ABSTRACT

THE LAST ABBEY: CROSSRAGUEL ABBEY AND THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION

by Kristin O'Neill Osborne

Crossraguel Abbey, located in rural southwest Scotland, was one of the last remaining monasteries following the Reformation. Its story of survival past years of religious turmoil reveals a nuanced and complicated reaction to the Scottish Reformation, which stemmed from noble protection and devout faith in Catholicism. The community benefited from a very close relationship with the Kennedy family, who were the Earls of Cassillis and wealthy landowners. This community still possessed spiritual and financial power in their region despite years of monastic degradation across Scotland. This influence afforded them the privilege to work closely with the Kennedys to ensure their survival. It was the Kennedy family's protection that enabled the abbot, Quintin Kennedy, to mount a resistance to Protestantism beginning in 1558. This resistance came through publications and debates launched by the abbot and later through a continuation of Catholic traditions by the monks. The intrinsic interest in Catholicism that existed throughout the community confirms that the Reformation was a slow and often messy process. This thesis shows how a Catholic community relied on lay protection, resisted the reformed religion, and reacted to the end of a long tradition whilst securing its place in an increasingly Protestant landscape.

THE LAST ABBEY: CROSSRGAUEL ABBEY AND THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION

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Dedication

To my family, who always pushed me to follow my passion for the past.

Acknowledgments

I would like to take the time to thank everyone who made this thesis possible. This project was the first time I experienced a true love and respect for an extended project. Crossraguel Abbey represents so much of what I love about the past and I hope to have done its story justice. The site manager at the abbey, Paul, proved to me that this was the right project to take on. His enthusiasm for the site instilled vigor in my writing and a need to bring this story to scholarly attention. It is a rare pleasure to engage with someone who shares your passion for a place.

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My pets listened to every bad idea and long lecture before anyone else. Hazel, Tanker, and Cain deserve an entire book on their addition to this project, but a paragraph must suffice.

No one completes graduate school without the help of their friends. The people I met at Miami University proved to be some of the greatest people on earth. Danialle Stebbins pushed me to think critically and I know count her among my greatest friends. Zinaida Osipova became my fellow feminist cat lady and a true friend. Ed Strong proved to be greatest fellow nerd I had ever met. Connor Gahre never let a good joke pass and always brightened dull days at the office. Louis Grün found the humor and levity in every situation and taught us never to take ourselves too seriously. Lastly, I want to thank my incredible partner, Tristan DiCesare, for believing in me, supporting me, and offering valuable feedback on multiple drafts. He and his dogs were my cheerleaders through multiple episodes of doubt.

Introduction: The Bare Ruined Choir

The gatehouse at Crossraguel Abbey is tall and requires concentration to climb the circular staircase to what, you hope, will be a magnificent view.[1] There are several levels to this building, and as you climb, you are greeted with multiple rooms just off the landing. These spaces are empty, save the massive hearths which kept abbots warm on frigid Scottish nights. The bare rooms are haunting and conjure images of black-clothed monks sweeping through their expanse. Still, you are met with an even eerier view when you emerge atop the gatehouse. The air is crisp, and the fog turned to rain in perfect Scottish fashion. Yet, you pause and look down on the abbey church, which sits unroofed and barren below. There is a single cross standing atop its massive peak, the only hint as to its former use.[2] Behind this peak, you can make out the high altar and choir where those black-clothed monks spent hours upon hours worshipping.[3] Today, upon that tower, you are not met with glittering gold saints or a chorus of monks, but rather grey and green moss-covered stone that entombs the bare ruined choir.

Crossraguel Abbey offers visitors who venture into rural southern Ayrshire, a meditation on the destructive power that history possesses.[4] The ruined, but still imposing space sits just outside the small village of Maybole along a busy rural highway. Despite the arrested decay that visitors are met with, Crossraguel Abbey is the most complete set of monastic ruins left in Scotland. This unique classification has enchanted antiquarians, historians, and tourists for two centuries, because of the unparalleled feeling of atrophy in this space. The chapter house still boasts an abbot's chair, vaulted ceilings, and intricate windows.[5] The cloister still feels like a silent enclosed courtyard. The completeness of the space is a product of its suppression in 1617, which is later than any other monastery in Scotland. How did this unremarkable abbey survive years of religious turmoil, iconoclastic reformers, and ultimately complete isolation from Catholic tradition?

The story of Crossraguel Abbey's survival reveals a nuanced and complicated reaction to the Scottish Reformation, which stemmed from noble protection and devout faith in Catholicism. The community benefited from an incredibly close relationship with the Kennedy Family, who

[1] For the gatehouse, see Appendix II: Figure 2.
[2] For the single cross see Figure 7.
[3] For the high altar, see Figure 4 and 8.
[4] Southern Ayrshire is defined as the region of Carrick.
[5] For the Abbot's chair, see Figure 5.

were the Earls of Cassillis.[6] Both the abbey and the family profited from their connection. It was their influence and protection that enabled the abbot, Quintin Kennedy, to mount a resistance to Protestantism beginning in 1558 and the monks to persist in their Catholic beliefs long after. This resistance came through publications and debates from the abbot and the later persistence through a continuation of Catholic traditions by the monks. The intrinsic interest in Catholicism that existed within the community reinforces that the Reformation was a slow and often messy process. This thesis will show that a Catholic community in turmoil turned to their aristocratic patrons for protection, which in turn allowed its abbot to mount a resistance while he fostered persistence among his community.

The History of Crossraguel Abbey

In 1244, the Earl of Carrick donated funds and lands to the Cluniac abbey of Paisley for them to establish a monastic cell in his earldom. The monks of Paisley, however, never established a full institution on the lands, but instead built a small chapel, and pocketed the rest of the money. The Earl's successor took this matter to court, where the Bishop of Glasgow sided in favor of the Earl. He commanded Paisley to build a monastery at Crossraguel and supply monks from their own population. Thus, Crossraguel Abbey became the third and final Cluniac institution in Scotland.[7] The Bishop gave the new monastery the power to elect their own abbot, rather than have Paisley control it directly. Paisley Abbey only retained the right of visitation once a year and an annual tribute of ten marks.[8] These legal decisions effectively made Crossraguel Abbey an independent institution.

There is little agreement among sources on what precisely the name references. The best guess is that it stems from the prayer cross of St Raighail, which may have stood at the site

[6] For a family history, see Robert Pitcairn, *Historical and Genealogical Account of the Principal Families of the Name of Kennedy From an Original Seventeenth Century MS,* (Edinburgh: William Tait and John Stevenson, 1830).

[7] There is little agreement on the proper spelling in the sources, with ways such as Crosragwell, Crosragmol, Cros-raguell, and Crosraguel appearing throughout its eight-hundred-year history. Despite the divide among sources, this thesis will use the modernly accepted spelling of "Crossraguel," which Historic Environment Scotland uses in an official capacity.

[8] Richard Lawson, *Crossraguel Abbey: A History and a Description* (J. and R. Parlane: Paisley, 1883), 16-18.

during the early Middle Ages.[9] The location of the abbey gave it extensive rights throughout the region. By 1404, it owned five out of eight churches in Carrick, with each parish required to send the abbey a teind of corn.[10] The abbey also possessed extensive fishing rights in the Water of Girvan, rights to coal deposits, and grazing areas for sheep.[11] In 1404, Robert III of Scotland gave the abbey a charter that made it a regality, which gave the abbot jurisdictional power over its possessions. Effectively the Abbot of Crossraguel was the most important person in Carrick.[12] The abbey never grew to great prominence or wealth on the national scale, however. It maintained a steady population of about ten monks and had an annual income of around £1800, which was less than a third of Paisley's income.[13] This relative poverty ensured that the heads of this religious house were never involved in politics on a larger scale. The abbey was important regionally but less so in the vast monastic landscape of Scotland. Despite its financial state, Crossraguel maintained a reputation of piety and discipline. It was one of the few houses exempt from the Archbishop of St Andrews' 1515 visit to every monastery in Scotland, [14] as David Chalmer, Abbot of Crossraguel, obtained a dispensation from the inspection, suggesting the abbey's good discipline.[15]

The Monastic Tradition and Context

Crossraguel Abbey held steadfast to its Cluniac tradition throughout its early history, and that tradition is central to understanding later decisions. The Cluniac tradition was well-known across Europe as one of the most significant monastic orders. Formally Benedictine in practice, the Cluniacs prided themselves on independence from secular authority and stringent enforcement of discipline. Its power grew from the abbey's subordinate houses and spread across Europe as an early form of monastic imperialism.

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[9] "Crossraguel Abbey: History," Historic Environment Scotland, https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/crossraguel-abbey/history/. St. Raighail was an Irish saint whose shrine was in St Andrews, little else is known about his connection to the site.
[10] Adrian Cox, *Official Souvenir Guide: Crossraguel Abbey* (Edinburgh: Historic Environment Scotland, 2016), 19. Teind is Scots for tenth.
[11] Cox, *Crossraguel Abbey*, 19.
[12] Cox, *Crossraguel Abbey*, 19.
[13] Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland* (London: Longman, 1976), 63-64.
[14] F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), xxxiv-xxxv.
[15] Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel,* xxxiv-xxxv.

The Cluny tradition was born from the need for monastic reform in the tenth century. Until this period, monasteries were mainly under the control of wealthy landowners and kings. Most European monasteries in the early Middle Ages followed the Rule of St. Benedict. Large Benedictine monasteries needed land to survive because they supported themselves on rents, which put them in direct conversation with local aristocrats. These nobles would often enact influence over the monasteries by installing abbots, controlling rents, and demanding masses for their kin. To remedy this, Duke William I of Aquitaine founded Cluny Abbey in 910 and asked Berno of Baume to be its first abbot. The two men wrote a constitution for the abbey, which subjected it to no authority other than the Pope. Historian C.H. Lawrence notes that this aspect of the constitution was the most important because it "enabled [Cluny] to preserve its identity and provided the base on which its later greatness was built: it was granted a degree of autonomy that was still uncommon for a monastic establishment."[16] This foundation and subsequent changes Cluny implemented became known as the Cluniac Reforms. These reforms included institutional autonomy, charity, an endless celebration of the liturgy, and apostolic poverty.[17]

Under the direction of the abbot St. Odo,[18] the Cluniac tradition expanded first to the rest of France and then Italy and Spain. By the eleventh century, Cluny had acquired an expansive sphere of influence and kept direct control over their colonial houses. Most houses in this tradition were styled as priories, signaling their submission to Cluny Abbey. Their influence continued into the British Isles early in its expansion, around 1050.[19] The tradition proliferated across England and Wales during the eleventh century, and Scotland saw a later expansion with Paisley Abbey and Renfrew Priory, both founded in 1163. Thirteen monks from Wenlock Priory in South England moved to Paisley to populate the new Cluniac priory. Paisley was a large and wealthy monastery and eventually gained the designation of "abbey" less than fifty years after its foundation.[20] Strangely, most of the Cluniac houses in Scotland retained the status of "abbey" despite the tradition of priories. The Cluniac tradition in Scotland grew alongside other orders, and these abbeys were by no means alone.

[16] C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 84.
[17] Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 94-98.
[18] Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 87.
[19] Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 100-104.
[20] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious* Houses, 63.

Monasticism had already come to Scotland in the sixth century with St. Columba's mission to Ireland and Scotland. The early houses were few and far between, which meant there was little communication, and their presence never grew into a formidable tradition until the eleventh century. By this period, influences from the Continent were flowing into Scotland, and kings began to endow monastic houses. Under David I, who reigned from 1124-1153, an explosion of monasticism occurred. Under his expansion of the medieval Church, some of the largest monastic houses opened. These included Holyrood, St Andrews Priory, Jedburgh, Melrose, Dryburgh, and Dunfermline. Traditions varied across these houses, but the most popular were Benedictine, Augustinian, and Cistercian.[21]

By the sixteenth century, there were roughly a hundred male monastic houses in Scotland with even more mendicant convents. There were also about fifteen female houses, with Haddington and Sciennes as the largest. Whereas most mendicant friaries were concentrated in the cities, monasteries were supported by their vast landholdings in the countryside. Beginning in the fifteenth century, lay families were increasingly attached to religious houses and enacted control through administrative offices or the commendator system. The religious orders were also under attack for their perceived wealth and decadence, a trend across Europe. This picture was largely overstated as the Scottish monasteries were poor, dilapidated, and largely left to their own devices.[22]

Context of the Reformation

The monastic landscape of Scotland was past its prime on the eve of the Reformation. Reformist stirrings with explicit Lutheran inspiration appeared in Scotland as early as the 1520s, but most movements were regional, small, and merited little response from the Crown and Church. During this decade, reformist writings, translations of the Bible, and other literature began circulating around Scotland's eastern coast. Merchants and mariners passed literature from the Low Countries, where the early Protestant Reformation took hold, into the eastern port cities of Leith, St. Andrews, and Fife.[23] Edinburgh, and the other cities, had significant printing

[21] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 2-6.
[22] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 20-30.
[23] Jane E. A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed, 1488-1587*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 107.

presences by this decade, which allowed ideas to flow quickly and to influence a large number of people.[24]

In 1528, James V came into his majority rule and avoided the question of religion in his kingdom by instead focusing his attention on the English problem. Henry VIII of England pushed James to emulate Henry's own radical separation from the Church of Rome, which enriched his coffers and allowed him to declare royal supremacy over the church. James instead drew closer to Rome and appointed many of his illegitimate children to church and monastic positions.[25] To bolster his intentions for Scotland to reform, Henry VIII began to send raids into the Scottish borderlands, which targeted friaries and monasteries heavily. The English Earl of Hertford, Edward Seymour, and his armies wreaked havoc on the border abbeys of Kelso, Jedburgh, and Dryburgh. [26] These raids took a toll on the religious properties, which suffered multiple attacks throughout the 1530s and 40s. These pressures and localized raids culminated in the Battle of Solway Moss in 1542 when James V led troops to face the English near the River Esk in England. This battle cost James his life and Scotland a secure border. After the battle, James died and left his six-day-old daughter Mary as Queen of Scots. The English continued to invade, which allowed English reformers to distribute vernacular Bibles and religious pamphlets amongst the raided territories.[27]

One of the most significant events for the Scottish Church was, ironically, the accession of Mary I to the English throne in 1553. Her hardline Catholicism forced hundreds of Protestants into exile on the Continent, where they assembled and learned from the reformers of Germany and Switzerland. John Knox, an ardent Calvinist reformer, was one such clergyman who went into exile during this period. He gravitated towards other Scottish reformers in Geneva, where he was influenced by Calvinist theology. The Anglo-Scottish protestant community thrived in exile while they waited for the opportunity to establish a foothold back in the British Isles.[28]

John Knox returned to Scotland in 1559 just as the anonymous *Beggars' Summons* was posted on the doors of friaries and monasteries across Scotland. This broadsheet called for the immediate removal of religious brothers from the property and forfeit of their goods to the poor.

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[24] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 108.
[25] Peter J. Murray "The Lay Administrators of Church Lands in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *The Scottish Historical Review* 74, no. 197 (April 1995), 36.
[26] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 27.
[27] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 160.
[28] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 185.

On May 11, 1559, John Knox, traveled to Perth; at St. John the Baptist Church he gave a fiery sermon on the Gospel story of Jesus cleansing the Temple of Solomon. He worked the crowd into a frenzy, and they began ridding the church of statues, images, decorations, and other religious symbols. Once St. John the Baptist Church was sufficiently purged, the reformers moved on to the local friaries and the Carthusian monastery. [29] News of this iconoclastic episode spread rapidly across the Lowlands, which enticed more to join the movement. Local reformations of this kind swept through the kingdom with the help of regional aristocrats. Throughout the next three months, monasteries across the country suffered the depredations of this iconoclastic zeal, as local reformers sacked them. The abbeys of Paisley, Scone, Lindores, Dunfermline, Kilwinning, and Holyrood, some of the largest monastic houses in Scotland, all suffered significant destruction.[30] In total, reformers suppressed about twelve large religious houses during the crisis. Crossraguel Abbey survived this initial wave of turmoil, which gave it a better position from which to mount a resistance and continue Catholic practices. This thesis seeks to highlight the community's unique reaction to a turbulent time that directly threatened religious houses.

In July 1559, a crowd of reformers led by John Knox seized Edinburgh and burned all the monasteries and friaries in the city. Marie of Guise, the regent of Scotland for her young daughter Mary, Queen of Scots, called upon her French allies and family to restore order through military engagement. Months of fighting ensued until Marie of Guise died in June 1560, trapped in Edinburgh Castle. In August 1560, the Protestant Lords convened the Reformation Parliament and passed the Scots Confession, which defined the reformed religion by two sacraments: Baptism and Communion. They also declared the celebration of Mass punishable by death and suspended the Pope's jurisdiction in Scotland.[31] This moment has become the key turning point for the Protestantization of Scotland. Yet as we will see, we should not limit our vision to 1560

[29] John Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland Vol 3* (Edinburgh: The Spottiswoode Society, 1847), 272-273.
[30] Ralph Sadler and James Croft, "Letter Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft to Mr. Secretary Cecill," in Arthur Clifford, ed. *State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler Vol. I* (Edinburgh, 1809), 468. Spelling modernized, original in English: "they had suppressed the abbeeyes of Passlow, Kylwynyng, and Donfermelyng, and burned all the ymages, ydolls, and popish stuff in the same."
[31] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 216-230.

as the point of change. It was a year of political and religious upheaval, but the actual Reformation took longer and was experienced differently across the country.[32]

Historiography

This thesis engages with two distinct, but related, historiographies: the Reformation and early modern monasticism. The scholarship on Early Modern Scottish monasteries is limited.[33] Scotland does not enjoy the same monastic micro-history tradition that continental historiographies do, partly because there was never an Inquisition that produced rich source material. This is not to say that nothing has been written on monastic institutions and the Scottish Reformation, however. The Scottish monasteries benefitted from substantial nineteenth-century antiquarian attention, which produced romanticized and overtly Protestant, histories of houses. One of the first comprehensive scholarly studies of religious houses came from Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson in their *Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland* (1976).[34] This book has a substantial introduction to monastic life in Scotland, but it was intended as a reference book that makes information on the monasteries accessible.

