parliamentary<sup>1</sup> regulations. The prevalence of erysipelas would be a deciding factor to erect an institution which would, amongst other devout and charitable objects, deal with the disease.

King James the Second was only a child when his father was murdered at Perth on the 20th February, 1437, and the subsequent unsettled conditions in Scotland would seriously hamper many of the projects commenced by his parent.

The appropriation of the parish church of Liston depended on the truth of the statement quoted in the mandate.<sup>2</sup> The offer of the appropriation was made, evidently implying that the assertions contained in the mandate were considered satisfactory by the Bishops of Aquila and Argyll to whom the subject was referred.

The documentary evidence supporting the contention that Sir Robert Logan founded St. Anthony's consists of the entries in the list of benefactors and obituary, and the record of the charter of Henry Wardlaw concerning the founding of a chapel of St. Anthony. The existing list of benefactors, however, was compiled in the sixteenth century "by men who were not great scholars."<sup>3</sup> The date 1526 occurs on one of the first pages of the MS. volume in which the list of benefactors appears. The volume consists of twenty-one leaves and is entitled the *Rentale Buke of Sanct Anthoni's and Newhavin*. It refers mainly to the reorganisation of St. Anthony's in the beginning of the sixteenth century and to the forms of services and prayers to be employed, concluding with a list of benefactors and obituary and the rentals of St. Anthony's.

The explicit recital contained in the mandate of Eugenius IV. outweighs the evidence favourable to the supposition that Sir Robert Logan founded St. Anthony's.<sup>4</sup> The weight of evidence credits the foundation of the House to King James the First, in whose reign the religious and charitable life of Scotland was also stimulated and strengthened by schemes such as the great Carthusian monastery at Perth and the settlement of the Grey Friars in Edinburgh.

That the House was of some magnitude is indicated by the number of buildings mentioned in the mandate, and these, the "church, hospital, cloisters, dormitories, refectories and other necessary offices," would

<sup>1</sup> Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, p. 258, gives "James I., parl. 7. c., 106. A.D. 1427."

<sup>2</sup> The offer was renounced on the 18th March, 1445; referred to in text.

<sup>3</sup> Russell's *The Story of Leith*, p. 106. Dalryell's *Scottish Antiquities* considers the oldest portion of the MS. to be probably fifteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> There is a possibility that Sir Robert Logan was concerned with the necessary grant of land on which St. Anthony's was built. Such a supposition would tend to reconcile the conflicting evidence.

in all probability conform in plan<sup>1</sup> to similar religious institutions. The church contained at least five altars,<sup>2</sup> four of which were founded by private donors; the other, the High Altar, was dedicated to St. Anthony. There is a reference<sup>3</sup> to a north aisle in the church, and in accounts of the siege of Leith mention is made of the church tower and steeple.

There appears to be no record of Michael Gray before he became preceptor-general and procurator of St. Anthony's. As procurator he was "specially deputed" by the Lord Abbot of Vienne, and from the same source came his appointment as preceptor-general, by which title he was subsequently recognised by Rome on his succession to St. Anthony's on the death of John Steele, his predecessor.<sup>4</sup>

The term preceptor-general was proper to Michael Gray as head of the Order in the country, but, as St. Anthony's, Leith, was the only place of its kind in the realm, the title would almost seem to imply that an extension of the Augustinian Order of St. Anthony was anticipated in Scotland.

The first document in which Michael Gray is mentioned would also appear to be the earliest existing document concerning the House. It is an instruction occasioned by a petition from the parent establishment at Vienne supporting a petition from the officials at Leith. Only thirty-two days intervened between it and the mandate concerning the appropriation of the church of Liston, both documents being the result of a plea for financial assistance.<sup>5</sup>

The document is dated 6th January, 1443, and reads as follows<sup>6</sup>:—

"To the bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow and Brechin. Mandate.