As Reformation historiography grew throughout the latter part of the twentieth century historians dedicated lines or chapters of their Reformation histories to monasteries, but it was never more profound than a passing mention. The Scottish Reformation usually gets a chapter or two in these studies, but the monasteries are often relegated to an afterthought.[35] This project seeks to add an institutional and microcosmic study to this historiography to fill the gap. It agrees with the established historiography that religious houses died out while noble families subsumed their lands into feudal holdings, which lengthened the process of reform.[36] The commendator

[32] This idea is expressed most explicitly in Stephen Mark Holmes in *Sacred Signs in Reformation Scotland: Interpreting Worship, 1488-1590* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 208.
[33] Mark Dilworth has done the most comprehensive work on Scottish monasteries at the Reformation. His titles include *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), and "Scottish Cistercian Monasteries and the Reformation," *Innes Review* 48, no. 2 (1997), 144-64.
[34] Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*.
[35] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation: A History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003),
[36] For more extensive literature on noble families subsuming Scottish monasteries, see MacCulloch, *The Reformation*, 84-89. Cowan, *Death Life and Religious Changes*, Part III. David Knowles, "Foreword," in Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, xii-xiii. Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 28, Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, Chapter 9-10.

system allowed unprecedented control over monastic lands for noble families.[37] Historians have often described these relationships on the eve of Reformation as "parasitic," an "appropriation" of monastic autonomy, and "obstructing."[38] This interpretation assumes that monastic communities were passive and complacent in their own demise while nobles picked away at what remained. This study refutes that assumption because Crossraguel Abbey's dealings reveal active participation in and perpetuation of their relationship with the aristocratic Kennedy family. The need for protection also benefitted the Kennedy family, who sought consolidation of power and adaptation to political turmoil. Keith M. Brown's work informs this aristocratic strategy on a larger scale.[39] He argues that nobles held on to power by adapting to weak royal authority and religious upset through, "entrepreneurial exploitation of their estates, optimizing the deployment of their family members, and engagement with confessional issues."[40] The relationship between Crossraguel Abbey and the Kennedy family fits broadly into this interpretation but challenges the "exploitation" argument. This abbey still possessed spiritual and financial power in their region, which afforded them the privilege to work closely with the Kennedys but also to assert their own agenda.

This thesis also fits squarely into the historiographical trend that began as scholars looked for a more nuanced understanding of the Reformation, beyond the partisanship that marked earlier accounts growing out of the conflict itself.[41] This partisan history of the Scottish Reformation, specifically, is complicated by its first book: John Knox's posthumous *History of*

[37] For an excellent overview of the commendator system, see Peter J. Murray "The Lay Administrators of Church Lands in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *The Scottish Historical Review* Vol 74, no. 197 (April, 1995), pp. 26-44.
[38] This interpretation can be seen throughout Scottish Reformation historiography but the most prominent are Margaret H. B. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation: People and Change, 1490-1600* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997), 12. Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*. And Murray "The Lay Administrators of Church Lands."
[39] Keith M. Brown has written a great deal on noble culture and power in Early Modern Scotland. See: Keith M. Brown, *Noble Power in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011). Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture, from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000). And Keith M. Brown, "A House Divided: Family and Feud in Carrick under John Kennedy, Fifth Earl of Cassillis," *The Scottish Historical Review* 75, no. 200 (October 1996), pp. 168-196.
[40] Brown, *Noble Power in Scotland,* 1.
[41] A great essay on this contested historiography can be found in Stephen Mark Holmes, "Historiography of the Scottish Reformation: The Catholics Fight Back?" *Studies in Church History* 49 (2013), 298-311.

the Reformation in Scotland (1587).[42] John Knox, the well-known Calvinist reformer, got to shape the narrative in which he actively participated. He ensured that generations of historians would use his interpretation of events, which was decidedly Protestant. Sixteenth-century Catholic writers, such as Bishop John Lesley and Ninian Winzet put out their own versions of the story.[43] These histories simply lamented the downfall of the great Catholic institution and never pushed past the partisan narratives. These narratives gave way to later ideas of Protestantism's inevitability and progressive nature, most notably found in *The Lives of John Knox and Andrew Melville* (1819) by Thomas McCrie and *The Reformation in Scotland* (1910) by David Hay Fleming.[44]

By the twentieth century, British Reformation scholars sought to challenge this narrative and what Hans Hillerbrand called the institutionalized "Protestant sacred space" of the event as religious teaching. Historians began to explore Catholic perspectives, challenging the long-held Protestant-centric view of the Reformation. [45] Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars* (1992) represents the starkest example of complicating this narrative.[46] He argues that medieval Catholicism possessed "intrinsic interest and vitality," in the years leading up to the English Reformation and was not abandoned by its followers so quickly.[47] He also brought the countryside into the conversation, as he argues that rural areas held onto their Catholic beliefs more ardently than cities. His later contribution *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (2003) solidified this argument and added a thread of resistance to change.[48] In many ways, this thesis follows Duffy's tradition by extending his argument to a Scottish context. Certain aspects of Duffy's argument do not entirely apply to this analysis, such

[42] John Knox, *The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland,* ed. William McGavin (Glasgow: Blackie Fullarton, 1831).
[43] Ninian Winzet, *Certaine Tractates, together with the book of four score and three questions and a translation of Vicentius Lirinensis*, ed. James King Hewison (Scottish Text Society: Edinburgh, 1888). And John Lesley, *The history of Scotland, from the death of King James I. in the year MCCCCXXXVI to the year MDLXI,* ed. Thomas Thomson (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1830).
[44] Thomas McCrie, *The Lives of John Knox and Andrew Melville* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1819) and David Hay Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland: Causes, Characteristics, Consequences* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910).
[45] Hans J. Hillerbrand, "Was There a Reformation in the Sixteenth Century?" *Church History* 72 (2003), 527.
[46] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 6.
[47] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars,* 6.
[48] Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003).

as the materiality of Catholicism, but as one of the landmark books in British Reformation history it serves as a framework for religious vitality, Catholic persistence, and rural continuity. Crossraguel Abbey was a rural monastery that acted as a base of Catholic perseverance and had a vigorous religious community on the eve of reform.[49] This thesis is focused on the point of view of a Catholic community but attempts to not fall into the traps of partisan history. It serves to deconstruct the overtly Protestant narrative by adding Catholic voices but acknowledges Protestant ideas and criticisms.

Monastic spaces were central to Scotland's rural and decentralized landscape but have rarely warranted their own research. When we add the physical spaces that monks, abbots, aristocrats, and commoners inhabited to our analysis, we can see what Alexandra Walsham, in *The Reformation of the Landscape* (2011), highlights on a broader geographical scale.[50] She argues that "religious assumptions influenced contemporary perceptions of the physical environment, and in turn, that environment shaped the profound theological, liturgical, and cultural transformation that marked the era."[51] The link between the environment and religion was a profound addition to the historiography and also informed the connection between monasteries and the landscape. The Church stamped its authority on rural landscapes through monastic buildings, which were often the stewards of sacred geography.[52] As a public history site, Crossraguel Abbey inhabits a space in the regional collective memory. The temporality of the site highlights the profound environmental change that took place throughout the sixteenth century. Walsham's study informs the later history of Crossraguel Abbey most explicitly, but also frames how people interacted with monasteries in their region. Therefore, this thesis uses the landscape and sacred spaces to sus out the religious worldview of Quintin Kennedy, the monks of Crossraguel, and commoners in the surrounding area.

An institutional history of a monastery in crisis thus contributes to the current scholarship. It shows how a Catholic community benefitted from lay control, resisted the

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[49] For regional histories of the Scottish Reformation see Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation.* Michael Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985). Frank Bardgett, *Scotland Reformed: The Reformation in Angus and the Mearns* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989). John McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish: The Reformation in Fife 1560-1640* (New York City: Ashgate, 2010).

[50] Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

[51] Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape,* 2-3.

[52] Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape,* 48.

reformed religion, persisted in their Catholic practices, and reacted to the end of a long tradition. Crossraguel Abbey stood for continuity and tradition,[53] and embodied a "nostalgia for religious life" in Ayrshire, an idea that monasteries around Reformation Europe came to represent. [54] Here the Scottish historiography is silent, but by turning south, we can begin to see models of resistance. One of the foremost articles on this subject comes from James G. Clark in "Reformation and Reaction at St Albans Abbey, 1530-58."[55] He argues that St Albans Abbey was a hotbed of resistance to Henrician reform and actively dissented through print, actions, and finances. The abbot, a lay cleric named Richard Boreman, who was appointed by Thomas Cromwell to ensure a shift surrender, fostered opposition to reform. Quintin Kennedy can also fit this mold of a secular cleric defending a religious house. His actions were not in a vacuum, nor was the reaction from his abbey. This thesis carries on this historiographical trend by arguing that Crossraguel Abbey was a space of continuity, which the abbot and monks fostered through both explicit resistances, in the form of treatises and debates, and persistence in practicing Catholic rites.

Therefore, this thesis uses the context of several established and recent historiographical trends to argue that the case of Crossraguel Abbey is a vital contribution to the field. It constructs new ideas about aristocratic power, and religious dissent. It shows how a noble family used monastic control in their strategy to adapt and consolidate power during decades of political turmoil. While the actions of Quintin Kennedy and the monks of Crossraguel had a small impact on the Reformation as a whole, their story displays lived experiences of turmoil and reform. The story of Crossraguel Abbey, is one of reaction, resistance, and fear, but ultimately one of survival.

[53] C. Cross, "Community Solidarity among Yorkshire Religious after the Dissolution", in Joan Loades ed. *Monastic Studies* (Bangor, 1990), 245-54.
[54] James G. Clark, "Reformation and Reaction at St Albans Abbey, 1530-58" *The English Historical Review* 115, no. 461 (April 2000), 297.
[55] Clark, "Reformation and Reaction."

Chapter I: Noble Abbots and Noble Protection, 1520-1559

In early 1559, as hundreds of iconoclastic reformers moved against friaries and monasteries across Scotland, Quintin Kennedy organized a debate with John Willock. Willock was a noteworthy reformer native to Ayrshire, who had once been a friar but left to pursue the new religion. Kennedy was eager to defend Catholicism against a man who he found to be most disagreeable. He was upset with, what he called, Willock's "intolerable Exclamations" and his words "against the Mass" in nearby Ayr.[1] In the weeks leading up to the debate, Kennedy and Willock exchanged several letters, which Kennedy later summarized in a lengthy letter to James Bethune, Archbishop of Glasgow. They fought over the Mass, idols, and specifically over the interpretation of the Scripture. Through their correspondence, they decided on Sunday, March 29, 1559, for their debate, which would take place at the Mercat-cross in the town of Ayr.[2] Kennedy was to bring with him "twelve reasonable and honest men to be in the audience for [his] part," and Willock was to do the same.[3] Instead, Willock came to the time and place of the debate with around four hundred Protestants. To avoid a mass confrontation and ensure his safety, Kennedy refused to attend.[4]

Quintin and John's failed debate highlights the insurmountable problems that gripped Scottish Catholics in 1559. It was a difficult time to be overtly and publicly dedicated to the faith, with Protestant movements gaining traction throughout the decade. John Knox, who had been living in Geneva and Frankfurt learning from Calvinists, returned to Scotland briefly in 1555 to preach among privy kirks, which were secret congregations of reformers that met in Protestant controlled regions. His visit spiked fervor among the secret congregations who were eager to see Scotland become independent of the Roman Church. When Knox returned to the Continent, Protestant aristocrats took up leadership of the movement, for both political and religious reasons. They wanted to avoid French influence in their politics by closely aligning

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[1] Quintin Kennedy, "Copy of a Letter from Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crosraguel to James Bethune, Archbishop of Glasgow, 7th April 1559," In Robert Keith, *History of the Affairs of Church and State of Scotland Vol. III* (Edinburgh: Spottiswoode Society, 1801), 393.

[2] The Mercat-cross generally marks the center of the town square in Scottish Royal Burghs. Historically it was where foreign trading was allowed since municipalities needed a special royal charter to trade internationally. It was a place of public gathering and visible for all, which is why most debates happened here. These still exist in most Scottish towns.

[3] Kennedy, "Copy of a Letter," 397. Original in Scots: "twelf resonable and honest men to be auditoris for my pairt."

[4] Robert Keith, *History of the Affairs of Church and State of Scotland Vol. III* (Edinburgh: Spottiswoode Society, 1801), 404.

themselves with the newly Protestant English queen, Elizabeth I, who ascended the throne in 1558. Elizabeth threatened the Catholic hold on the kingdom and provided hope for those reformers.[5] These religious-political events made the decade a difficult one for Catholics in Scotland, Quintin Kennedy, and the monks of Crossraguel among them.

The connection between the Kennedy family and monastery was longstanding. Beginning in 1520, under the abbacy of William Kennedy, and extending until the Reformation Crisis of 1559-60, Crossraguel Abbey increasingly affiliated itself with the local ruling family, the Kennedys. This wealthy landed family sought to broaden their influence and bolster their property holdings throughout the region of Ayrshire through control of the ecclesiastical lands. Men who came from the Kennedy family often gained ecclesiastical appointments, or benefices, and acted directly in the interest of their families.[6] The position of their patron, the Earls of Cassillis, gave the abbey relative privilege in dealing with the religious turmoil. The main actors in this family bore the name of Gilbert Kennedy, with a few exceptions. There were three generations of Gilberts that inherited the title of the Earl of Cassillis and chief of the Kennedy clan.[7] This chapter begins under the reign of Gilbert Kennedy, second Earl of Cassillis which lasted from 1513-1527. It also encompasses his son, Gilbert Kennedy, third Earl of Cassillis who held the title between 1527 and 1558. Lastly, it ends with the tenure of Gilbert Kennedy, fourth Earl of Cassillis which began at his father's death in 1558 and ended in 1576. The generational nature of influence at Crossraguel Abbey intertwined familial, religious, and personal motivations throughout its story.

An ongoing tension exists throughout the years of Kennedy influence that makes this case more compelling. Monastic institutions historically sought to distance themselves from powerful families to practice more observant forms of the Rule of St. Benedict. Many of the most significant reforms among monasticism, including Cluniac reforms, built independent traditions away from the secular world. Nonetheless, in Scotland as elsewhere, erosion of orders, relative monastic poverty, and their existence on the borderlands with England caused many religious houses to turn to noble families for protection. Crossraguel was no different in this sense, but the length of time it survived, and robust community it harbored challenge our ideas

[5] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 185.
[6] Margaret H. B. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation: People and Change, 1490-1600* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997), 12.
[7] See Appendix I for a Kennedy Family Tree.

about lay encroachment. Historians often view lay families as "obstructing the administration of abbey's affairs" and "appropriating" patronage for their own gain, but it was more complicated than a simple one-sided relationship with aristocrats.[8] At Crossraguel, the noble appropriators ultimately became the abbey's greatest protectors. A closely linked consequence of rule by noble families was, in fact, survival.

The Rise of Kennedy Influence 1520-1546

The Kennedy family's power over Crossraguel Abbey grew significantly between the period of 1520-1559, while reformist stirrings emerged in cities, English armies threatened the countryside, and monasteries began fearing for their physical safety. The traction gained by Protestantism worried monasteries, but it was the English invasions that ultimately forced them closer to the welcoming arms of their secular lords out of necessity.[9] It is helpful to understand the physical landscape the abbey inhabited because it reveals why noble families wanted to control aspects of this monastery. A sense of space and relationship to that space is also important for this story. The Kennedys wanted not only prestige and sole patronage rights, but it behooved them to control the wealthiest monastic enclave in their lands.

Crossraguel Abbey itself sat on rich lands in the county of Carrick and was one of the wealthiest landowners in the area. Crossraguel had access to the fishing rights in the Water of Girvan, a small meandering river south of the abbey that empties into the Firth of Clyde.[10] They also possessed hunting rights in the nearby woods, large coal reserves, and farmlands. The monks worked the coal reserves at Yellowlee beginning in the sixteenth century but coal was considered wealth long before that time.[11] Along with these properties the monks built several mills on their lands, which became a great source of profit.[12] One mill stood on the small Abbeymill Burn stream that flows just outside the abbey gate. The other stood at Drumgarloch, two miles away on the coastline.[13] Crossraguel also appeared to own brewhouses that were situated near the abbey. The main source of income, however, was leased lands which the abbey

[8] Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, 12.
[9] Peter J. Murray, "The Lay Administrators of Church Lands in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *The Scottish Historical Review* 74, no. 197 (April 1995), 44.
[10] F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), ix.
[11] Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel,* lxi.
[12] Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel,* xxviii,
[13] Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel,* ix.

rented out to cottars, farmers, and yeomen. The yeomen, or small lairds, oversaw places like Knockgarron, Pennyglen, Balserroch, and Clonlicht. They held these lands in regality but were ultimately subject to the authority of the abbot.[14] These lands combined with Crossraguel's regality made the abbey the wealthiest landowner and the abbot the most important man in Carrick.

In many pre-Reformation societies, the Church lands were perceived as untapped potential because massive swaths of land were tied up in monastic holdings to support a few brethren. Crossraguel's extensive land holdings and royal like power seem to back up this statement. Scotland, in financial ruin after wars with the English and mismanagement, sought to exploit these holdings through the commendator system. This system appointed lay administrators to control large abbeys and their financial decisions. James V was one of the first to do this when he gave the Abbey of Dunfermline to his natural-born son, Alexander. These lay administrators controlled the rents and often directed them to royal coffers.[15] Across Scotland, such arrangements prevailed. Scholars have characterized these relationships as parasitic in the past, and indeed certain ones were. In the case of Crossraguel Abbey, however, there seemed to be a balance of power shared between the two sides. Crossraguel Abbey exchanged institutional autonomy for protection against the English armies, which afforded them significant privilege during the coming years. William Kennedy's abbacy started this move towards commendatorship for Crossraguel. William was the younger brother of the second Earl and took solemn vows before becoming the first Kennedy to be Abbot of Crossraguel.

Before the 1520s, Crossraguel Abbey was not under the thumb of the Kennedy family, but rather it was the Fergusson family who attempted to assert their influence. A significant shift that took place in 1523, directly after William Kennedy ascended the abbacy as the first Kennedy abbot. The monks of Crossraguel elected William as their abbot, exercising their constitutional rights to choose their own superior.[16] In a notarial instrument of sasine dated July 7th, 1523, Duncan Fergusson of Knokgarron surrendered lands to the abbey in favor of his kinsman Niel Fergusson in the abbey's chapter house. This transaction is crucial for the abbey because Gilbert, the second Earl of Cassillis, was present while Duncan bent the knee with reverence and resigned

[14] Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel,* lix.
[15] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 69.
[16] Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel,* xxxvvv.

the staff and baton to the Abbot of Crossraguel.[17] While Duncan surrendered the land in favor of the abbey, it signaled the beginning of informal Kennedy power over the monastery.[18] From the onset of William's abbacy, the Kennedy family was more present and acknowledged in charters than during the period before.

The second Earl of Cassillis participated in a rich and insular noble community but was a relative newcomer to the aristocracy. King James IV created Gilbert's father, David Kennedy, the first Earl of Cassillis in 1502.[19] Previously the Kennedy family held the title of Lord Kennedy and were less powerful lairds. With David's ascension to the rank of earl the Kennedy family numbered among the fifty or so noble families of Scotland.[20] As the first heir to the new title, Gilbert Kennedy had to assert his influence, power, and control over his holdings to be taken seriously as a nobleman. Scottish nobility was defined by lineage, land, and parliamentary participation.[21] He could not claim lineage from an ancient noble family, like many other aristocrats, so he needed to prove legitimacy through power. This influence was also the beginning of a noble strategy to control confessional issues within their region. Across Scotland the nobility filled the power vacuum left by years of weak royal authority.[22] Noble power adapted through monastic control to allow the aristocracy to remain on top. Crossraguel Abbey offered the best means of control for this family because it was the wealthiest institution in their lands. The second Earl would use the commendator system and familial relationship with William Kennedy to gain control and consolidate power. In return, the abbey benefitted from the protection a wealthy lord could offer and William actively participated in his family's interests.

Guardianships and loans to widows and minor orphans constituted one such family effort. Families expected that members in ecclesiastical appointments would care for fatherless children

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[17] "Surrender by Duncan and Investiture of Niel Fergusson of the Lands of Knokgarron, etc. by William Abbot of Crosraguel, July 7th, 1523," in F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 75-76.
[18] Informal power here is defined as influence without an official monastic position. Later the Earls would gain an official title from the monastery, which will be designated as formal power.
[19] Robert Pitcairn, *Historical and Genealogical Account of the Principal Families of the Name of Kennedy From an Original Seventeenth Century MS*, (Edinburgh: William Tait and John Stevenson, 1830), 83.
[20] Keith Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family, and Culture from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 9.
[21] Brown, *Noble Society*, 5.
[22] Keith Brown, *Noble Power in Scotland from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 1.

and widows as executors of estates.[23] In one example, upon the death of the second Earl of Cassillis in 1527, his thirteen-year-old son Gilbert, became the third Earl of Cassillis. As a minor he enjoyed the guardianship of Abbot William Kennedy, his uncle. William first appeared in the position of tutor in 1528 and was named in a contract between the Earl and James Kennedy of Blairquhan on May 28th, 1528 as "William Abbot of Crossraguel his Tutor."[24] William was Gilbert's uncle and seemed to exercise a great deal of power over the young Earl. This type of relationship was usual among the Scottish nobles, as elsewhere in Europe. William, as the clerical uncle, provided for his family and took on the legal role of guardian for the household. In a similar instance of aiding family, in 1528 William gave Lady Isabel Campbell, Dowager Countess of Cassillis, half of the fruits of the church and patronage of Maybole,[25] because she had "superexpended" her accounts with William and James Kennedy, according to the contract.[26] Isabel's husband, the second Earl of Cassillis, died and she was unable to keep up with her expenditures following his death.[27] In effect, Crossraguel Abbey provided Isabel with an income and ensured she did not reach financial ruin. Despite his allegiance to the abbey, it was clear that he acted in the best interest of the family.

Kennedy protection offered advantages to Crossraguel. The abbey escaped the destruction and hardships that befell other Scottish monasteries. The English did not attack the abbey during their paramilitary raids into southern Scotland, which ran between 1514 and 1523.[28] Crossraguel was most likely too far north for the border raids, and larger monasteries in the south held more wealth to be plundered. William felt secure in the abbacy and the position of his monastery. He thought that Crossraguel was stable enough to make a pilgrimage to Rome in

[23] Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent, ed. *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 21.
[24]"Contract between the Earl of Cassillis and William Abbot Crosraguel his Tutor and James Kennedy of Blairquhan, May 28th, 1528," in F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 80-83.
[25] "Contract between William Abbot Crosraguel and Mr. James Kennedy, Chamberlain to the Earl of Cassillis, January 29th, 1528," in F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 83-87.
[26] Scots for overspent or authorizing spending beyond one's means.
[27] Isabel Campbell was the daughter of Archibald Campbell, 2nd Earl of Argyll and the mother of Gilbert, 3rd Earl of Cassillis and Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel Abbey.
[28] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 91-92.

1530.[29] He received a license from the courts of James V for safe passage in France and beyond to make his pilgrimage.[30] The sources are unclear as to if he undertook his trip, but his query suggests a peaceful period at the abbey and in the region. There was not yet a threat to their physical existence or livelihood, and there was enough stability for him to leave for a lengthy period.

William Kennedy probably remained Gilbert's tutor until the latter came into his majority around 1533-34. Throughout the decade of the 1530s the abbey enjoyed significant building projects and updates, which the Kennedys funded. The Abbot's Tower, a symbol of this Kennedy power and influence over the abbey was erected around 1530 for the sole use of the abbots. The stately tower at the south-east corner of the grounds boasted three stories of comfortable rooms, servants' quarters, and reception areas.[31] The grand living quarters reflect William Kennedy's heightened status as abbot and reinforced Kennedy influence over the institution. This decade also saw the construction of a dovecot and a grand gatehouse at the southwest corner of the abbey. The church was also updated during this period. They added a wall in the middle of the building to create the Lady Chapel which could be used by monks and laity alike.[32] Despite the relative poverty of Scottish monastic houses during these decades, Crossraguel enjoyed prosperity and the completion of several building projects.

The roughly ten-year gap between contracts that refer to the Kennedys can partially be attributed to Gilbert's education in Paris under the tutelage of George Buchanan until 1537.[33] This relationship is crucial to understanding the third Earl because George Buchanan was a humanist with known Protestant leanings, and it is safe to assume that Buchanan taught Gilbert in the reformed tradition. Gilbert also attended the University of St. Andrews for a brief period, during which time the university experienced significant Protestant stirrings.[34] After returning from his education, Gilbert took a more active role in politics and foreign policy. He was present at the disastrous Battle of Solway Moss in 1542, and the English took him prisoner after the

[29] "License to William Abbot of Crosraguel, to pass beyond sea on his Pilgrimage, April 8th, 1530." in F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 91.
[30] Robert Pitcairn, *Ancient Criminal Trials Scotland Vol. I* (Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Club, 1833), 245.
[31] See Figure 6 for Abbot's Tower.
[32] Adrian Cox, *Official Souvenir Guide: Crossraguel Abbey*, (Edinburgh: Historic Environment Scotland, 2016), 13. See Figure 7 for a view of the wall built to create the Lady Chapel.
[33] Pitcairn, *History of the Kennedys,* 87-88.
[34] Pitcairn, *History of the Kennedys*, 88.

battle. They placed him with Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, where he supposedly formally converted to the Reformed religion.[35] Thomas Cranmer was not solely responsible for Cassillis's conversion, which was likely a product of his earlier contact with Buchanan, though Cranmer did persuade Cassillis to an Anglophile policy.[36] This policy would help Henry VIII of England build a group of Anglo-leaning nobles in Scotland's governing circle.[37] Cassillis was expected to advocate closer ties to the English rather than the French for Scottish foreign policy.

Gilbert's conversion seems to confirm his earlier Protestant leanings but also adds a level of complexity to his family's patronage. One Protestant in a family of Catholics was not likely to change investments and threaten financial gain. Yet, it is crucial to acknowledge Gilbert's religion because it influences his dealings with the abbey. Even though he may have had Protestant leanings, he was never exploitative in his investments with the abbey. William Kennedy and the third Earl worked closely to ensure Crossraguel maintained the patronage. At this early stage of the Reformed movement, the third Earl did not have widespread support in Scotland for his Protestant views and therefore could not have acted against the abbey in any significant manner.

After his release and return to Scotland in 1543, Gilbert spent a great deal of time in Edinburgh working on the Privy Council. He later returned to England in early 1545. During this time, William Kennedy wrote a letter to the Earl and urged him to return home, "for there is many quarrels now and very great trouble now in your absence and many unfriendly and fewer friends."[38] This letter evidences the growing dependence on the Earl of Cassillis for protection. Crossraguel needed more security than ever before because of the threat of the English invasion and growing reform movements. William began to fear for the monastery's physical safety, and this period marked a more dependent relationship rather than coexistence. Crossraguel felt the threat of the English strongly during the 1540s because of the Rough Wooings and disastrous battles that ensued. These political and military events pushed the abbey closer to the family.

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[35] Pitcairn, *History of the Kennedys*, 88.
[36] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life,* (New Haven: Yale University, 1996), 295-296.
[37] MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 295-296.
[38] "The Abbot of Crosraguel to the Earl of Cassillis, March 23rd 1544-5," in F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 100. Original: "for yair is mony cummeris now and veray gret trublis now in zor absene and mony onfreindis and fewer freindis."

William Kennedy's abbacy represented a growing dependence on the Kennedys that lends a vital intervention to our understanding of the process of Reformation and lay administrators. Ultimately, it provides the first case of full lay influence on Crossraguel Abbey, which would characterize the institutional history throughout the rest of the sixteenth century. William's tenure also reveals a complicated relationship between monastery and patron that went beyond the basic parasitic one described in scholarship. The later Kennedy Abbot would reveal even more nuance to this relationship while also evidencing the vitality of Catholicism in this institution.

The Most Ardent Protector 1546-1558

After Abbot William died in 1546, his nephew, Quintin Kennedy, ascended to the abbacy in 1547. The former abbot died of natural causes, and at the time, Quintin had finished school in Paris. He then served as the vicar of Girvan, a mere ten miles from the abbey for a brief period. It is critical to note here that Quintin Kennedy was never a Cluniac monk.[39] This fact made his selection to the abbacy unique because Quintin was not elected by the monks of Crossraguel, like his uncle before him. This is not to say that he was not qualified for the job, however. Quintin was the younger son of a powerful family with a good education. He had holy orders, was a priest, and spent much of his youth at Christendom's premier universities. Quintin Kennedy was the first to hold the position of commendator of Crossraguel Abbey but was widely recognized as its last true ecclesiastical abbot. He acted in both capacities throughout his tenure and signed documents with each title. Unfortunately, no charter of nomination or appointment survives to prove how Quintin's tenure was supposed to appear. These benefices did not always belong to laypeople, as was the case of Dunfermline Abbey, but were given to members of noble families who were never necessarily monks. The commendator abbots held one of the highest monastic positions without ever joining the correct order.[40]

Quintin's abbacy was, from the onset, the product of the Kennedy's family control and patronage. William cultivated this relationship with the Kennedy family throughout his years as abbot, and Quintin continued this legacy. Just as his uncle had been a Kennedy abbot, so too would he. His tenure would prove to be a defining one for Crossraguel due to the shift towards

[39] Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel,* xli.
[40] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 69.

Protestantism. His adherence to and fierce defense of Catholicism marked Crossraguel Abbey as a space of Catholic continuity. Quintin's actions during the Reformation period were acts of resistance to the reformed religion. His resistance later changed into fostering Catholic persistence among his monks and flock until his death.

The relationship between the Earl of Cassillis and the abbacy of Crossraguel grew closer throughout this period out of necessity and familial ties. A notarial instrument dated February 1st, 1547, in which Quintin Kennedy discharged all the goods of the former abbot from Gilbert Kennedy, demonstrates this relationship. William Kennedy entrusted sums of money, utensils, domicile goods, and chattels to Gilbert before his death to hold until the abbey appointed a new leader.[41] In doing so, they "magnified the faithfulness of Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis their bailie."[42] This 'faithfulness' became the backbone of the abbey's relationship with the Kennedys. This document was also the first mention of Gilbert Kennedy holding the office of 'bailie,' which is crucial to this story.

Monasteries, Crossraguel included, began giving the office of the bailie to members of noble families in return for physical protection around the 1530s. Religious houses sought protection from powerful families because of the influence they wielded, men they commanded, and money they could provide. Monasteries feared English invaders and iconoclastic reformers, and powerful families offered protection against these groups. The bailiery was not intended as a benefice like an abbacy, nor should it be confused with the later invention of the commendator, which Quintin Kennedy held. Instead, the bailie was a judicial position held by a layperson and was present in Scotland as early as the 1450s. Beginning in the early sixteenth century, the function of this office changed and, in effect, became the way powerful landed families enacted control over lands that were once out of their reach. When the monastery found itself in disputes or disagreements over holdings the bailie "provided the physical force behind ecclesiastical administration."[43] According to Peter J. Murray, "In Scotland, such protectors assumed the guise

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[41] This action was standard among members of the clergy. William left his worldly goods to his blood relatives rather than his institution, in a move that many other clergymen practiced. For more, see Mairi Cowan, "The Spiritual Ties of Kinship in Pre-Reformation Scotland," In Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent, ed. *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland (*Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 115-125.

[42] "Discharge by Quintin Abbot of Crosraguel to the Earl of Cassillis of all the goods of the late Abbot William February 1st, 1547," in F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 102-104. Original in Latin.

[43] Murray, "The Lay Administrators of Church Lands," 30.

of bailies. Initially, the office of bailie had been largely legal and administrative in function, but as time passed, the element of protector assumed greater importance and the social class of the holder rose."[44]

The 1550s were a challenge for most Scottish monasteries because of the effects of wars with the English and early Protestant movements. Almost immediately after taking the abbacy Quintin Kennedy made clear his intentions to align his abbey closely with the Kennedy Family. Crossraguel Abbey took this decade to solidify and formalize its relationship with the Kennedy family. On March 10, 1552, Quintin Kennedy leased the parsonage of the Kirk of Stration to his "dearest and best beloved cousin Gilbert Erle of Cassillis."[45] The Earl would pay "four score pounds usual money of Scotland at two terms in the year once at the feast of St. Martin in winter and once on Pentecost."[46] Upon first glance, this property transfer looks like any other from Crossraguel's long history of business with the Kennedy family. What makes this unique, however, is Quintin Kennedy's language towards Gilbert Kennedy. In previous letters and property transfers, the abbot never referred to the Earl of Cassillis in such an endearing way.

After the third Earl of Cassillis met an "untimely end by poison," in November of 1558, his eighteen-year-old son, Gilbert, succeeded him as the fourth Earl.[47] Quintin was now the uncle of one of the most powerful Catholic lords in Scotland. The fourth Earl never followed his father's Protestant leanings and remained a devout Catholic for much of his life. The familial ties between Quintin and Gilbert became increasingly important as Quintin took steps to place Crossraguel Abbey into the public eye with the publication of a treatise.

Conform to the Scriptures of Almighty God, 1558

Quintin Kennedy moved to assert his faith through his first treatise entitled, *A Compendious Treatise, Conform to the Scriptures of Almighty God, Reason, and Authority, Declaring the Nearest and only way to Establish the Conscience of a Christian Man in all*

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[44] Murray, "The Lay Administrators of Church Lands," 44.
[45] "Letter of Assedation by Quintin Kennedy Abbot of Crosraguel to Gilbert Earl of Cassillis, March 10, 1552." In F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 117. Original in Scots: "derrest and best belovit cousing Gilbert Erle of Cassillis."
[46]"Letter of Assedation" In Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel,* 117. Original in Scots: "soum of foure scoir oundis usuale money of Scotland at twa termes in the year mertymes in winter and witsonday be evin portiones allanerlie."
[47] Pitcairn, *History of the Kennedys*, 88.

Matters Which are in Debate Concerning Faith and Religion (1558).[48] It was published in Glasgow during 1558 as a fifty-eight page pamphlet and was widely distributed.[49] The theology present in this treatise reveals the worldview of Quintin Kennedy and adds significant complexity to his position as the commendator abbot. The treatise suggests that he cared deeply about the institution of the Church and believed in its success. The pamphlet ultimately reveals an enthusiasm from Quintin for Catholicism. Crossraguel fostered a vital religious community on the eve of the Reformation and this vitality manifested in Catholic persistence far past Protestantism's implementation. Quintin's privilege and protection from the Earl of Cassillis made his public resistance possible but within his own community he encouraged persistence.

A vital aspect of Quintin's treatise and overall theological ideas are their connection to the Scottish Provincial Councils of the 1550s. Quintin was among several other abbots invited to participate in these councils, which took place in 1549, 1552, 1556, and 1559 at the request of Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews. The Archbishop intended them to reform the Church from within on a regional level as he was heavily inspired by the Council of Trent, which took place between 1545 and 1563. The assembled bishops, abbots, priests, and theologians at St. Andrews sought to implement discipline and tradition across clerical orders. The 1549 council focused on clerical celibacy and reaffirmed traditional practices of clerics like aversion to secular offices, clean dress, and sobriety.[50] Their goal was to distinguish the clergy from the laity and create the separation between holy and secular once again.[51] The other major reform was meant to equip the clergy with means to spread the Catholic message effectively.

The Councils adopted the Tridentine decree "for the repression of heresies and the edification of Christians in the words of evangelical doctrine," which was passed by the Council's fifth session in 1546.[52] This decree gave clergy the tools to preach and ensured that every cathedral, parish church, and monastery had an educated leader. Monasteries became

[48] Quintin Kennedy, *A Compendious Treatise, Conform to the Scriptures of Almighty God, Reason, and Authority, Declaring the Nearest and only way to Establish the Conscience of a Christian Man in all Matters Which are in Debate Concerning Faith and Religion* (1558). EBBO.
[49] For the cover of the publication see Figure 3.
[50] David Patrick, ed. *Statutes of the Scottish Church, 1225-1559 Vol 54,* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1907), 88-95. Digitized by National Library of Scotland.
[51] Alec Ryrie, "Reform without Frontiers in the Last Years of Catholic Scotland," *The English Historical Review*, 119 no. 480 (Feb 2004), 31-32.
[52] Patrick, ed. *Statutes of the Scottish Church,* 98.

places of preaching, and many houses were required to send monks to study theology.[53] Crossraguel Abbey sent one monk to a university to study theology under this instruction.[54] They also decreed that each monastery should use this theologian to interpret Scripture and preach at churches attached to the house.[55] The council placed the weight of defeating heresy squarely on the shoulders of preachers. It was their job to watch over their flock and steer them away from any heretical ideas. Quintin took this task seriously, as evidenced by his treatise and later preaching at Kirkoswald parish church. The views outlined in 1549 would change the face of the Scottish Church but would take multiple successive councils to enforce.