(seeing that pope John XXII. forbade all, except canons of the Augustinian monastery of St. Anthony, in the diocese of Vienne, having faculty from the abbot thereof, to ask or receive in the name of the said Saint, under pretext of any oratory or altar dedicated to him, alms, offerings or legacies, etc.; and seeing that, as the recent petition of the said abbot and convent and of Michael Gray, preceptor of the Augustinian house of St. Anthony, Leith, in the diocese of St. Andrews, contained, the brethren of the houses of Donde and Aberdeen, in the dioceses of Brechin and Aberdeen, and George Cambel, sheriff of Are, and Patrick Elphinsten, priest, of the said diocese of St. Andrews, and a number of others, clerks and laymen, of the realm of Scotland, on account of certain churches, chapels, oratories etc. of theirs, dedicated to St. Anthony, in the name of the said Saint ask and receive alms, alike in person

<sup>1</sup> Chapter x. of Russell's *The Story of Leith* deals with St. Anthony's and gives a possible arrangement of the buildings and grounds.

<sup>2</sup> The Altar of Our Lady, the Magdalene Altar, St. Catherine's Altar and St. Saviour's Altar, referred to in text.

<sup>3</sup> Charter by Lord Crichton, May, 1448, referred to in text.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of Papal Registers*, vol. ix. p. 571.

<sup>5</sup> Both documents may have resulted from the same petition.

<sup>6</sup> *Calendar of Papal Registers*, vol. ix. p. 412.

and by others, even laymen, and place boxes for the reception of such alms and make collections in the said churches, etc., against the said pope's letters) not to permit the said abbot and convent and preceptor to be interfered with by the said brethren, sheriff and priest, or any others, against the said pope's letters, and otherwise to execute the said letters against the said brethren, sheriff, priest and others, proceeding by ecclesiastical censure, and invoking the aid of the secular arm, etc."

Any effect that the mandate may have had was certainly not lasting, as fraudulent collection and misappropriation of funds was the cause of subsequent complaints.<sup>1</sup>

The next known<sup>2</sup> document concerning St. Anthony's is dated 27th February, 1444, and states that "frere" Michael Gray, master of the hospital of St. Anthony beside Leith, and brethren John Crawmonde<sup>3</sup> or Drowmonde,<sup>4</sup> William Logan, Robert Steel and Gilbert Gray, brethren of the House, undertake that a mass shall be said each day for "Wilyam of Clunes" and "Jonete" his wife, family and descendants, for ever. Wilyam and Jonete to freely give to God and St. Anthony their tenement and land in Leith. By the agreement of the bond, Wilyam and Jonete, if it pleases each or both of them, can stay in St. Anthony's or "gif it likis nocht to the saide Wilyam and Jonete to haue sic liffyng in our saide hospitale," they may return to enjoy the use of their tenement and land. With certain small reservations the document is concluded and sealed with the common seal of St. Anthony's. "For William of Clunes and Jonat his spous" is an entry in the list of benefactors. Against their names in the obituary is the date 1452.

Dated the 18th March, 1445, is a document<sup>5</sup> concerning the parish church of Liston, the appropriation of which was ordered by the Pope in his mandate of 8th February, 1443. The annexation of the church would no doubt appear to Michael Gray to be at first a gratifying result to his appeal for help. Liston, however, was in the diocese of St. Andrews and the assertion that the chapter of St. Andrews, because of prior right, claimed the benefits of Liston and, despite the Pope's instructions, probably appealing against the decision, would not concede the benefits to St. Anthony's, is probably correct.<sup>6</sup> The document of 1445 is a deed

<sup>1</sup> Various historians record that begging "Anthonian" Friars threatened to curse with the "Sacred Fire" those who refused to give.

<sup>2</sup> Irons' *Leith and its Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 542.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Reliquiae Antiquae Scotiae*, etc., p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Irons' *Leith and its Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 543. MS. in National Library. In "Notes on St. Anthony's Chapel," p. 226 of vol. xxx of the *Proceedings*, 1895-96, Coles states that the document of 18th March, 1445, was the earliest authentic document available to him. He writes "in connection with South Leith, where, as is well known, a Preceptory of the Knights of St. John was dedicated to Saint Anthony."

<sup>6</sup> Gordon's *Monasticon*, p. 286, referring to Liston, states "A great strife was carried on between the Canons of Leith and the Chapter of St. Andrews thereanent; for being a Mensal Church, it could not have been granted without the consent of the Chapter."

of renunciation in which Michael Gray and the brethren of the House, with the consent of the Lord Abbot and chapter of Vienne, "for certain and evident causes," renounce the union and annexation of the parish church of Liston. The deed for "greater evidence" was sealed with the common seal of St. Anthony's, in the chapter of the cathedral church of St. Andrews.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the list of benefactors contains the entry "For Master Johne Gray,<sup>1</sup> parson of Lifton," although the particular reason for the entry is unknown.