Historians debate the success of these Councils, with many having the opinion that the reforms were too little too late.[56] Alec Ryrie argues, however, that "the Catholic reformers developed an imaginative and effective approach which took account of the difficulties of their situation."[57] The councils were an attempt to revitalize the religion, educate clergy effectively, and entrust monasteries with preaching. While they did not budge on fundamental Catholic doctrines, they were willing to make it more accessible and correct its shortcomings. Quintin's participation in this council placed him as a Catholic reformer who wanted to see the Church grow to survive. It also made Crossraguel Abbey a place of reformed Catholic thought, with trained theologians. The theological interpretations in Kennedy's treatise were thus not produced in a vacuum but rather are within the context of his conciliar participation. Quintin felt strongly about these reforms and actively sought to implement them through publications, public debates, preaching, and this established Crossraguel Abbey as a theological center.

Kennedy began his pamphlet with a dedication to his "dearest and best beloved nephew, Gilbert, Master of Cassillis."[58] According to the dedication, Gilbert inspired the work by questioning what "was the nearest way to pacify and establish the conscience of a Christian man in all matters of debate concerning faith and religion."[59] Kennedy decided to write a treatise on the subject to answer the question for his nephew. As such, he dedicated the treatise to him as

[53] Ryrie, "Reform without Frontiers," 32.
[54] Patrick, ed. *Statutes of the Scottish Church,* 107.
[55] Patrick, ed. *Statutes of the Scottish Church,* 105.
[56] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed,* 186-187.
[57] Ryrie, "Reform without Frontiers," 30.
[58] Kennedy, *A Compendious Treatise,*1.
[59] Kennedy, *A Compendious Treatise,* 1. Original in Scots: "Quhat was the nerrest way to pacifye and establische the Conscience of ane Christiane man in all materis of debait concerning faith and religioun?"

"one remembrance, and mark of favor."[60] As a dedication to a wealthy patron, we cannot take Quintin's words at face value. It was likely that he embellished the question posed by the Earl of Cassillis, or that it was never asked. Regardless, Quintin paid homage to his and his monastery's patron immediately, which showed the whole of Scotland that he had Cassillis's protection. While Quintin defended Catholicism on a larger scale, he also defended Crossraguel from any repercussions.

Directly following the book's dedication, Quintin wrote a brief note to his reader. The note displayed where Quintin thought his work fit into the period of tumult in Scotland. Quintin wanted the reader to know how bold he had to be to write such a treatise in the religious atmosphere of the period. He wrote,

> I am assured, [that] when you do mark and consider the title of our little Treatise… you will wonder greatly and marvel that I dare be so bold as to attempt thus a high purpose; especially in this miserable time, in which there is thus great diversity of opinion among so many pregnant men of intellectual talent. Nonetheless, motive especially to do that thing some part in this dangerous time that may be to the pleasure of God, relief of my own conscious toward it I have charge of… and also constraint be the great affection that I have ever borne to my dearest and best beloved Nephew, subject to the same, not only be the tenderness of blood…[61]

Quintin directly linked his treatise to the dangerous times in which he lived. He felt a personal duty to defend the faith to ease his conscience and glorify God. To maintain Cassillis's protection and advocacy of the abbey, Quintin needed to keep him away from Protestantism. He appealed to his nephew's Christian conscience to persuade him that the traditional faith was still viable and the correct path. The Earl had several Protestant influences that Quintin needed to attack. Gilbert's father, the third Earl was a known Protestant and his cousin, the Earl of Argyll, was also reformed.[62] As we dive deeper into Quintin's worldview, however, it becomes clear that the Earl is a synecdoche for either the Christians of Carrick or all of Scotland.

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[60] Kennedy, *A Compendious Treatise,*1. Original in Scots: "ane remembrance, and takin of favour."
[61] Kennedy, *A Compendious Treatise,* 1-2. Original in Scots: "I am assurit, (benevolent Redare,) quhen thow dois mark and consider the tytle of our lytle Tractive… thos wyl wounder gretlie and marvell, that I durst be sua baulde, as to attempt sua heych ane purpose; specialie in this miserable tyme, quhairinto there is sua gret disuersitie of opinion swa mony pregnant men of ingyne. Nochtheles, movit specialie to do that thing sum part in this daingerous tyme that may be to the plesour of God, relief of my awin conscience towart sic as I have charge of… and als constraint be the gret affection that I have evir borne to my derreste and best beluffit Nepuo, subject to the samyn nocht only be tendirne of blude…"
[62] Ryrie, "Reform without Frontiers," 30.

The crux of Quintin's theological argument was that God appointed both a Witness and a Judge to consider all matters of religious controversy. The Witness is the Holy Scripture, both old testament and new, while the Judge is the Kirk or Christian Congregation.[63] While he conceded that the whole Congregation was intended to be the Judge, many could not interpret or read Scripture. Due to this and the impossibility of every member of the Congregation meeting to discuss questions of faith, the Judge elected officials to do this work.[64] These officials were to be the Overseer, Judge, and Guide. They were central to the Church and guided them through the most challenging questions. Quintin compared this set up to the body, where the head leads the body because reason and experience are stored there. He continued this allegory with, "Nonetheless all the members of one body are not appointed to one office, for if this were, then were it not one body, but one member: thus, the Congregation is all members of a body, nonetheless all the members of the Congregation are not appointed to one office."[65] Quintin argued that there should be a division between people who can interpret the Scripture and those who follow it, but authority is in the hands of the congregation.

The work proceeded through each of the significant Church Councils to argue that they have always been in the best interest of the Congregation. The Council of Ephesus, which took place in 431 CE, was an example of when the Judge won over "blasphemous and intolerable heresy."[66] His defense of these Councils was the same reason he gave for why God appointed a Judge for his word. God ordained the Councils because of his intention for Judges. Quintin wrote that "if we give a powerful call to remembrance all the general Councils, wherein the wicked heresies which raise against the true faith were justly condemned, our sober and little Treatise should exceed the bounds, and grow unto one great work."[67] Here, Quintin revealed his adherence to the decisions of the Provincial Councils and, more broadly, the Council of Trent. In

[63] Kennedy, *A Compendious Treatise,* 3-4.
[64] Kennedy, *A Compendious Treatise,* 4-7.
[65] Kennedy, *A Compendious Treatise,* 6. Original in Scots: "This terme, Kirk of Congergatioun, properly may be comparit to this word, body: ane body is made and jonit togidder, comprehending divers membris. Notheles, al the membris of ane body ar not appoyntit to ane office, for geve sua wer, than wer it nochtane body, bot ane member: sua, the Kirk or Congregatioun is al membris of a body, notheles, al the membris of the Congergatioun are nocht appoyntit to ane office; for sum is callit be God to one vocatioun, and sum to ane other, as the Apostole techeis."
[66] Kennedy, *A Compendious Treatise,* 15-16. Original in Scots: "blasphemous and intolerable heresie."
[67] Kennedy, *A Compendious Treatise,* 17. Original in Scots: "Benevolent Redare, geve we walde call to remberance al the generale Counsalis, quhilkis hes bene fra the tyme of the Apostolis tyll out dayis, quhairin the wickit heresies quhilikis rais aganis the trew faith wer justlie condempnit oure sobir and lytle Tractive sulde exceed the boundis, and grow unto ane gret werk."

their ruling on what constituted heresy the council said, "In general, against those who impugn whatever has been or shall be determined by a General or Provincial Council."[68] Quintin believed in the authority of these councils, which was squarely in line with literature that emerged from the 1549 assembly.

Curiously, however, Quintin never discussed the authority of the Pope. This omission, while odd, does mirror the ideas which came out of the councils. Scotland had a strong conciliarist tradition that had ties to Paris, where many Scottish theologians received an education.[69] George Buchanan, who had tutored Quintin and his brother, was a noted conciliarist who taught in Paris and equipped a generation of theologians with these ideas.[70] This tradition observed conciliar supremacy over papal authority and maintained that the councils were the will of God. Prompted by the Great Schism of the fourteenth century, it was, as J.H. Burns writes, "a movement to reform the church by means of general councils representing the universal body of Christendom."[71] Kennedy's ideas had deep roots in late medieval Catholic reform. His interpretations were directly in line with this tradition as he asserted, "the general Councils properly convened, represent the universal Kirk of God, whereby all the rest of the members of Congregation shall be satisfied and pacified in conscience in all secrets of the Scripture necessary to be known for one Christian man's salvation."[72]

Nonetheless, Quintin found certain truths in Protestant teachings. He acknowledged the utility behind vernacular scripture, chastised clerical abuses, and used the loaded term 'Congregation' in his description of the Church. Quintin made the unusual decisions to write the treatise in the vernacular. Writing in Scots, while the standard for legal and administrative documents, was not common among the religious culture at the time. Quintin's treatise was the only Catholic one to be printed in Scots during the 1550s.[73] He made this choice, presumably, so all literate Scots could read his defense and ensure its success for a wider audience. This choice

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[68] *Statutes of the Scottish Church,* 126.
[69] Ryrie, "Reform without Frontiers," 45-46.
[70] J.H. Burns, "The Conciliarist Tradition in Scotland," *The Scottish Historical Review* 42, no. 143 (Oct. 1963): 89-104, 89.
[71] Burns, "Conciliarist Tradition," 89-90.
[72] Kennedy, *A Compendious Treatise,* 55. Original in Scots: "The generale Counsalis dewlie convenit, to represent the universal Kirk off God, quhairby all the rest of the membris of the Congregatioun salbe satifeit and pacifeit in conscience in all secretis of the Scripture necessare to be knawin for an Christiane mannis salvatioun."
[73] Stephen Mark Holmes, *Sacred Signs in Reformation Scotland: Interpreting Worship, 1488-1590,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 180.

was deliberate and placed Quintin as a reformed Catholic who was willing to see the Church grow beyond its ancient form. Stephen Mark Holmes observes that Quintin called for a middle way "between defending superstitious abuses and condemning all new developments that have come into the Church after the apostolic age."[74] Quintin said, "there are diverse things many believe which are agreeable with God's word and are not expressly contained in Scripture."[75] Perhaps Quintin saw the abbacy as a means to push Crossraguel into the newly reformed Scottish Catholic community, which he helped to build.

His treatise placed Crossraguel into direct conflict with Protestants but also marked the monastery as a place of theological importance in the way that the Provincial Councils intended. The theological arguments presented in Quintin's book were poignant and spoke directly to the times in which he wrote. Religion was vital to Quintin, as it was to most clerics, but his defense of Catholicism stems from a spiritual and a secular concern. The dichotomy of his fears arose from his position as the abbot of Crossraguel and his need to protect the institution from the heresies he laid out in the book. It also demonstrates the vitality of and intrinsic interest in Catholicism that Crossraguel fostered directly before the Reformation. He intended the treatise to re-invigorate Catholics across Scotland with a nuanced argument about Scripture, authority, and the Mass. The Provincial Councils sought more direct forms of preaching, and Quintin's treatise allowed all literate Scots to be exposed to these ideas. In this way, *A Compendious Treatise* is the most explicit form of resistance to come from Quintin Kennedy. It serves as the genesis for later reactions and highlights how the abbey persisted despite the changing religious atmosphere.

Intolerable Exclamations, 1559

Quintin Kennedy found himself entangled in a dispute with a noted reformer, John Willock, shortly after he published *A Compendious Treatise*. Willock challenged Quintin to a debate because of the success his treatise found among Catholics and the disdain it fostered among Protestants. Willock was just one of many reformers who took issue with Kennedy's views and wanted to challenge him. This debate never took place in public but was instead confined to letters between the two men, which Quintin later summarized into a lengthy letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow. The letter, dated April 7th, 1559, gives further insight to Quintin's

[74] Holmes, *Sacred Signs,* 181.
[75] Kennedy, *A Compendious Treatise*, 31. Original in Scots: "their ar divers thingis mon be belevit quhlikis are agreeable with Goddis word and ar not expreslie contenit in Scripture."

complex ideas on theology. It provides summarized versions of letters between Quintin and Willock beginning on March 26th and stretching to March 31st, 1559. Since Quintin compiled this letter after his book was published, it can also highlight how certain theological debates became more central to his defense.

Responding to the situation in Scotland, he focused on debates about idols, the Mass, and scripture as the most pressing. These conversations also reveal his position as a leader of a monastic house, which Protestants were increasingly criticizing by 1559. This sentiment was manifested in the anonymous "Beggar's Summons," posted on the door of every friary in Scotland on January 1, 1559, by reformers. The letter called for the friars to leave Scotland and their ungodly lives behind because they lived in splendor and had riches that they did not disperse to the poor.[76] With the friaries denounced so publicly, Quintin's defense became more ardent and public.

The "intolerable Exclamations" that Quintin singled out were Willock speaking against the Mass.[77] Willock maintained that the "Mass is Idolatry" and said of it, "Whoever affirms that he is able to prove the Papist Mass to be the Supper of the Lord, or be the Word of God, affirms that Thing which he shall not be able to prove thereby; for I do affirm it to be none of both, but plain Idolatry and vain Superstition."[78] The link between the Mass and idolatry was a common theme amongst reformer literature of this period. Idolatry, in this context, meant practice that was not explicitly stated in the Bible. Viewing the Mass as idolatry stemmed from the debate over transubstantiation and consubstantiation, or whether Communion is the literal body and blood of Christ or merely a symbolic representation. Followers of the reformed religion, Willock included, maintained that Communion was just a representation of Christ's body and blood and should not be taken literally. According to many reformers, worship of Communion as the literal body and blood of Christ was idolatry.

John Knox affirmed this belief in his *History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland* but preached it much earlier. In a 1550 sermon "A Vindication of the Doctrine that the Sacrifice of the Mass is Idolatry," Knox said the following, "The Mass is Idolatry. All worshipping,

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[76] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 203.
[77] Quintin Kennedy, "Copy of a Letter from Quintin Kennedy," 393.
[78] Quintin Kennedy, "Copy of a Letter from Quintin Kennedy," 396-397. Original in Scots: "Quhafumevir affirmes that he is habill to preif the Papis Mess to be the Supper of the Lorde or Institution of Jesus Christ our Lorde, be the Worde of God, affirmis that Thyng quhilk he sall not be hable to preif thereby; for I do affirme it to be nane of bayth, bot playn Ydolatrie and vayn Superstitution."

honoring, or service invented by the brain of man in the religion of God, without his own express commandment, is idolatry. The Mass is invented by the brain of man, without any commandment of God; therefore it is idolatry."[79] Knox argued that the Mass was never expressly outlined in Scripture and only appeared from the apostles later, which made it an invention of man. Willock drew on these common Protestant arguments in his debate with Kennedy.

In response, Quintin Kennedy maintained throughout the letters that his main goal in debating Willock was to prove "Whoever will maintain, bid at, and say that the Mass is Idolatry… [is] a heretic."[80] He felt that since the councils of the Church decided that the Mass was God's Word, then it ought to be practiced. This argument was directly in line with his reasoning from *A Compendious Treatise,* in which he puts all faith in the General Councils of the Church to interpret Scripture.

It is worth noting why Quintin wrote this letter to the Archbishop. Willock did not live up to his end of the promise when he showed up with four or five hundred Protestant supporters instead of the agreed-upon twelve. Quintin had asked his brother, Lord Eglinton, to muster his friends to stand "in readiness as I would please to charge."[81] Quintin never called those noblemen to attend, however, because he was bound to his word and did not want to cause trouble. He sent this compilation of letters to both the Archbishop of Glasgow and Marie of Guise, the Queen Regnant.[82]. Quintin even asked that this matter be taken to the Archbishop of St. Andrews so that he would "know the degree of recent developments that are among us and the brethren in this country."[83] The amount of discord among the countryside had not yet reached the level of the cities, but Quintin found this event warranted note from the Church officials. It revealed heightened tensions in the Scottish atmosphere.

The theological debates which surrounded the Reformation were complex and passionate but revealed a great deal about Catholic institutions of the eve of change. Quintin Kennedy's defense of the Church situated Crossraguel Abbey as a place of not only Catholic reform, but

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[79] John Knox, "A Vindication of the Doctrine that the Sacrifice of the Mass is Idolatry" From *Selected Writing of John Knox: Public Epistles, Treatises, and Expositions to the Year 1559* (Edinburgh: Presbyterian Heritage Publications: 1995).
[80] Quintin Kennedy, "Copy of a Letter from Quintin Kennedy," 396. Original in Scots: "Quhasumevir will mayntene, byd att, and say, that the Mess is ydolatrie, I will preif him ane heretick…"
[81] Quintin Kennedy, "Copy of a Letter from Quintin Kennedy," 394.
[82] Quintin Kennedy, "Copy of a Letter from Quintin Kennedy," 395.
[83] Quintin Kennedy, "Copy of a Letter from Quintin Kennedy," 395. Original in Scots: "lat his L. knaw sic novellis as ar amang us and the brethir in this cuntre."

also personal resistance and communal persistence. Quintin pushed the abbey into a new arena with his book and later altercation with Willock. Quintin acted almost entirely under the protection of the Earl of Cassillis and perhaps was bolder in his defense of Catholicism than if he did not have that protection. As the Reformation Crisis began in May of 1559, just a month after the failed debate, monasteries came under increasing criticism from reformers. Crossraguel Abbey was at the center of the religious debate in Ayrshire but was not destroyed, unlike so many other religious houses across Scotland. A letter from Sir Ralph Sadler to William Cecil of England described the destruction of several regional monasteries. He writes that "they [reformers] had suppressed the abbeys of Paisley, Kilwinning, and Dumferline, and burned all the images idols, and popish stuff in the same…"[84] Despite Crossraguel Abbey's position as the public face of Catholicism, it remained untouched, unlike several other institutions in its vicinity.