The parish church of Hailes had come into the possession of St. Anthony's.<sup>2</sup> The grant was made in 1445 by James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews; evidently as an alternative endowment to the previously renounced benefits of the church of Liston. Until its abandonment, the House retained the proceeds of the new offer and these formed part of the funds transferred by James VI. to the hospital which subsequently supplanted St. Anthony's. Confirmation concerning the appropriation of Hailes is contained in a Mandate of 17th August, 1446, a translation of which reads:<sup>3</sup> "To the abbot of Inchcolm (Sancti Columbe de Emonia) in the diocese of Dunkeld. Mandate to confirm, after enquiry, the appropriation made by James, bishop of St. Andrews, by consent of the chapter, with reservation of a yearly pension for a perpetual vicar of 14 marks of the money of Scotland and an honest mansio of the parish of Hailes (de Halis) in the diocese of St. Andrews, value, including the said pension, not exceeding 20 l. sterling"—"to appropriate it anew to the preceptor and friars of the Augustinian house of St. Anthony near the town of Leith in the said diocese, value not exceeding 10 l. sterling, the building of which, as they allege, is not yet completed, and which is insufficiently endowed for the religious who dwell, and for the works which have to be completed there."

In the year 1446 Michael Gray attended a meeting of the general chapter of the Order at Vienne and sought advice concerning the unsatisfactory conditions existing in the House at Leith. A charter<sup>4</sup> of 1st June, 1446, by Humbert, the abbot of the monastery at Vienne, records the complaints made by Michael Gray and gives the decisions of the chapter. The complaints were that certain friars and canons

<sup>1</sup> John Gray, a priest by special dispensation, master in arts and medicine (of St. Andrews?), archdeacon of Whiteherne, canon of Glasgow, Le Mans, Orleans, and St. Martins, Tours. Resigned these to become rector of Liston. Was ambassador of Charles VII. of France to Pope Martin V. *Calendar of Papal Registers*, vol. vii. pp. 381 and 399.

<sup>2</sup> Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. iv. p. 769, footnote (f) quotes MS. The Hailes referred to is now Colinton, Midlothian; not Hailes, East Lothian.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of Papal Registers*, vol. ix. p. 567.

<sup>4</sup> Irons' *Leith and its Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 543. The charter referred to in Spotiswood's *Religious Houses*.

of St. Anthony's at Leith were ignorant of the statutes and customs of the Order and fomented scandal, discord and strife, withdrew obedience from their superiors and received the revenues and profits of the monastery. Amongst other decisions the document states: "Nor has it been deemed wise that any preceptor of any house elsewhere with his cloistered canons should have a common seal; so that whatever is acquired and received in any house should be acquired and received in the name of the preceptor,"—a rule "kept hitherto unbroken throughout the whole order,"—"no one may receive or appropriate (unless the preceptor only that has the oversight, management and care of the rest) any rents incomes offerings or other emoluments, etc." The charter also contains that "in this religious order there should be one only monastery set up as the head of the order on which the rest of its churches, houses and preceptories should be recognised to depend as a stream on its source."

One month later, in confirmation of the charter of Humbert of Vienne, a mandate<sup>1</sup> was sent from St. Peter's, Rome, affirming Michael Gray in his position as preceptor-general with the sole right to receive all monies collected in the realm in the name of the Saint.

The common seal of the House at Leith continued to be used, the term monastery appears on documents only two years after the charter of Humbert, and the injunction that only Michael Gray was entitled to receive funds collected in the name of St. Anthony appears to have been no more successful than the mandate issued three years previously.

"Sir Michael Gray preceptor of the monastery of St. Anthony's of Leith," was one of the witnesses to a charter<sup>2</sup> of 3rd January, 1448, in which Sir John of Wyntoun, rector of the parish church of Penicuik, with consent of Sir John Logan of "Lestalrig," sold to Mr John Gray, rector of Kirkliston, one annual rent of 40s. of a tenement in Leith.

Lord Crichton, Chancellor of Scotland, and Michael Gray were the contracting parties in a document<sup>3</sup> of 16th May, 1448. Lord Crichton gave to St. Anthony's his lands lying on the east side of the Water of Leith. A chaplain, for whom a "sufficient chamber within the territory and manor house of St. Anthony" was to be provided, was to celebrate mass daily at the altar of Our Lady in the north aisle of the church for the souls of James King of Scots, Lord Crichton and his wife and their ancestors and successors. The right of appointing the chaplain was to belong to Lord Crichton and his heirs. Bread, wine, candles and all things necessary were to be provided by the preceptor. Should the chaplain fail in his duties he was to be punished by the Lord Bishop

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Papal Registers*, vol. ix. p. 570.

<sup>2</sup> *Irons' Leith and its Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 546.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 545.

of St. Andrews or by the Archdeacon of Lothian. In vestments befitting the honour of St. Anthony's, the chaplain was to walk in procession on Sundays and festivals along with the other officials of the House. If Lord Crichton or his heirs were to acquire an acre of the lands of Pilrig, on the south side of St. Anthony's and extending to the King's highway, the preceptor or his successors were to build on that acre an "hospital with six beds for the poor of Christ to be therein housed for the souls' weal of the foresaid Lord the King and the said Lord Crichton." The charter contains a reservation that, if all the conditions are not fulfilled, the benefaction will be transferred to "the parish church of Crichton or collegiate church to be there founded under God's guidance."<sup>1</sup> Lord Crichton undertook that he and his heirs, so long as the chaplainry remained at St. Anthony's, "shall maintain the said preceptor in all his righteous contests that concern the privileges of the said Hospital," and the common seal of the "said preceptor and monastery" was affixed to the document.

The contract between Lord Crichton and Michael Gray was confirmed by crown charter,<sup>2</sup> dated 29th September, 1451.

When Mary of Guildres arrived in Scotland on the 18th June, 1449, to be the bride of King James the Second, the first house she entered was St. Anthony's, Leith.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that she was accompanied to Scotland by Lord Crichton, who had, scarcely a year before, contributed to the funds of the House.

The 8th of August, 1451, is the date of a document<sup>4</sup> by which Wm. of Libertoun, for fee and heritage, gave to John Gray, rector of Kirkliston, a tenement and garden in Leith, "which tenement with garden hereditably belonged to Sir Michael Gray, master of House of St. Anthony and which the said Sir Michael Gray resigned for the good of the House and Church of St. Anthony." The document, however, does not state in what manner St. Anthony's benefited by the transference of property from Sir Michael Gray to Wm. of Libertoun.

Sir Michael Gray and John Gray were again associated in charters<sup>5</sup> in which the latter granted land for the founding of the chaplainry of St. Kentigern in the church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, on the 1st September, 1451—Sir Michael Gray being a witness. These appear to be the final

<sup>1</sup> Item 55 of the Royal Commission's *Inventory of Ancient Monuments in Midlothian* gives a reference to the parish church and College of Crichton on the 16th May, 1448; the same date as Lord Crichton made the benefaction, with its stipulation concerning Crichton Church, to St. Anthony's.

<sup>2</sup> Irons' *Leith and its Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 547.

<sup>3</sup> *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 382.

<sup>4</sup> Irons' *Leith and its Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 547.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 546.

documents in which the first known preceptor of St. Anthony's was personally concerned.

The House had become superior of lands, and the title "Sir" was probably adopted by the "cleric" in charge on account of the importance of his benefice.

The death of Michael Gray is unrecorded nor does his name appear in the list of benefactors.

Little information is obtainable concerning the House or its officials during the latter half of the fifteenth century.

On the 15th March, 1470, a Crown charter<sup>1</sup> of confirmation was granted to Thomas Lindesay of Leith, confirming that by charter from Sir Michael Gray and the brethren of the hospital, a certain land and its pertinents were held by him in fee and heritage.

Thomas Turing of Edinburgh gave certain lands "for the maintenance of one chaplain or chaplains fit sufficient and well instructed in plain chant reading and literature and of good morals," to celebrate at the altar of St. Saviour's in the church of St. Anthony's. The charter of Thomas Turing was confirmed<sup>2</sup> on the 26th March, 1478, and also on the 17th January, 1488.