Crossraguel Abbey produced the most public defenses of Catholicism of any Scottish monastery throughout the 1550s and remained untouched by the violent outbreaks that characterized the early reform movements. The resistance that came from the Quintin Kennedy was widely known among both Catholics and Protestants. Quintin's treatise, specifically, warranted a noteworthy response in the coming years. John Davidson, Master of the College of Glasgow, and a friend of Quintin's from university, wrote a confutation of *A Compendious Treatise* in 1563. Davidson recognized the power of Quintin's work. He claimed that because of the treatise "there has been many motives to continue still in their old superstition and idolatry," who otherwise would have "embraced the sincere and true Religion of Christ before these days, if [the treatise] had been suppressed in its infancy, which would have brought both quietness to many one in their conscience and common peace."[85] Faith and community were alive and well at Crossraguel and this fact allowed its traditional continuation for decades after reform.

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[84] Ralph Sadler and James Croft, "Letter Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft to Mr. Secretary Cecill," in Arthur Clifford ed. *State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler Vol. I* (Edinburgh, 1809), 468. Original in English: "they had suppressed the abbeeyes of Passlow, Kylwynyng, and Donfermelyng, and burned all the ymages, ydolls, and popish stuff in the same."

[85] John Davidson, "Ane Answer to the Tractice set furth in the zeir of God 1558 be Maister Quintine Kennedy, Commendatar, Abbote of Crosraguell," In David Land, ed. *The Miscellany of the Woodrow Society* (Edinburgh: The Edinburgh Printing Company, 1844), 186. Original in Scots: "quhareby thare hes bene mony movit to continew still in thare auld superstition and idolatrie, throw the reasonis contenit in the same, quh had imbracit the sincere and trew Religione of Christe or thir dayis, and it had bene suppres in its infancie, quhilk wald have brocht baith quietness to mony ane in thare conscience, and commone peace."

The period after the Reformation crisis would prove to be the most defining for Crossraguel Abbey as it dealt with the changing religious landscape of Scotland. Despite the upheaval left by the crisis, the abbey continued to push a pro-Catholic agenda with the protection of the Kennedys. The noble protection that the abbey enjoyed was the most defining factor for this monastic reaction. Without that patronage, the abbey would have been more vulnerable to attacks and Quintin would not have made such bold and public defenses of Catholicism.

Chapter II: Dissent, Debate, and Divinity, 1560-1617

In 1565, Mary, Queen of Scots, and her husband Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, leased the whole of Crossraguel Abbey including, lands, kirks, rents, and mills to Gilbert Kennedy, fourth Earl of Cassillis. In this assedation, the Queen and King of Scots recognized "that the Abbey of Crossraguel has ever been friends of the house of Cassillis."[1] Since the benefice was vacated by Quintin Kennedy's death a year earlier, they awarded the rents of the office to the house of Cassillis "for their good service [to the Abbey]" and because "their majesties having the like good opinion of their trusted cousin Gilbert now Earl of Cassillis."[2] The Queen's acknowledgment of such a close link between the abbey and the Kennedy family, and subsequently the authority Cassillis held over the abbey, was a significant milestone in its story. The post-1560 period was characterized by Quintin Kennedy's continuing resistance to Protestantism, and the community's Catholic persistence, which lasted long after Quintin's death in 1564. This stark change in leadership was almost more abrupt than the Reformation crisis. As the last ecclesiastical abbot of Crossraguel, Kennedy had held it to a high standard of doctrine and envisioned it as a space of reformed Catholic thought. He ensured its ability to carry out a reformed agenda through his link with the Kennedy family, which provided protection. His attachment to the clergy and his religion would make Crossraguel a Catholic stronghold throughout his lifetime, but his death made it more vulnerable than ever to lay encroachment.

Margaret Sanderson, in her book *Ayrshire and the Reformation* (1997), argues that Ayrshire was as a place of "firsts" in the movement towards Protestantism. A layman from Ayr was the first to translate the Bible into Scots, a layman also carried out the first iconoclastic attack on church property in Scotland, and the earliest indications of Protestant worship by civil authorities were in Ayr during the early sixteenth century.[3] Sanderson describes Ayrshire as a region of religious dissent and champions its people who acted with authority over the local

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[1] Mary, Queen of Scots, "Letter of Tack by Henry and Mary, King and Queen of Scots, to Gilbert Earl of Cassillis of the Abbacy of Crosraguel for 19 years," In F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 173-174. Original in Scots: "that the Abbay of Crosraguell hes evir bene disponit to freindis of the hous of Cassillis."

[2] Mary, Queen of Scots, "Letter of Tack," 173-174. Original in Scots: "and for their gude service, quhilk abbay is presentlie vacand in their hienessis handis Throw deceise of umquhile Quintyne last Abbat thairof, and thair Majesties having the lyke gude opinioun of their traist cousing Gilbert now Erll of Cassillis."

[3] Margaret Sanderson, *Ayrshire, and the Reformation: People and Change, 1490-1600* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997), 143.

religion. There were many indications that this region would embrace Protestantism, but Sanderson largely ignores both the public and private dissent that came from Crossraguel Abbey. From reform's earliest stirrings, the abbot and monks resisted the new religion and found ways to subvert its legal implementation after 1560.

Crossraguel Abbey is the exception to Sanderson's argument and must be acknowledged to gain a holistic picture of the regional Reformation in Scotland. Cities, like Ayr, may have fostered significant reform-minded movements, but the rural countryside around Crossraguel held onto its Catholic roots. The Scottish Reformation was extremely regional and primarily tied to the cities in each locality because of print culture, word -of -mouth, and information networks.[4] That the Reformation was an urban phenomenon was true in Scotland as much as on the Continent.[5] Therefore, many historians have been quick to declare a Protestant victory in Scotland. Yet this assumption becomes problematic when we bring the countryside into the picture. Just as Eamon Duffy found in England, rural areas held onto their traditional religion more ardently than the cities because they were removed from centers of power and less likely to care about the political ramifications of religion.[6] In Scotland the harsh terrain, decentralization, and dispersed population made cities the epicenter of reform. On the other end of the spectrum, the countryside was slow to reform and often harbored the most significant Catholic persistence.

Monasteries were tied to the land upon which they resided and were regional beacons of the Catholic faith. Often religious houses offered the only interactions rural people had with the Church outside of their parish.[7] The land and other resources owned by these institutions, with some exceptions, safeguarded them in the first years of official Protestantism. The abbot and monks of Crossraguel Abbey experienced the Reformation gradually, which ultimately allowed

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[4] For regional histories of the Scottish Reformation see Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation.* Michael Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985). Frank Bardgett, *Scotland Reformed: The Reformation in Angus and the Mearns* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989). John McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish: The Reformation in Fife 1560-1640* (New York City: Ashgate, 2010).

[5] Margaret Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002). Also, Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation.*

[6] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England*, 1400-1580 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 4-6. Also, Eamon Duffy, *Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003).

[7] For monasteries in the landscape see Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

them to survive longer than any other monastic house in Scotland.[8] Crossraguel Abbey's Catholic persistence and reaction to reform was bound up in its rural geography, its position as a space of Catholic reform, and its connection to the Kennedy family. The resistance offered by Quintin Kennedy was minor, and on the grand scale of the Scottish Reformation it was of little consequence. Nonetheless, the abbey's story is valuable because it reveals a deeply engrained tension between Protestantism, noble influence, and the strength of tradition.

Business as Usual, 1559-1561

As Protestant reformers moved to implement their religion as a political reality between 1559 and 1561, Crossraguel Abbey carried on business as usual. Monks continued to live at the abbey, lease their lands, welcome travelers for hospitality, and say the Mass. The Reformation Crisis of 1559-60 was not a great upset that immediately shut down all Catholic institutions in Scotland. It was a catalyst for a lengthy, gradual, and messy divorce between Scotland and Rome.

By early 1560, several local reformations took effect across Scotland, which emboldened Protestant lords. Many small towns, port cities, and villages defended their right to exist as Protestant communities. These reformations should not be viewed as representative of the entire kingdom at this time. Early movements in Scotland were extremely localized and would not reach a national level until much later in the year.[9] This was much of the reason that Crossraguel did not feel the effects of the Reformation until much later, unlike its Mother House, Paisley Abbey, which suffered attacks during the initial crisis. The first years of Protestantism in Scotland were confusing, unregulated, and controlled by wealthy aristocrats, who further factionalized politics.

The land transfers, letters, charters, and actions taken by Crossraguel Abbey in this period not only challenge our understanding of reform but also indicate the existence of Catholic havens in Scotland during the early Protestant years. An aspect of institutional administration at

[8] The gradual Reformation in Scotland was put forth by several historians in the 1990s including Eamon Duffy in the *Stripping of the Altars* and Michael Lynch notably in *Edinburgh and the Reformation.* It picked up significant traction in the early twenty-first century with the works of Alec Ryrie in *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation,* John McCallum in *Reforming the Scottish Parish,* Margaret Todd in *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland,* and Alexandra Walsham in *The Reformation of the Landscape.*

[9] Jane E. A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed, 1488-1587,* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 216-217.

Crossraguel that continued, and even expanded, during this period was that of the fourth Earl of Cassillis' bailiery. The years between 1560 and 1564 witnessed a significant expansion of the Earl's influence in the southern Ayrshire region through strategic control of several monasteries. These Church lands allowed the Earl to wield power and gain income from the previously untouchable property. By 1564, Cassillis was in direct possession of benefices from Crossraguel Abbey, Glenluce Abbey, and Sweetheart Abbey.[10] Crossraguel Abbey was not exceptional in this respect but it was the only abbey to have a Kennedy as abbot. It was in the Earl's best interest to protect these landholdings from Protestants and the new laws of the kingdom. He directly benefitted from rents and farming on Church lands, and if reformers got their hands on these properties, this money would cease to flow.

Crossraguel continued with everyday life, and while Quintin reacted to the Protestant stirrings around him, he believed that his monastery would survive the tumult. In March 1560, Quintin Kennedy wrote a letter of assedation to David Kennedy of Pennyglen, which leased the "three merkland of Baltarsan and merkland of Knokronald" for nineteen years.[11] Quintin made an exception to the leased lands, however. He excluded "the meadow that lies nearest our meadow of our home farm of Crossraguel called the Braid meadow."[12] He intended to reserve this piece of land for himself and "our successors," presumably for either pleasure or farming opportunities.[13] This charter was entirely typical for the abbey, which continued to collect rents from its tenants. It is when it's placed in the context of early 1560 that a tension emerges in the document. Quintin secured a parcel of land for use by himself and those who came after him. This source, from the middle of the crisis, shows that an unaffected monastery continued to plan years into the future.

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[10]"Ratification by Thomas, Abbot of Glenluce of Office of Heritable Bailie of Crossraguel to Gilbert Kennedy, the Earl of Cassillis," July 8, 1561, National Records of Scotland (hereafter NRS) GD25/1/615. And John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, "Apostolic Letter to Quintin Kennedy and Abbot of Sweetheart Abbey," October 2, 1562, NRS GD/1/599.

[11] Quintin Kennedy, "Letter of Assedation by Quintin Kennedy to David Kennedy of Pennyglen," March 38th, 1560, NRS GD25/1/581. Original in Scots: "Thre merkland of Baltarsan and merkland of Knoronald." Merkland is a regional Scots word for a piece of leased land that has a value of one mark.

[12] Kennedy, "Letter of Assedation to David Kennedy," NRS GD25/1/581. Original in Scots: "the medow that lyis nearest our meadow of our manis of Crosragwell callit the Braid medow."

[13] Kennedy, "Letter of Assedation to David Kennedy," NRS GD25/1/581. Original in Scots: "our successouris."

Shortly after this lease agreement, Crossraguel entered into another lease with John Kirkpatrick, a burgess of Ayr and his wife, Jane Wallace, for the land called Clonlicht.[14] This charter is one of Crossraguel's few surviving land agreements that did not involve a member of the Kennedy family. Quintin leased the land to this pair for nineteen years for a price of £6 paid in equal parts on Whitsunday and Martinmas.[15] This lease represents a continuation of business as usual for the abbey and by extension for common folk of the region. John and Jane entered into a lease agreement with a Catholic landholder during a tumultuous time but still agreed to all the terms.

In this charter, too, Quintin made an exception that took longevity into account. He excluded from the lease all "coal and coal mines goods" found on the land, as he reserved these profits for the abbey and its successors.[16] A vital aspect of the abbey's property appeared to be coal. Crossraguel Abbey sat in a coal-rich region of Scotland, which in the nineteenth century would be exploited for its immense reserves. In the sixteenth century, coal was just becoming a source of heating, and mining was in its infancy. It is important to note that coal and monasteries were intrinsically linked throughout the Middle Ages. One of the first charters noting the existence of coal was issued by Newbattle Abbey, a Cistercian house near Edinburgh in the thirteenth century.[17] Quintin's insistence on keeping the profits from the coal mines on Crossraguel's land suggests that he knew the value of such a resource. It also evidences the motivation for Cassillis to protect the monastery. While there was possibly a spiritual side to his actions, the evidence continues to point towards financial motivations as well.

In August 1560, Parliament met in the absence of Mary, Queen of Scots and passed the Reformed Articles of Faith, or the Scots Confession. These articles, along with other legislative reforms passed during the Parliament, abolished the Pope's jurisdiction in Scotland and forbade the celebration of the Mass and all other Catholic sacraments, which effectively outlawed the religion throughout the kingdom.[18] Monasteries were not illegal, but the religious practices they fostered were now heretical. The new Protestant church was supposed to be a national one,

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[14] Quintin Kennedy, "Letter of Assedation by Quintin Kennedy Abbot of Crossraguel to John Kirkpatrick, burgess of Ayr and his wife Janet Wallace," NRS GD25/1/582, March 30, 1560.
[15] Kennedy, "Letter of Assedation to John Kirkpatrick," NRS GD25/1/582.
[16] Kennedy, "Letter of Assedation to John Kirkpatrick," NRS GD25/1/582. Original in Scots: "all coillis and coleheuchis wyn."
[17] John Charles Carrick, *The Abbey of S. Mary Newbottle: A Memorial of the Royal Visit, 1907,* (Edinburgh: John Menzies & Co., 1908), 104-106
[18] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 212-213.

which stretched across regional boundaries and was wholly Scottish. It was governed by a General Assembly of the Kirk, that oversaw all religious issues throughout the kingdom. The task ahead of reformers was to secure power and weed out remaining religious resistors.

Crossraguel Abbey, along with the parish church of Maybole, continued to celebrate Mass and perform other sacraments, which was in direct opposition to the law. Evidence of this opposition is found in the *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, which the General Assembly of the Kirk used to keep track of proceedings, assembly minutes, and other notes regarding the administration of the church.[19] During the first General Assembly meeting, church leaders recognized persistence of Catholic tradition in several regions and condemned abbots, aristocrats, parishioners, and priests for not obeying the reformed religion. The Assembly outlined its reasons for their condemnation as follows:

> To ask the Estates of Parliament and Lords of Secret Council for eschewing of the Wrath and Judgment of the eternal God and removing of the plagues threatened in his law, that sharp punishment may be made upon the persons underwritten, and others idolatrous and maintainers thereof, in contempt of God his true religion and acts of Parliament, which says and causes Mass to be said.[20]

The General Assembly wanted Parliament to follow through on its civil law, which forbade Mass and other Catholic practices. Parliament needed to be the strong political arm of the new church if it were to succeed. The General Assembly condemned "The Earls of Eglinton and Cassillis, the Abbot of Crossraguel, the Parishioners of Maybole, Girvan, Oswald, and Dively, within which kirks Mass is openly said and maintained."[21]

The condemnation proves that influential people knew of the practices at Crossraguel and the surrounding area.[22] The presence of local elites in these condemnations suggests that resistance, and persistence, was instigated in a top-down fashion. The sources do not point to

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[19] Alexander Peterkin, ed., *The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh: The Edinburgh Printing and Publishing Co, 1839).

[20] Peterkin, ed., *The Booke of the Universall*, 3-4. Original in Scots: "To aske the Estates of Parliament and Lords of Secret Councill, for eschewing of the Wrath and judgment of the eternall God and removing of the Plagues threatened in his law, that sharp punishment may be made upon the persons underwrittin, and uthers Idolaters and maintainers thereof, in contempt of God his true religion and acts of Parliament, whilk sayes and causes Mass to be said."

[21] Peterkin, ed. *The Booke of the Universall*, 4. Original in Scots: "The Erles of Eglintoune and Cassills, the Abbot of Corsraguell, the Parochiners of Mayboll, Gariane, Oswald, and Dively, within the whilk kirks Masse is openly said and maintained."

[22] All parishes mentioned were part of Crossraguel Abbey's landed holdings and had direct contact with the institution.

these elites having bowed to pressures from below, but rather they implemented their agendas on parishes and monasteries to maintain a carefully balanced religious-economic system. Local aristocrats, like the Earl of Cassillis, controlled the countryside through land ownership and maintenance of Catholic tradition was essential to that class structure. The Earl of Cassillis was a Catholic and opponent to the Reformation, as outlined by the condemnation. He protected Crossraguel Abbey and various other religious houses as a Catholic lord, which was a stark difference from his father's embrace of Protestantism. The economic and religious interests of local elites allowed Catholic persistence to take hold in the countryside, where the decentralized Scottish state and church had little power.

Even though the General Assembly condemned Quintin Kennedy, no harm came to Crossraguel Abbey immediately. The Scottish Crown was not powerful enough to take on the wealthy landowners of Ayrshire, which still included the monasteries. Church lands annually yielded ten times more income than the Crown according to the *Books of Assumption of the Thirds of Benefices*. [23] *The Books of Assumption* was the product of Parliament's need to impose the Reformation on Catholic institutions. It was drawn up in 1562 and valued all ecclesiastical benefices in the kingdom save the Western Highlands and Hebrides. The valuation's goal was to gain revenue from formerly Church-owned lands for the government and Crown. It required all benefice holders in Scotland to report yearly income, and then each region would calculate a third of this as a tax, while the incumbents retained the rest.[24] John Knox, who had been involved in most religious decisions and wanted all benefices to fund the new National Kirk, famously described the arrangement as giving "two-thirds freely to the devil and the other third divid[ing] between God and the devil."[25]

In this valuation, Quintin Kennedy reported a yearly income of £383 from the abbey, along with £26 13s and 4d of his private income from his family inheritance of Drummorquhy. £100 of this income would be the tax paid to the Crown per the new law.[26] Quintin failed to pay

[23] James Kirk, ed. *The Books of Assumption of the Thirds of Benefices: Scottish Ecclesiastical Rentals at the Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 567-568.
[24] Robert Henderson, *Church History* 66, no, 4 (1997): 818-19.
[25] Roderick Graham, *John Knox: A Man of Action*, (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 2013), 225.
[26] "The Valuation of the Abbacy of Crosraguel, 1561" In F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 125-126.

the tax and was "denounced rebel and put to the horn."[27] There is little indication of what exactly Quintin's motivations were for failing to pay the tax, but we can speculate that he thought it unjust for the state to take part of his benefice. This tax evasion could have been another way in which Quintin resisted the Reformation.