In the year 1482, Sir Alexander Haliday, preceptor of St. Anthony's, appeared before the auditors in Parliament concerning the church of Hailes.<sup>3</sup>

A charter<sup>4</sup> of 15th December, 1491, by Elizabeth Lauder, granted to St. Anthony's an annual rent of four shillings Scots to be uplifted from land under the castle wall in the Burgh of Edinburgh.

William of Myrtoune, preceptor of the "Preceptory of St. Anthony's," was constituted procurator in a document<sup>5</sup> dated the 9th February, 1492, from the Lord Abbot-general for the Province of Scotland, then at Rome. He was instructed to "recall seek exact and procure effects houses mansions possessions rents lands chalices books, jewels, vestments, utensils and dwellings, gold, silver, coined and uncoined and other goods" which by right ought to have pertained to St. Anthony's but had been sold or alienated. He was also instructed to cause "to be taken all beggars whatever falsely wearing the habit of St. Anthony and without orders and due letters persuming to beg"; secular law to be invoked for this purpose. The document further confirmed his powers and rights, including the granting of indulgences and the contesting of lawsuits, with power to co-opt one or several procurators. That at least one such appointment was made is evidenced by an entry

<sup>1</sup> Irons' *Leith and its Antiquities*, p. 552.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 550 and 552.

<sup>3</sup> Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. iv. p. 769, gives Parl. Rec. 288.

<sup>4</sup> Irons' *Leith and its Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 552.

in the list of benefactors "For Johne Curig (or Curry) procurator of Saint Anthony's," whose death, in April, 1513, is recorded in the obituary.

Dated the 19th February, 1492, is a document<sup>1</sup> instructing the officials at Leith to observe the vows of the Order; poverty, chastity and obedience. Celebrations to St. Anthony were to accord with dates observed by the Church of Rome. The infirm were to be attended to and charity and humility were to be achieved by fasting. Flesh was forbidden during certain periods. The preceptor was to be obeyed as head of the preceptory which was subordinate to the abbey of St. Anthony of Vienne. To the preceptor or his nominee powers were granted concerning confession, absolution and excommunication. No friar was to leave the vicinity of the House without permission of the preceptor or senior friar. The House was exempt from the general rulings of dignitaries unconnected with the Order and the outer garment to be worn was a black mantel exhibiting a "Thau" cross.

Sir John Logan of Restalrig, on the 19th January, 1496, gave to Sir Henry Sibbald, preceptor of the hospital of St. Anthony, certain rights of a tenement in Leith. The charter was confirmed<sup>2</sup> on the 10th February, 1505.

Sir Alexander Crawford was preceptor in 1510, and on the 13th May of that year, John Bertoun resigned "his four mark annual rent quhilk he haldis of the place Sanct Anthonis."<sup>3</sup> "For the quhilk the said maister and preceptour of Sanct Anthonis and his convent" were to transfer to "Johnne of Bertoun" certain other annual rents possessed by St. Anthony's, and the rights of which the preceptor undertook to defend; excepting fraud or guile. It was also stipulated that the preceptor "sall releif and freich the said Johne of the five schillingis of annuale aucht to Sanct Katrinis altar." One of the witnesses to the agreement was "Sir Richard Thomsoun, monk of the said place of St. Anthony," a personage specially favoured by a subsequent Bull of Pope Leo X.

A curious document,<sup>4</sup> granted to St. Anthony's under the Royal Seal and dated at Edinburgh the 31st August, 1511, reads: "A lettre maid of Respitt to William Or, Jhone Or, Robert Or and Malcolm Or, for art and part of the slauchter of Archibald Atkin committat at the Kirk of the Larges or nere thairby, and all uthur slauchteris committat thair at that tyme, and for all action that may be imput to thaim thairthrow alanerly: To be unhurt for the space of xiii zeris nixt tocum, etc."

<sup>1</sup> *Reliquiae Antiquae Scotiae*, etc., p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Irons' *Leith and its Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 555.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Chapter xvii. of Russell's *The Story of Leith* concerns "The Fighting Bartons," noted mariners of Leith.

<sup>4</sup> *Reg. Sec. Sig. Regum Scot.*, vol. i., 1488-1529, Item 2298.

In a Bull,<sup>1</sup> given at St. Peter's, Rome, on the 3rd August, 1513, Leo X. "to his beloved son Richard Thomson canon of the house of St. Anthony near Leith of the order of St. Augustine," "send greetings and apostolic benediction—your zeal and religion your good life and morals and other praiseworthy deserts of probity and virtue for which you are commended to us as worthy of trust by many testimonies induce us favourably to grant to you such benefits as we see will be advantageous to your interests." The Bull was the result of a petition from Richard Thomson whose plea is referred to as "your petition lately shewn to us on your behalf." According to the decree by Leo X., Richard Thomson for "certain good reasons" was appointed sacristan by Alexander Crawford and was given a chamber and garden within the precincts of the House and an annual pension of fifty merks "for the discharge of the duties." The petition also stated that the justice of the appointment with its reservations had been questioned by "some." By the Bull, the petitioner was absolved from "whatever sentences of excommunication suspension and interdict and any other ecclesiastical censures and penalties" in which he might have been involved in endeavouring to obtain the benefits, promised or expected, from the office of sacristan. Should the pension remain unpaid "then the preceptory shall for that very reason be judged to remain vacant." The officials at Leith were threatened with excommunication, and infringement of the decree would incur the "indignation of Almighty God and the blessed apostles Peter and Paul." Certain parts of the document would seem to imply that Alexander Crawford was not the preceptor at St. Anthony's, Leith, during the period concerned, although he "and the convent of the house" appointed Richard Thomson to the position of sacristan.

In 1514<sup>2</sup> Alexander Crawford was almoner to the Queen, and in the list of benefactors he is recorded as "Dene Alexander Crawford, preceptor of St. Anthon's."

Any benefits Richard Thomson might have secured were of short duration, as one of the many plagues which afflicted Leith made the continuance of any payments impossible. In a letter<sup>3</sup> to the Lord Abbot-general of the Order, Alexander "Craufurde" writes: "Pestilence that immediately proves fatal has" "cut off the friars of our order and two only, myself and another, survive, who have saved our lives by removing to a distance." "A year of pestilence has gone through the midst of our friars and has snatched from us the servants of God to such an extent that religion has here almost perished, and our house

<sup>1</sup> Irons' *Leith and its Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 557.

<sup>2</sup> *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vol. xiv. p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Irons' *Leith and its Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 559.

of St. Anthony lies empty." "The same plague has left us no possessions, for whatever property belonged to the house or to the friars has been either tainted by contagion of the plague or been removed by theft when there was no person left in charge; furthermore our estates in the town are deprived of their tenants and our lands in the country of farmers." The Lord Abbot-general was asked to depute the abbot of Inchcolm and also the archdeacon of the Lothian to nominate "conservators of the privileges of our order with power of censures. Otherwise, this house of St. Anthony, which is now infirm and suffers from extreme want, will wholly collapse and be annihilated." Powers were sought to admit "novices as brothers in place of the deceased as that the worship of God which has been interrupted may if possible be resumed." That St. Anthony's, Leith, had been regularly represented at the meetings of the general chapter of the Order is evidenced by Alexander Crawford requesting "absolution for the departed and for ourselves in consequence of not having visited the general chapter during the year of the plague, and we request to be dispensed from attending it for the next three years on account of the poverty and fewness of the friars."

The losses incurred by the House would seem to have been confined to portable property as sometime subsequent to the plague the House possessed about forty annuals or rents in Leith and Restalrig, and also property in Edinburgh, Musselburgh and Ayr, but whether or not these were retained because of the appointment of "conservators of the privileges" is unrecorded. The request for such conservators would, however, seem to be conclusive that Alexander Crawford, because of the loss of documents and records during the plague, anticipated difficulty in asserting the rights of the House to the various rents and properties given by previous benefactors. The existing list of benefactors strengthens the conclusion that the documents of the House were stolen or destroyed. The entries in the list, according to known documents and to the obituary, are not in chronological sequence, either as regards the dates of the benefactions or the deaths of the donors. The absence of chronological recording suggests that from whatever source the list was compiled it was not copied from any original list previously used in the services of the House.