Widespread failure to pay the third does not seem to have been a problem for the Crown. The tax was considered successful by 1565 and generated around £32,000 annually to help fund the state.[28] The scheme helped to solidify the fractured Scottish Crown and placed money back into circulation that aristocrats had previously tied up in benefices. Ultimately, it helped stabilize Scotland and prevented social upheaval. Practicality and power sealed the fate of the monasteries, not piety. The Scottish Reformation was about religious reform and proceeded in a way that allowed the aristocracy to stay in power.[29] As historian Jane E.A. Dawson puts it, "The Reformation was radical and conservative at the same time."[30] There was never a desire for social reform, and carefully disentangling ecclesiastical lands from the aristocracy was one way to ensure economic and social stability. Wealth was tied up in land owned by centuries-old institutions and the sheer mass of wealth that institutions still held saved many from immediate dissolution. Rural people would still have property on which to make livelihoods and powerful Catholic lords would not rise in rebellion against the Crown if the monasteries were kept intact.

Emboldened Nobles, 1560-61

As the Reformation began to slowly solidify both legally and spiritually, wealthy landowners across Scotland were emboldened enough to take control of lands once out of their reach. Parliament moved to take away investment havens from nobles by claiming a third of benefices. Still, the crown could not contend with the powerful lords in their own holdings because decades of weak rulers diminished the authority significantly. The Earl of Cassillis was an important lord in his region and a supporter of the Catholic faith, but he initiated several seizures of monastic land. From these dealings he gained the nickname of the "King of Carrick"

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[27] "Quintin Abbot of Crosraguel denounced Rebel for Nonpayment of the Third of his Benefice" In F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 126. Original in Scots: "he is ordourelie denounced rebell and put to the horne." In sixteenth-century century Scotland the horn was used by the king's messenger to declare an outlaw. Three blasts from this horn signified an outlaw who was against the monarch's will.
[28] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 251.
[29] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 216-217.
[30] Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 215.

for the immense influence he wielded.[31] The crown was unwilling to move against him or many other Catholic nobles due to the lack of authority.

The Earls of Cassillis had a history of whittling away at monastic autonomy but were not parasitic in their endeavors. Their motivations and actions towards monasteries were complex and intertwined with family ambition, religion, finances, and factionalism. Just because Gilbert Kennedy was a Catholic does not mean he supported Crossraguel Abbey out of religious fervor, but faith was certainly an aspect. The financial motivations behind acquiring monastic lands cannot be overlooked and are highlighted by Quintin Kennedy's abbacy. Cassillis, like the earls who came before him, attempted to diversify his investments through monastic patronage. An intentional consequence of this influence was protection for spaces of Catholic continuity. By way of asserting control over Crossraguel, the Kennedys protected it from suppression and allowed persistence in these spaces.

Nobles took advantage of the religious upset to gain more influence over regions, as well as to solidify their political sway on a national level. The Reformation also brought questions of royal authority, politicized religion, and disorder among their ranks.[32] Keith M. Brown in *Noble Power in Scotland from Reformation to Revolution* (2011) characterizes noble power during this period as stemming directly from kinship networks, local communities, and military power. He also marks the Reformation as a period of intense adaptability throughout the upper class to hold onto power both locally and nationally. This adaptation took several forms like, "entrepreneurial exploitation of their estates, optimizing the deployment of their family members, and engagement with confessional issues."[33] The upset and turmoil of the Reformation and surrounding decades forced the nobility to widen their control within localities by extending their reach into confessional communities. This process began at Crossraguel Abbey in 1520, but Quintin Kennedy's tenure accelerated what Cassillis hoped to achieve. Family strategy was vital during the chaotic sixteenth century and control of monastic lands helped to solidify power on a regional and religious base.

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[31] Robert Pitcairn, *Historical and Genealogical Account of the Principal Families of the Name of Kennedy From an Original Seventeenth Century MS* (Edinburgh: William Tait and John Stevenson, 1830), 92.
[32] Keith M. Brown, *Noble Power in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 239.
[33] Brown, *Noble Power*, 1.

Glenluce Abbey, located fifty miles south of Crossraguel on the Irish Sea coast, became entangled in the earl's ambitions. The Kennedy family had long controlled Glenluce but were never bold enough to take land until the Reformation. On November 2nd, 1560, Thomas Hay, Abbot of Glenluce, sold about seventy-five properties to the Earl of Cassillis. The price was a sum of £2000 and "certain good deeds paid and performed by the Earl to them."[34] The earl and abbot signed the charter at the Church of Maybole, since John Gordon of Lochinvar had violently occupied the abbey to enforce his claim on the religious house. Gordon "violently detained and forcibly occupied" the abbey whereby expelling the abbot and monks.[35] The community turned to Cassillis after much deliberation for protection. To not fall under the influence of Gordon permanently, Hay made a deal with the Earl of Cassillis. Kennedy would get the lands of the abbey while Glenluce got money to fix its altars, church, choir, dormitory, and chapter, which had been destroyed over several decades by attacks from the English and reformers.[36] There are no sources that survived to tell definitively whether Thomas Hay regained his monastery after the incident Hay sought out the protection of the Earl of Cassillis, not explicitly because of reformers but rather from other lords looking to gain wealth through monastic lands. The nobles grew bolder in their attempts at control because of the upset the Reformation caused in the kingdom. Even though Cassillis did not get the entirety of Glenluce's properties at this time, he would continue to control the abbey until he fully reached that achievement in 1567.

This immense transfer of property caught the eye of ecclesiastical officials, specifically John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Abbot of Paisley, who wrote a letter to The Abbots of Sweetheart and Crossraguel Abbey, David Gibson, and John Houston, Canons of the Metropolitan Church of Glasgow. The letter authorized these men to investigate whether the 1560 charter "was for the evident utility and advantage of the Abbacy and if so to ratify and approve the same."[37] Hamilton was worried about the Earl of Cassillis taking over such a large

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[34] Thomas Hay, "Charter by Thomas Abbot of Glenluce and Convent thereof to Gilbert Earl of Cassillis," NRS GD25/1/589. Transcription found on National Records of Scotland Website, http://catalogue.nrscotland.gov.uk/nrsonlinecatalogue/details.aspx?reference=GD25%2f1%2f589&st=1&tc=y&tl=n&tn=n&tp=n&k=&ko=a&r=GD25%2f1%2f589&ro=s&df=1500&dt=1600&di=y.

[35] "Charter of Few-Farm by Abbot Thomas Hay and the Convent of the Lands of Barquhasken, Culroy, and Others in favor of the Earl of Cassillis," In *Archaeological and Historical Collections Relating to Ayrshire and Galloway* Vol V. (Edinburgh: R & R Clark, 1885), 157.

[36] John Hamilton, "Apostolic Letter," NRS GD25/1/599.

[37] John Hamilton, "Apostolic Letter," NRS GD25/1/599.

piece of land from a monastery. It might encourage him to take the same liberties with other monasteries under his control. It was not unusual for charters such as this one to need ratification by an archbishop. There are a few other examples from the sixteenth century of an archbishop asking other abbots and canons to investigate the utility of such charters. In 1545, David Beaton, Cardinal Legate and Archbishop of St Andrews instructed the Abbot of Sweetheart and other canons to verify a charter made by the Abbot of Saulset. The wording was the same, "granted for the evident utility and advantage of the Abbacy of Saulset."[38] What this letter and these charters reveal is twofold. First, certain monasteries survived the Reformation relatively unscathed because of their geography, landed families, and reputation as a Catholic stronghold. Second, the monastic system and Church hierarchy lasted in Scotland far past the legal implementation of Protestantism. It is worth noting this continuity in the micro-context of Crossraguel Abbey and southern Ayrshire, because of its heavy concentration of monasteries and the Kennedy family.

Scottish nobles used the upset of the Reformation to adapt their power bases and gain control over their lands in a way that the Scottish crown could not. Family strategy included patronage of monasteries, which extended influence from purely legal to confessional, as well. Across the kingdom nobles diversified their investments to include monasteries and other church lands to ensure that the crown could not gain that regional control. The Earl of Cassillis protected his investments not only for religious reasons but also to solidify power during a tumultuous period. When royal authority lacked enforcement, the nobles took up that mantel.

Debate as Public Resistance, 1562

In late 1561 an upset came to Crossraguel Abbey's privileged place among the monasteries. That year the Lords of the Secret Council[39] and General Assembly passed a law that

[38] David Beaton, "Apostolic Letter," NRS GD25/2/462. Translation available on National Records of Scotland website https://catalogue.nrscotland.gov.uk/nrsonlinecatalogue/details.aspx?reference=GD25%2f1%2f462&st=1&tc=y&tl=n&tn=n&tp=n&k=Advantage+of+the+Abbacy&ko=p&r=&ro=s&df=1500&dt=1600&di=n.

[39] The Lords of the Secret Council were the Privy Council who advised the monarch. Books on their inner workings and impact they had on the Reformation political atmosphere can be found in Kristen P. Walton, *Catholic Queen, Protestant Patriarchy: Mary Queen of Scots and the Politics of Gender and Religion* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) and Jane Dawson, *The Politics of Religions in the Age of Mary, Queen of Scots: The Earl of Argyll and the Struggle for Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

said, "Idolatry and all monuments thereof should be suppressed throughout the whole realm."[40] Following this act, a few nobles, namely the Earl of Arran, Earl of Argyll, and Earl of Glencairn, and other Protestants banded together to suppress idolatry in the western shires. Throughout their campaign, the crowd, led by wealthy aristocrats, "burnt Paisley, cast down Failfurd, Kilwinning, and a part of Crossraguel."[41] John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was present at Paisley Abbey for business and narrowly escaped the event. An attack such as this on the abbey finally confirmed the fears of Quintin, Cassillis, and others who resisted Protestantism. The abbey was not as safe as once thought, and this changed its outlook on the future. The attack had a paradoxical outcome: rather than retreating to a defensive position, Quintin went on the offensive. This risky approach stemmed from a need to protect his family's investments and the monastery he had worked so hard to build into a bastion of reformed Catholic thought.

Quintin's strategy was two-pronged, religious, and financial. Public advocacy for Catholic doctrines in Ayrshire, and specifically around Crossraguel Abbey, would keep his flock together and united against reformers. In reaction to the attack on Crossraguel, Quintin became more focused on defending the Mass against all those who would call it idolatry. The Mass was a central tenet of Catholic doctrine and one that Protestants often attacked. In 1561, Quintin published a treatise entitled *Ane Oratioune in fauouris of all thais of the Congregatione exhortand thaim to aspy how wonderfullie their ar abusit be their dissaitfull prechouris.*[42] This book, while not as widely distributed as *A Compendious Treatise*, still stirred anti- Mass sentiments among reformers who were tired of hearing from the abbot.

There was a real fear present underneath the polemical language of the 1561 treatise, which spoke directly to the changing times in Scotland. He directly attacked John Knox's argument on the Mass and the nobility's involvement in the Reformation, and he openly called

[40] John Knox, "The Partial Destruction of Crosraguel Abbey, 1561" In F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 127. Original in Scots: "Idolatrie and all monumentis thairof suld be suppressit throughout the haill realme."

[41] Knox, "The Partial Destruction of Crosraguel Abbey, 1561" 127. Original in Scots: "quha burnt Paislay; kest down Failfurd, Kilwynning, and a part of Crosragwell."

[42] While never widely published, Quintin Kennedy referred to this book in his debate with Knox as his own. John Knox, in his *History of the Reformation* (1587), pointed to this book as an important reason for debating Kennedy. Excerpts found in *The Catholic Magazine* Vol I, (London: Charles Dolman, 1843), 38-44.

for a return to the Catholic faith.[43] Quintin explained that his "conscience" moved him to "bestow and apply the talent and grace which God has given [him]," to set forth the truth of "[God's] word to this which are abused with false, wicked, and ungodly doctrine; especially in this most dangerous time."[44] He felt that "all heresies appear to be assembled and gathered together, as one arranged Host, to invade, oppress, and utterly overthrow the true faith and religion of Christian men."[45] From this small pamphlet it becomes clear that Quintin viewed Protestants in a sinister light.

These publications earned Quintin Kennedy certain notoriety among the Protestants who knew him not only as a Catholic apologist but also as the Abbot of Crossraguel. In line with the reform of the 1549 Provincial Council, monasteries became a place of preaching and Quintin was tasked with keeping his flock away from heresies.[46] Quintin still adhered to this reform as evidenced by his position as a preacher at the parish church of Kirkoswald, which the abbey owned. In 1562, during a sermon at the chapel, Kennedy said that he would defend the Mass against anyone who might challenge the sacrament. He vowed to continue his attack on reformed thought the following Sunday if anyone should take up his offer.[47] This invitation would prove to be yet another defining moment for Crossraguel and solidified it as a space of Catholic persistence.

Around the time of Quintin's sermon, John Knox, the well-known Calvinist reformer, was in Ochiltree, about twenty miles east of Crossraguel Abbey. Knox heard of this challenge

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[43] "Ane Oratioune Set Furth Be Master Quintin Kennedy, Commendateur of Crosraguell, Ye Zeir of Gode, 1561," in *The Catholic Magazine* Vol I (London: Charles Dolman, 1843), 41-42.

[44] Quintin Kennedy, *Ane Oratioune in fauouris of all thais of the Congregatione exhortand thaim to aspy how wonderfullie their ar abusit be their dissaitfull prechouris*. In "Ane Oratioune Set Furth Be Master Quintin Kennedy, Commendateur of Crosraguell, Ye Zeir of Gode, 1561," in *The Catholic Magazine* Vol I (London: Charles Dolman, 1843), 41-42. Original in Scots: "Movit and constranit, nocht onelie be natural affectione throuch tendernes of blude, quhilk is betuix me and diverse noble men of the congergatione, bot rather compellit in my conscience, I haif thocht expedient to bestow and apply the talent and grace quhilk God hes gevin me, in sik maner as ma be to the glore of God, trew setting furth of his wourd to thais quhilkes ar abusit with fals, wicked, and ungodlie doctrine; specialie in this maist dangerus tyme."

[45] Kennedy, Ane Oratioune, 41-42. Original in Scots: "quharinto all heresies apperis to be assemblit and gadderit togidder, as ane arrayt oist, to inwade, oppress, and vtterlie dovnfling the trew faith and religione of Christiane menne."

[46] David Patrick, ed. *Statutes of the Scottish Church, 1225-1559 Vol 54,* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1907), 105. Digitized by National Library of Scotland.

[47] "The Three Days' Disputation between Quintin Abbot of Crosraguel and John Knox on Maybole Green, 28th September 1562," In F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 128.

and went to Kirkoswald with about forty men the following week to challenge the Abbot. Quintin heard of Knox's attendance and decided to stay away from the event, fearing an outbreak of violence that would place his parish and monastery at risk.[48] Knox took advantage of Quintin's absence to preach at the Chapel of Kirkoswald, and when he finished, a messenger gave Knox a letter from the abbot. In this letter Quintin expressed a genuine desire to engage in a discussion but warned against a public and unscheduled debate. Quintin wanted to schedule a meeting, "this day eight days, in any house of Maybole you please."[49] He would only agree to this meeting, "provided always there be no convocation passing twelve, sixteen, or twenty one either side, which is a sufficient number to bear witness betwixt us."[50] There is no doubt that Quintin wanted to avoid inciting a riot and was careful to ensure the safety of himself and the monastery for the day. For the same reason Quintin had refused to debate John Willock when he broke the agreement of twelve men. Protestant iconoclastic crowds were a common occurrence in Reformation Europe and had just proved their might in the Reformation Crisis of 1559.[51] If a violent altercation broke out in the vicinity of Quintin's abbey, the latter would most likely suffer the same fate as the religious houses in Perth. He was perhaps even warier than in 1559 to invite a mass of reformers to Crossraguel since the house had so recently been attacked. Even when faced with a great opportunity to debate the leader of the new religion, Quintin refrained in the hope that Crossraguel would remain intact.

Another circumstance prevented Quintin from attending the debate that Sunday: The Earl of Cassillis was out of the country and forbade any debates while he was absent. Quintin stated that "by reason I am prohibit and forbidden by my lord of Cassillis, in name and behalf of the council, to enter into reasoning with you or any other, till his returning into the country, whose command I have promised to obey."[52] Despite Quintin's position as the commendator of Crossraguel, he still had to obey Cassillis because he was the "chieftain and [my] brother's

[48] F.C. Hunter Blair, "The three days' disputation between Quintin Abbot of Crosraguel and John Knox, on Maybole Green," In F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 128, footnote 1.
[49] Quintin Kennedy, "The Abbot's First Letter." In John Knox, "Copy of the Reasoning Which Was Betwixt The Abbot of Crossraguel and John Knox, In Maybole Concerning the Mass, 1562," In. William McGavin, ed. *The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland* (Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton & Co., 1831), 544.
[50] Kennedy, "Abbot's First Letter," 544.
[51] Carlos Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 2-5.
[52] Kennedy, "Abbot's First Letter," 544.

son."[53] The Earl of Cassillis controlled almost every aspect of Crossraguel Abbey by this point and asserted that influence through Quintin. There was pressure for the abbot to conform to Cassillis's rules since he provided protection for the religious house. It is unlikely that Cassillis would have left Crossraguel vulnerable had Quintin disobeyed him but maintaining a solid relationship with the Earl was imperative.