The sacristan was the other official who saved his life "by removing to a distance" and appears in the next known document<sup>1</sup> concerning the House as "a venerable and religious man Sir Richard Thomson preceptor of the house of the hospital of St. Anthony," who, "by giving and delivering a penny," "at the instance and request of an honest man John Innes," and his wife, transferred an annual rent of four merks

<sup>1</sup> Irons' *Leith and its Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 560.

from a certain land in Leith. The instrument of sasine is dated 5th December, 1519, and sealed with the common seal.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to other revenues, St. Anthony's received a proportion of all wine imported at Leith.<sup>2</sup> The wine trade was the monopoly of the Edinburgh vintners whose patron saint was St. Anthony, and it may have been from the "confraternity of Sanct Anthone," as the Edinburgh vintners are apparently referred to in a document<sup>3</sup> of 18th October, 1520, that the House became indebted for the additional revenue. The document was designed to further safeguard the privileges of the Edinburgh monopoly "vnder the pane contenit in the auld actis of Sanct Anthone."

Apparently the House also received contributions on behalf of St. Anthony's Altar from the tailors of Leith.<sup>4</sup>

The 14th November, 1523, is the date of an instrument of sasine given by Sir Richard Thomson to Elizabeth Lawson, concerning property fallen and ruinous, belonging of old to John Lawson.<sup>5</sup>

An annual rent of ten shillings Scots, from land in Leith, was resigned by John Mathieson to the preceptor of St. Anthony's. The date, however, is missing from the relative document.<sup>6</sup>

Sometime before 1526, the membership of the "Confraternity of the Abbey of St. Anthony's" included brethren and sisters.<sup>7</sup> The formation of the new organisation appears to have been subsequent to Alexander Crawford's plea for help and may have resulted from that appeal. The expansion of membership, in addition to being an accession of spiritual strength, provided extra financial assistance and permitted the extension of the charitable aims of the organisation. Those who became members did so "from love of God, the blessed Virgin and the Blessed Anthony." They were "bound by an oath of fidelity to the order, so that they should never know or hear any evil thing to reveal it, but should keep inviolable all secrets revealed to them." By vow the members were bound to pray for each other. They were to give in charity and were expected to bequeath "anything for prayers to be offered for them" to the House. The reward of membership included a thousand years' indulgence and all advantages of the Church of Rome.

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated in Gordon's *Monasticon*, p. 280. In Laing's *Scottish Seals*, etc. the name "John Jones" is given as that of the contracting party.

<sup>2</sup> Irons' *Leith and its Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 36. The impost "a Scottish quart of wine out of every tun received into the port of Leith" was commuted into a money payment and collected by the Kirk Session of South Leith after the Reformation. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 201. *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 121, 127, 142 and 259, refer to the vintners of Edinburgh and the payment of duty to St. Anthony's Altar, probably that at St. Giles.

<sup>4</sup> Russell's *The Story of Leith*, p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> Irons' *Leith and its Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 35. "John Lawson, sea captain and pirate"; Russell's *The Story of Leith*, p. 111.

<sup>6</sup> Irons' *Leith and its Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> Roger's *St. Anthony's*; excerpts from the *Rentale Buke of Sanct Anthoni's and Newhavin*.

The confraternity received powers from the Pope to elect a fit confessor of any order, secular or otherwise. In 1526, Richard Thomson was the elected confessor who had "displayed zeal for our religion in so much as he has contributed of his goods as is permitted to the support of our House, and that he is deservedly enrolled as a member of our community." The elected confessor was empowered by the Pope to grant absolution, to exhort to repentance and salutary vows and engage in other pious works. "The brethren themselves, unless excommunicated by name, or public usurers," were empowered to perform religious duties connected with burial rites.

In addition to the stately prayers of the office of the confraternity, there is preserved the form of absolution used by the confessor, and also prayers associated with the blessing of "salt and water, so that, when the animals which Thou hast freely given to human need, shall receive of the same or be sprinkled therewith, this blessing and consecration may restore them to soundness."

There are few known references to St. Anthony's subsequent to the time of "Dene Richard Thomson," as he is styled in the list of benefactors.