Knox diligently replied to the abbot's letter but denied coming to Ayrshire to "seek disputation," and was merely there to "propone unto the people of Jesus Christ crucified, to be the only Savior of the world; and to teach, farther, what are the fruits that God require of the members of his dear Son."[54] He heard that Quintin proclaimed "blasphemous articles" in "open audience" and was compelled by such speech to go to Kirkoswald.[55] Knox questioned whether Quintin was truly afraid of inciting violence and tumult. He said, "If you fear tumult, as you pretend, that is more to be feared where many of evil mind have a few quiet and peaceable men in their danger, than where a just multitude may gainstand violence, if it be offered."[56] Knox found Quintin's excuses petty and claimed that he should only be concerned with the judgment of God rather than that of the Earl of Cassillis. Knox even accused Quintin of infecting "the ears of the simple," and wounding "the hearts of the godly."[57] Quintin had no "respect to [his] whole flock," because he was "addicted to [his] error that light be called light, and darkness, darkness."[58]

Knox and Kennedy eventually decided to a scheduled debate on September 28th, 1562 in Maybole. The Earl of Cassillis wrote to John Knox on September 23rd to dissuade him from the meeting because it would cause "contradiction and tumult."[59] He did not think that a meeting between the two men would achieve anything considering the delicate religious atmosphere.

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[53] Kennedy, "Abbot's First Letter," 544.
[54] John Knox, "The Answer to the Abbot of Crosraguell's First Letter," In John Knox, "Copy of the Reasoning Which Was Betwixt The Abbot of Crossraguel and John Knox, In Maybole Concerning the Mass, 1562," In. William McGavin, ed. *The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland* (Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton & Co., 1831), 545.
[55] Knox, "Answer to the First Letter," 545.
[56] Knox, "Answer to the First Letter," 545.
[57] Knox, "Answer to the First Letter," 545.
[58] Knox, "Answer to the First Letter," 545.
[59] Earl of Cassillis, "The Earl of Cassilis' Letter," In John Knox, "Copy of the Reasoning Which Was Betwixt The Abbot of Crossraguel and John Knox, In Maybole Concerning the Mass, 1562," In William McGavin, ed. *The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland* (Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton & Co., 1831), 548.

Cassillis expressed that he was willing to "cause the abbot of Crossraguell to desist."[60] He feared like Quintin that should the debate degenerate, a riot might ensue. The presence of such a prominent reformer in Cassillis' region threatened his power and influence over his ecclesiastical holdings. If Carrick ceased to be a Catholic stronghold, then the land which he so carefully acquired during the pre-Reformation years would be less profitable. John Knox and his reformers jeopardized this economic system, and therefore Cassillis was wary about their presence. Despite this genuine possibility, Knox assured Cassillis that "neither yet in my judgement is there any just fear of tumult, the persons that shall convene with me will promise and keep all quietness, and your lordship I nothing doubt but you will take such order with your friends, that there shall no occasion of trouble offered."[61] Eventually, Cassillis agreed to the debate and informed Quintin that he could keep the posted date and time.[62]

The actual debate took place over three days beginning on the morning of September 28th, 1562, in the provost's house of Maybole. Each participant was allowed forty persons "besides their scribes and learned men."[63] Quintin began the debate with a fierce jab against Knox and his reformers. The abbot was "was constrained in conscience, notwithstanding my great inability, to give instruction to all those committed to my cure within my kirk of Kirkoswald."[64] He felt a duty to ensure his flock was, "enarmed against all wicked and deceitful preachers, which go about not knowing wherefrom they come, nor by what order."[65] It was his job to keep heresies away from his flock and he hoped that this debate would protect them. Quintin took responsibility over the parish of Kirkoswald, which was in line with the reforms of the Provincial Councils. Even a decade after the councils, he still held fast to the ideas presented there. He perceived himself to be at the front lines of resisting heresy and protecting his flock

[60] Cassillis, "Cassilis' Letter," 548.
[61] John Knox, "The Answer to My Lord of Cassilis' Writing," In John Knox, "Copy of the Reasoning Which Was Betwixt The Abbot of Crossraguel and John Knox, In Maybole Concerning the Mass, 1562," In William McGavin, ed. *The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland* (Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton & Co., 1831), 548.
[62] Quintin Kennedy, "The Abbot's Fourth Letter," In John Knox, "Copy of the Reasoning Which Was Betwixt The Abbot of Crossraguel and John Knox, In Maybole Concerning the Mass, 1562," In William McGavin, ed. *The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland* (Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton & Co., 1831), 549.
[63] Kennedy, "The Abbot's Fourth," 550.
[64] Quintin Kennedy, "Copy of the Reasoning Which Was Betwixt The Abbot of Crossraguel and John Knox, In Maybole Concerning the Mass, 1562," In William McGavin, ed. *The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland* (Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton & Co., 1831), 551.
[65] Kennedy, "Copy of the Reasoning," 551.

and their salvation. Quintin's resistance to Protestantism came from a place of deep belief in the reforms he helped implement and in his faith.

Knox took a different approach; he began his oration by identifying the corruption of the Catholic Church in a biblical context. Knox felt that Catholics "abused the law, blinded the people, deceived the simple and under the title and name of God, had set up the devil and all abomination to reign over men."[66] To drive the point home, he alluded to the example of Jesus ridding the temple of gamblers, which was a favorite of Knox's. The reformer had used it in Perth in May of 1559 to incite the crowd to cast down the friaries and monasteries. Knox said that Catholics, "had erected a market and filthy merchandise, in the temple of God."[67] It was a powerful example that most people were familiar with, which reinforced his argument.

After this brief introduction, Knox launched into an attack on Quintin and his position as abbot. For this, he employed several vital phrases of the Reformation and attacked the perceived wealth of the Scottish monasteries. Knox felt that monasteries were places of "superstition, idolatry, pride, vain, glory, ambition, unjust possessions, superfluous rents, and filthy living, used and maintained heretofore by such as claim the name and authority of the church." [68] Here he echoed arguments of other Protestants who saw monasteries as superfluous and appropriating large resources for the comfort of a few men. This point spoke directly to Crossraguel Abbey's position in Ayrshire. The population of eight monks used a significant land holding to support themselves. Even this small monastery took up vast resources, which many Protestants thought could be used better elsewhere.

From this attack on church corruption Knox moved on to theological matters. His main objective was to assert that all could interpret God's word for their faith. He placed his faith in the word since God "is a clerk and needeth no interpreter of such places of scripture."[69] Therefore, anything man implemented in religious practice that was not explicitly in the Bible was imperfect in God's eyes, according to Knox.[70] The Catholic Church was a false prophet condemned by the true followers of Christ because of the Bible's warning against such prophets. Quintin took issue with this interpretation, and since his goal was to defend the Mass, he also

[66] Knox, "Copy of Reasoning," 553.
[67] Knox, "Copy of Reasoning," 553.
[68] Knox, "Copy of Reasoning," 553.
[69] Knox, "Copy of Reasoning," 553.
[70] Knox, "Copy of Reasoning," 556.

needed to defend its place in the Scripture. He said that he would not defend "any man's mass yea, [even] if it were the pope's own mass."[71] He would only, "maintain nothing but Jesus Christ's mass."[72] Quintin defined Jesus Christ's mass, "as concerning the substance, and effect, to be the sacrifice, and oblation of the Lord's body and blood, given and offered by him, in the last supper. And take the scripture to my warrant. And for the first confirmation of the same, ground me upon the sacrifice and oblation of Melchisedec."[73]

With this definition, the two men debated the theological complexities of the Mass. Knox maintained that it was idolatry since "the ceremonies used in the mass, and the opinion conceived of the same, have been holden substantial parts thereof, into the conscience of a great multitude."[74] He argued, like so many other Protestants, that the Catholic form of Mass had deviated from what Jesus intended. Melchisedec's offering was simply a refreshment for Abraham and his followers and never intended as an oblation and therefore, could be taken as a precedent to the Last Supper.[75] Quintin disagreed profoundly with Knox's take on the Mass. He argued that because Melchisedec offered bread and wine to Moses as an oblation in Genesis 14 that the Mass was described explicitly in Scripture.[76] He traced this tradition of offering bread and wine to Genesis and intrinsically linked it with Jesus's sacrifice. These two instances, according to Quintin, proved God's intention to have the Mass celebrated as a sacrament.[77]

This debate was steeped in the rhetoric and discussions of Reformation theology. The Mass was central to debates amongst both Catholics and Protestants. Ulrich Zwingli, John Calvin, Martin Bucer and Martin Luther all had differing interpretations of the Mass. They disagreed over how present Jesus was in the eucharist and if the Mass had a basis in Scripture.[78] The debate often turned to Melchisedec, who was often viewed as the defining link between the Mass and Jesus. He was a favorite allegorical tool of Catholic polemics that defended the Mass. John Lydgate, an English monk and poet, wrote in his *The Vertue of the Masse* that the Mass has

[71] Knox, "Copy of Reasoning," 558.
[72] Knox, "Copy of Reasoning," 558.
[73] Knox, "Copy of Reasoning," 558. Melchisedec (more commonly Melchizedek) appears firstly in Genesis 14:17-22 as the King of Salem and Priest of the Most High God who offers Abraham bread and wine.
[74] Knox, "Copy of Reasoning," 559.
[75] Knox, "Copy of Reasoning," 560.
[76] Knox, "Copy of Reasoning," 560.
[77] Knox, "Copy of Reasoning," 560.
[78] Scott Hendrix, "Rerooting the Faith: The Reformation as Re-Christianization," *Church History* 69, no. 3 (2000), 569-570.

a scriptural precedent in Melchisedec's offering. Lydgate wrote and published this poetic treatise in the fifteenth century but Wynkyn de Worde published a new edition of the work in 1520.[79] This timing placed the older work in the discourse of the Reformation. Historian Matthew Rinkevich says that the edition demonstrates "the polysemy of supposed epochs," and "its intentions… has ramifications for the time of its composition, as well as for that of the Reformation."[80] This discourse between Knox and Kennedy comes from a place of deep scriptural understanding on their parts, but also from theological discussions of the period.

Knox recorded the entire debate in his *Copy of the Reasoning*, which was published by Robert Leprevik in Edinburgh in 1563.[81] This was the first of Knox's works to be published by a Scottish printer, presumably to sway public opinion on the debate to Knox's side.[82] He wanted to dispel the rumor that Quintin had vanquished him and ensure his reputation. Knox's agenda of cannot be divorced from his record, but many historians have found his account to be reliable. Knox only inserts his thoughts in the prologue and footnotes of the edition, but ultimately, he added these to achieve the appearance of victory over the abbot.[83] The debate between these two men is often considered to be a highlight of both their careers. Kenneth Farrow characterizes the debate as "a complete dead-lock" but one that highlights Knox's power of logic in debate and scholarship.[84] Farrow also suggests that it was a capstone of sorts for Quintin Kennedy who drew upon all his previous works to debate Knox. It was his last major public debate.

This debate offered an excellent look into Quintin Kennedy's theology and stance on the Catholic doctrines in which he was educated. It also casts light on his worldview, which was steeped in religion, family interests, and his education. For Quintin and the monks, he supervised, the Mass was the cornerstone of their faith, ordained by God. Crossraguel Abbey's main form of persistence was and would remain saying the Mass. Quintin's defense of it to Knox

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[79] John Lydgate, *The Verture of the Masse* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1520). Found in Matthew J. Rinkevich, "Reading Ritual: Biblical Hermeneutics and the Liturgical "Text" In Pre-Reformation England" *Renaissance and Reformation* 41, no. 2 (2018), 53.
[80] Rinkevich, "Reading Ritual," 52-53.
[81] Appears in John Knox, "Copy of the Reasoning Which Was Betwixt The Abbot of Crossraguel and John Knox, In Maybole Concerning the Mass, 1562," In. William McGavin, ed. *The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland* (Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton & Co., 1831), 539-572. From Kenneth D. Farrow, *John Knox: Reformation and Rhetoric and the Traditions of Scots Prose, 1490-1570* (Oxford: Peter Lang Press, 2004), 112.
[82] Farrow, *John Knox*, 112.
[83] Knox, "Copy of the Reasoning," 539-572.
[84] Farrow, *John Knox*, 113-114.

stressed that it was crucial to their Catholic identity. The Mass represented continuity of tradition that the monks were willing to defend.

Participation in this debate not only safeguarded Quintin Kennedy's abbey from more attacks but also protected his nephew's investments in Church lands across the region. These lands made up a deliberate noble strategy that enabled the aristocracy to adapt. Moreover, the debate acknowledged that Crossraguel Abbey and parts of Ayrshire harbored Catholic persistence not only in the form of followers but in leaders, as well. Keeping the surrounding area Catholic was in the best interest of the Kennedy family because they could wield more power through monasteries and parishes they controlled.

The Temporary Triumph of the Kennedys, 1562-1617

Almost immediately following the debate with John Knox, the Earl of Cassillis would gain the most significant authority over Crossraguel Abbey. On October 2nd, 1562, Thomas Hay, Abbot of Glenluce, issued letters of citation for the confirmation of the commission of bailiery of Crossraguel for the Earl of Cassillis. Quintin had sent the charter granting the bailiery to Cassillis to John Hamilton in July 1561 for authorization. As previously seen with Glenluce Abbey, the Archbishop asked the abbots of Glenluce and Sweetheart to inquire if this was in the best interest of Crossraguel. To verify the validity of this acquisition, Hay formed a hearing which called several witnesses to testify for the Earl's acquisition. The action, held at Maybole, was to hear all sides of the case, including those who dissented, before granting the Earl the office. The witnesses included Sir John Mur, the subprior, John Mur the younger, and Nevin McKewne, all reputable men of the region. The Judges also heard from Quintin Kennedy and the some of the monks of Crossraguel: Gilbert McBurne, Gilbert Kennedy, and John Haneyne. Sir Duncan McClellan, curate of the Church at Maybole, went to the monastery himself to find the abbot and monks in their church, "where their stalls used to be by the doors of their monastic chapter."[85] McClellan cited the monks to appear before the Judges in Maybole, to offer their testimony.

His reference to the stalls is curious as these choirstalls would have been a feature of the monastic church. They allowed monks a place to sit, stand, and kneel for prayer. Often the seat of the stall would fold up revealing a carved picture, called a *misericord* (translated to act of

[85] Duncan McClellane, "Indorsement to the Ratification of Gilbert Earl of Cassillis," NRS GD25/1/615. Original in Latin: "… monachos dicti monasterii personaliter apprehensos deinde ad eccesiam eorum monasterialem ubi eorum stalls esse solebant et ab fores eorum capitula dicti monasterii."

mercy), offering monks a place to lean while in service. These misericords were often the subject of iconoclastic attacks because they featured carved scenes of saints. For this reason, very few medieval examples still exist in the British Isles today.[86] From this tidbit in McClellan's report, we can surmise that during the attack on the monastery in 1561, their choirstalls were destroyed or severely damaged. This line gives a rather intimate look at how the iconoclastic reformers affected the abbey's daily experience. They did suffer destruction and reacted to that attack by moving closer to the Earl of Cassillis' protection. It is no incident that Quintin Kennedy began the formal heritable bailie process in July 1561, around the time of the attack.[87] The loss of their choirstalls, a central feature of any monastic church, and the overall attack frightened the monks and abbot enough to seek out more protection. Suddenly their business as usual attitude present in 1560 and early 1561 took a back seat to more preservationist thinking.

After the hearing, Thomas Hay disclosed in the letter that he felt the transfer was for the evident utility of the institution and urged the Archbishop to push forward the charter.[88] The Earl of Cassillis had successfully taken the lands of Glenluce and Crossraguel Abbey within two years. The religious upset caused by the Reformation crisis gave him an advantage as he moved closer to full control over his earldom. While specific evidence points to his intentions being loosely based on a religious duty to protect the monasteries, there was far more, which points to a financial motivation. The only person who stood in his way of full control over Crossraguel was Quintin Kennedy. Even though the abbot had been loyal to Cassillis, he was of the older generation and a trained cleric. Quintin protected his monastery for his family but also showed a profound religious understanding of monastic life and theology. Crossraguel Abbey became synonymous with his name around Scotland because of his ardent defense of Catholic thought. This defense also welcomed unwanted attention from reformers, both amicable and destructive.

In April 1564, Quintin leased the entire benefice of the abbey to Gilbert, which included all churches, rents, mills, farms, profits, and commodities.[89] This lease would likely ensure the

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[86] G.L. Remnant and M.D. Anderson. *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
[87] Thomas Hay, "Ratification of Gilbert Earl of Cassillis to heritable bailie of Crosraguel" NRS GD25/1/615.
[88] Thomas Hay, "Ratification of Gilbert Earl of Cassillis to heritable bailie of Crosraguel" NRS GD25/1/615.
[89] Quintin Kennedy, "Assedation to the Earl of Cassillis of the whole Benefice of the Abbey," In F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 137.

protection of the abbey after his death. When Quintin Kennedy died in August 1564, at the age of forty-four, he left the monastery with just eight monks and in the hands of his nephew. While there were later reports of his death from poison after a public altercation with a Protestant, these were primarily the imagination of later seventeenth-century authors.[90] It was more likely that he died of natural causes, as John Knox commented several times on his failing health during their debate. As the last ecclesiastical abbot of Crossraguel, Quintin left a remarkable legacy, which lived on far past himself. Not only would he be remembered as a Catholic defender but also as synonymous with the abbey to which he dedicated his career.

After his death, Mary, Queen of Scots, gifted George Buchanan, a famous humanist and the former tutor of Gilbert and Quintin Kennedy, a yearly pension of £500 from the abbey. Buchanan received the whole temporality of the abbey, which included the monastic buildings and lavish Abbot's Tower. [91] When Buchanan went to take up residence in October of 1564, he found the Earl of Cassillis, who refused to turn the buildings over to him. Buchanan complained to the Privy Council that Cassillis would not honor the Queen's gift. The Council ultimately ruled in Buchanan's favor and compelled Cassillis to turn over the buildings within six days under pain of horning.[92] Cassillis could feel his grip on the abbey slipping away following Quintin's death. His strongest link to the house was through his uncle and with that link gone Cassillis had to defend his investments from the Crown.

Mary later took the unprecedented step of appointing Allan Stewart to the commendatorship of the abbey in July of 1565, which greatly angered Cassillis.[93] The Earl of Cassillis was the heritable bailie of Crossraguel but that did not give him the right to appoint an abbot. As the Pope's jurisdiction had been abolished in Scotland, it was left to the Crown to fill

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[90] Davidius Camerarius Scoti, "The Reported Death by poison of Abbot Quintin Kennedy" In F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 139.

[91] "Receipt from George Buchanan, pensioner of Crossraguel," 1564, NRS GD25/9/23 Folder E Item 9. Also "From George Buchanan, pensioner of Crossraguel to Gilbert Kennedy Earl of Cassillis," 1564, NRS GD25/9/23 Folder E Item 10. Also "Gift to George Buchanan the History of a Yearly Pension due from the Rents of Crosraguel" In F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 139-141.

[92] "Action by Mr George Buchanan Pensioner of Crosraguel, against the Earl of Cassillis" In F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 140-141.

[93] Mary, Queen of Scots, "Gift by Queen Mary to Allan Stewart of the Abbacy of Crosraguel." In F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 141.

empty benefices. Allan Stewart was a kinsman of James Stewart of Cardonald, the captain of Mary's arched guard.[94] Allan was intended as a secular administrator since he never took religious orders and thus was a true commendator. He was referred to as the Abbot in his instrument of institution and installed by John, Archbishop of St Andrews as such, however.[95] In a single charter, Mary thwarted years of influence, patronage, and investments by the Kennedy family. Allan Stewart would ensure that the Kennedy's had little influence over his tenure and would act in the best interest of his own family, almost immediately. Eventually, Mary bowed to pressure from Cassillis, and allowed the Earl a renewal on the lease of abbey lands in 1565.[96] This was a small consolation for such a large loss. Mary needed to control and check her nobles at this time of her reign. They threatened her weak hold on the throne and would stop at nothing to see her ousted.[97] Even though Cassillis was a Catholic and Marian supporter, his immense influence still worried the central government that sought to consolidate power. Mary took Crossraguel Abbey from the Kennedy family as both a power move and to ensure her own survival.

With Quintin's death and Allan Stewart's ascension, Crossraguel Abbey ceased to be a monastic institution in the truest sense of the word. Yet, this does not disqualify it from harboring persistence in the form of continuing tradition and practicing Catholicism. Allan Stewart took up the commendatorship in 1565, and upon his arrival to the abbey, found only one monk. The others had deserted the monastery after the death of Quintin and upon hearing the news of Allan's position. The single present monk was Dean Michael Dewar, who refused Allan entrance for a long time and coldly welcomed him to the monastery only after Allan spent hours outside the gates.[98] This was the way of the Cluniac order when a novice wanted admittance to their institution. Dean Michael treated Allan as a novice rather than a superior.[99]

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[94] James Fergusson, *The White Hind and Other Discoveries* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), 62.
[95] "Instrument of Institution of Allan Stewart as Abbot of Crosraguel," In F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 146.
[96] Mary, Queen of Scots, "Letter of Tack," 173-174.
[97] For the nobles and Mary see Kristen P. Walton, *Catholic Queen, Protestant Patriarchy: Mary Queen of Scots and the Politics of Gender and Religion* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
[98] "Instrument of Institution of Allan Stewart as Abbot of Crosraguel," In F.C. Hunter Blair, ed. *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel Vol. I* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1886), 146.
[99] Fergusson, *The White Hind*, 64.

The monks later returned to the abbey and continued to live there until at least 1597, which was a later period than almost any other religious house in Scotland.[100] This quiet life was a far cry from the rigid monastic life of the earlier sixteenth century. Allan Stewart was never a cleric and hardly ever resided at the monastery. The monks were also forbidden to practice Catholic sacraments or doctrines. In opposition to this law, Dean Gilbert Kennedy, a monk at Crossraguel, continued to baptize children in private houses and was cited by the General Assembly in 1587 for "profaning the Sacraments."[101] The tradition of resisting the Reformation continued at Crossraguel Abbey long after Quintin's death with lay folk in the area knowing of Gilbert's secret deeds. Several place names referencing his title, survive on maps of the region to this day. The 'Dean's mill' and 'Dean's meadow' can be found in farms close to the ruinous abbey.

Crossraguel was a place of persistence in a country and region that were once thought wholly Protestant. The story of this abbey during the Reformation reveals a great deal about the religious upset, the process of reformation, and the loyalty that Catholicism had in a time where it was supposed to have been dead. Quintin Kennedy, though originally a secular cleric, became a defender of Catholicism, and his legacy continued in the landscape of Carrick for centuries. Dean Gilbert's later life reveals a continuation of this legacy that evidences it was not just Quintin who resisted reformation, but rather the whole monastery. The last monk of Crossraguel died sometime around 1607, but he left a monastery in near perfect condition for generations to study. The abbey would not be suppressed until 1617, making it the longest surviving religious house in Scotland. At that time, the entire benefice was annexed by the bishopric of Dunblane and ceased to be an independent institution.

[100] Fergusson, *The White Hind*, 57.
[101] Fergusson, *The White Hind*, 60.

Legacies

"The old Abbey stands by the highway side,
Facing the wind and rain,
Its days of pomp are over now,
Its ruins alone remain.
The monks who paced its cold flagged floor,
And taught their lips to pray,
Have gone and left their places now,
To silence and decay."[1]

Scotland's religious houses continue to fascinate generations of people who seek their quiet solitude, larger than life ruins, and breathtaking views. Richard Lawson composed poems about Crossraguel Abbey as a lament for the spaces that the Reformation diminished. His history of the abbey, sketches, and poems created a romanticized picture of the ruins, which are the same today as when he drew them. Monastic ruins inspired some of Scotland's best-known authors. Sir Walter Scott, the famous nineteenth century romantic novelist, wrote *The Monastery* (1820) about a religious house, inspired by Melrose Abbey, dealing with the Reformation.[2] His subsequent novel *The Abbot* (1820) focused on the last abbot of the fictional monastery and his reaction to the Reformation.[3] At Scott's death he was laid to rest at Dryburgh Abbey among the ruins he loved. Ruins fascinate people because they signify time passing. Unlike other monasteries in Scotland, however, Crossraguel Abbey feels complete.

Crossraguel Abbey never had a second life as a Protestant church like so many parish chapels, cathedrals, and colleges. When the last monk died, the abbey was largely forgotten and left for ruin. It remained an empty shell for the rest of its days, only filled when the occasional visitor made the trek. When Historic Environment Scotland (HES) acquired the property in 1913 it took on the task of protecting the abbey for years to come. It was never a popular site for HES based on visitor numbers. Its rural location away from a major trainline makes visiting difficult. Visitation is low enough that it only operates between April and September, while most other properties are year-around. Despite these low numbers HES is forthcoming with the significance of the site. Its guidebook sums up the recent life of Crossraguel Abbey well, saying "The abbey

[1] Richard Lawson, *Crossraguel Abbey: A History and a Description* (J. And R. Parlane: Paisley, 1883), 9.
[2] Walter Scott, *The Monastery* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and John Ballantyne, 1820).
[3] Walter Scott, *The Abbot* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and John Ballantyne, 1820).

still provides echoes of the monastic way of life that flourished here for around 400 years, and its completeness allows visitors to appreciate the extent and complexity of a large medieval religious house."[4]

The privilege Crossraguel Abbey enjoyed during the Reformation allowed it to survive in a state of completeness so that HES can preserve it and present its history more fully than is possible for other institutions. As other monasteries were cast down by reformers, burned, ruined, or dismantled by local farmers, Crossraguel Abbey stood as an oddity. The last Scottish abbey continues to captivate all those who pass and stands as a testament to the force of history. The Kennedy family protected its financial and religious interests through the turmoil of the Reformation and unbeknownst to them, they also gave historians a place to focus their study of that very event.

This thesis argued that the institutional history of Crossraguel Abbey reveals a nuanced and complicated reaction to the Scottish Reformation, which stemmed from noble protection and devout faith in Catholicism. Aristocratic influence is central to this story but often obscured because of the multitude of the Kennedy family's motivations. These were not merely financial or religious, or even a mix of both but stemmed from a worldview that encompassed noble power, religion, economics, and the Scottish state. Their influence over the abbey was not "appropriation" or "parasitic," as historians have suggested about other lay administrators at monasteries.[5] It was a complex relationship that ebbed and flowed as religiopolitical events transpired. Monasteries were part of a larger adaptation by Scottish nobles that stemmed from decentralized authority over decades of chaotic politics. The Kennedy abbot checked Cassillis's control while Cassillis ensured longevity for the institution. The Earls' actions granted Quintin Kennedy the privilege necessary to mount a resistance to Protestantism and foster Catholic persistence in the region.

The Scottish Reformation did not get rid of Catholic thought or spaces overnight. Reform was a lengthy process that began for Crossraguel in the 1520s and did not end until 1617. It took a century for the religious house to shut its doors and enter the collective memory of the region. Their intrinsic interest in the religion shows that Crossraguel Abbey fostered a devout

[4] Adrian Cox, *Official Souvenir Guide: Crossraguel Abbey* (Edinburgh: Historic Environment Scotland, 2016), 31.
[5] Margaret H. B. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation: People and Change, 1490-1600* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997), 12.

community that was not passive in their dealings with Protestants. Protestantism was not an inevitable force that swept across Scotland. It was a slow creeping idea that came to fruition over many years.

The abbey's persistence, while not large, does fit into the broader context of monastic spaces carrying on tradition far past the implementation of Catholicism. The rural geography of Crossraguel Abbey afforded it enough seclusion to act upon that tradition without drawing Protestant reformers to their gate. The abbot and monks of Crossraguel reacted and resisted change in a multitude of ways. Quintin Kennedy's pamphlets, attendance at the Provincial Councils, debates, and saying of the Mass were all forms of resistance. Kennedy did not speak for the entire body of monks, but his position as Abbot of Crossraguel situated the abbey in the public consciousness as a Catholic refuge. After his death, the monks carried on the tradition of saying the Mass, and baptizing infants. They also disapproved of their new commendator, Allan Stewart, enough to deny him entry and treat him as a novice. They likely viewed him as the embodiment of the degradation of monastic life.

By analyzing Catholic institutions during this period, we challenge the institutionalized "Protestant sacred space" of the Reformation as a religious teaching.[6] Stories like those of Crossraguel Abbey construct a more nuanced view of religious change and force us to confront complexity in the mythologized Reformation. Historical actors have a multitude of motivations, and when placed in the context of turmoil, those motivations become even muddier. The third Earl's religious convictions did not threaten Crossraguel Abbey, nor did Quintin's reformed Catholic thought. These people were devoutly religious and cared deeply for their convictions but lived in a world that was ever-changing. Their actions reflected the change while safeguarding their investments and lives. Religion was magnified in the sacred space of monasteries but was always grounded in a genuine need to protect that very space.

[6] Hans J. Hillerbrand, "Was There a Reformation in the Sixteenth Century?" *Church History* 72 (2003), 527.

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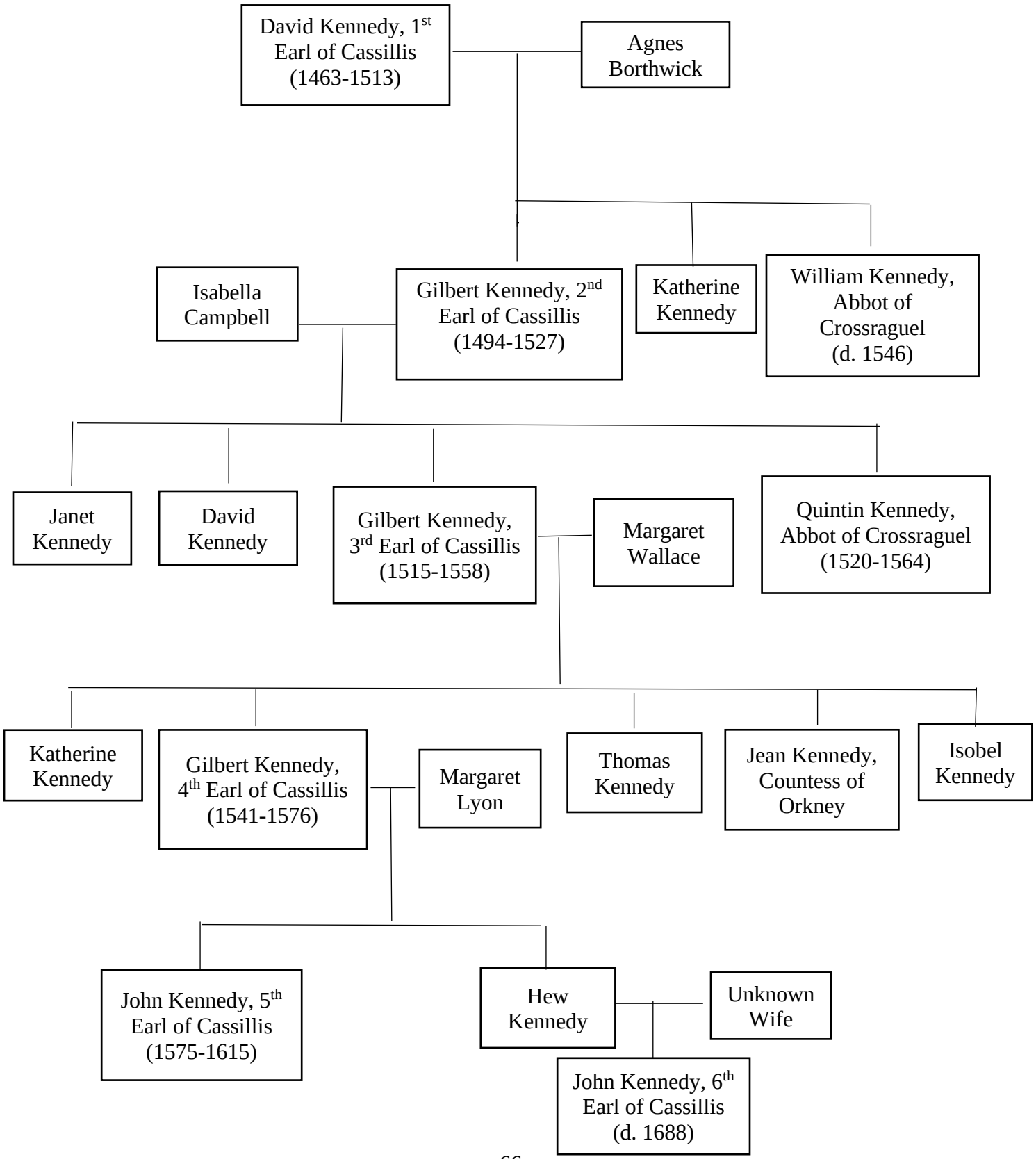
Appendix I: Kennedy Family Tree



Appendix II: Images

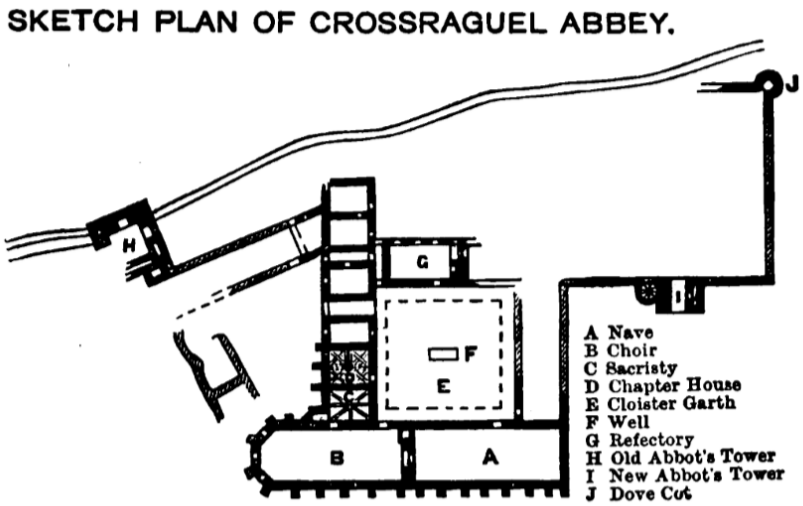
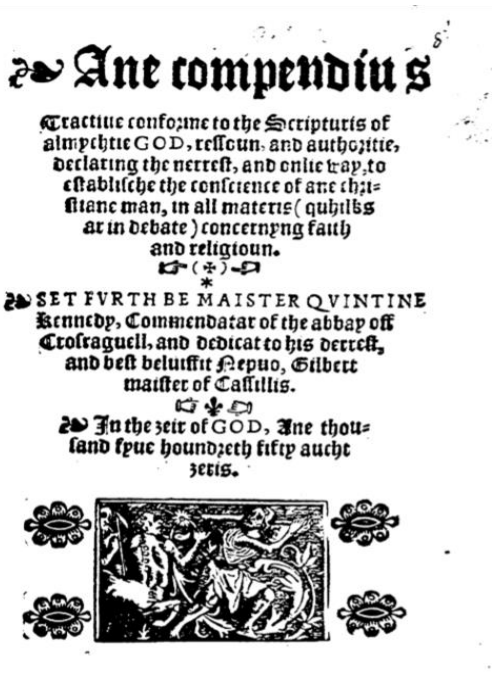


Figure 1- "Sketch Plan of Crossraguel Abbey," In Lawson, Richard. *Crossraguel Abbey: A History and a Description.* J. And R. Parlane: Paisley, 1883, pp. 51.

Figure 2- The largely complete gatehouse as it appeared in May 2019. Photograph by author.



Ane compendius

Tractive conforme to the Scripturis of
almychtie GOD, reasoun, and authoritie,
declaring the nerrest, and onlie way, to
establische the conscience of ane chri-
stiane man, in all materis (quhilks
ar in debate) concerning faith
and religioun.

SET FVRTH BE MAISTER QVINTINE
Kennedy, Commendatar of the abbay off
Crosraguell, and dedicat to his derrest,
and best beluffit Nepuo, Gilbert
maister of Cassillis.

In the zeir of GOD, Ane thou-
sand fyve houndreth fifty aucht
zeris.

Figure 3- Cover page of Quintin's treatise. Kennedy, Quintin. *Ane Compendius Treatise.* Glasgow, 1558, Cover. Early English Books Online.

Figure 4- View of the abbey church's nave in May 2019. To the right and left of the door sits the site of an altar. Gravestones can also be seen on the ground. Photograph by author.

Figure 5- The abbot's seat in the complete chapter house. Photograph by author.

Figure 6- The ruined Abbot's Tower as it appeared in May 2019. Photograph by author.

Figure 7- View of the church's peak with the single remaining cross on top. Photograph by author.

Figure 8- "Interior of the apse." From Fawcett, Richard. *The Architecture of the Scottish Medieval Church*. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011, pp. 320.