On 6th October, 1534, the Provost and Town Council of Edinburgh granted to "Sir Daud Lausoun" the chaplainry of the Magdalene Altar in St. Anthony's Kirk, vacant in their hands by the death of "vmquhill Sir Jhonne Henrisoun," the previous chaplain.<sup>1</sup>

In Bagimont's Roll in the reign of James V., St. Anthony's was taxed at £6, 13s. 4d.; the income at the Reformation was valued at £211, 15s. 6d.<sup>2</sup>

During Hertford's invasion of 1544 it is recorded that on the 15th May he lifted his camp out of the town of Leith and burnt it to the ground.<sup>3</sup> The amount of any damage then inflicted on St. Anthony's, near Leith, is, however, a matter of speculation, nor is it known how the House fared during the invasion of 1547.

Sir Michael Disert<sup>4</sup> was preceptor in 1542, and in 1552 Matthew Forrester, as preceptor of St. Anthony's, was granted by the magistrates of Edinburgh an annual rent of five marks out of a tenement at Bass Wynd.<sup>5</sup>

The religious activities of the Augustinian Order of St. Anthony in Scotland did not survive the Reformation, but the charitable aims of the organisation were continued in a modified manner by the King James's (the VI) Hospital, the funds for which came from the rents previously held by the House of St. Anthony. A relic of this still remains, and consists of small allowances granted to some of the aged poor of Leith.

<sup>1</sup> *Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Roger's St. Anthony's*, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Irons' Leith and its Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* In 1567, Matthew Forrester is styled the "prebender" of St. Anthony's and grants lands on the hospital banks to the mariners of Leith.

In accounts of the siege of Leith in 1560 it is stated that the French defenders placed artillery on the tower of St. Anthony's, the steeple of which was shot down. Writing on the 17th May, 1560, the Queen Dowager informed D'Oysel, the French commander, that "I have notice that besides their mine at the Citadel, the English are making another at St. Anthony, more secret and known to few Scots." "There are 140 men working in it." There appear to be no means of determining the havoc the mine may have caused or if it was successfully countered. An intercepted letter sent from Edinburgh Castle and intended for D'Oysel inquires: "We greatly desire to know how long you are provisioned, and as the bearer may not have means to return, it may please you cause a token to be made thus: If to the 15th July, light a fire on St. Anthony's church; if till end of this month, light one on the Citadel; if for but between both, or less time than the 15th, then make 2 fires. If you must to it perforce, then make 3 fires all at once, and that they might be seen from hence, continue them half an hour about midnight."<sup>1</sup>

Like many other mediæval churches, the structure would, no doubt, be ultimately utilised as material for other buildings, and in 1596 the ground where the kirk of the preceptory of St. Anthony stood is referred to.<sup>2</sup>

In 1842, a door lintel, containing in Gothic lettering the words "Jhesu Maria," with a moulded niche above, was removed from a house at 129 Kirkgate, Leith, and this would appear to be one of the last recognisable vestiges of St. Anthony's to be removed from the site.<sup>3</sup> A portion of a built-up arch, considered to have been formerly part of the House, was demolished in the latter part of last century.

The inscriptions of three of the Seals of the House are recorded thus:—

Sigillum commune Capituli Sancti Anthonii prope Leith.<sup>4</sup>

S. Comune Domi Sci Anthonii ppe. Leith.<sup>5</sup>

S. Comune Preceptorie Sancti Anthonii prope Leicht.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, vol. i. pp. 410 and 426.

<sup>2</sup> Irons' *Leith and its Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 38. Gordon's *Monasticon*, p. 285, gives a reference to payments to a reader at Hailles, in 1576, out of the revenues of St. Anthony's and also to a reader at Leith.

<sup>3</sup> *The Sculptured Stones of Leith*, D. H. Robertson, p. 122, plate v.

<sup>4</sup> Spotiswood's *Religious Houses*, p. 241.

<sup>5</sup> Gordon's *Monasticon*, p. 280. Laing's *Descriptive Catalogue of Impressions from Ancient Scottish Seals*, No. 1122. The seal belongs to a document of 1519.

<sup>6</sup> The brass matrix is in the "National Museum." Birch's *History of Scottish Seals*, vol. ii. p. 243, illustrates a similar seal the brass matrix of which, considered to be apparently "thirteenth century," is stated to be in the Department of Mediæval Art in the British Museum, *ibid.*, p. 99.