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The Relations between Scotland and the Papacy, 1328 - 1358.
List of abbreviations in quoting authorities.

C.P.R. Calendar of Papal Registers Papal Letters - Vols i. ii and iii
C.P.P. Calendar of Papal Petitions Vol. i.
McEwan The Church in Scotland.
Dowden M.E. The Medieval Church in Scotland
D.B. The Bishops of Scotland.
Ex. R. Exchequer Rolls of Scotland Vols i. ii
Lapar English Church in XIV and XV centuries
Meikle History of Latin Christianity. I have
used 1887 edition 2 & 6 Vols.
Ros Pastor History of the Popes, edited by Antrobus
Hailes Annals of Scotland 1797 in 3 Vols.
Lang History of Scotland.
St. Mon. Scottish Monasteries, by Michal Barnett
R.M. Register of Moray
R.G. Register of Glasgow.
I have also used Patrick's translation of the Concilia.
Other references are given fully.
The year 1528 witnessed the end of an estrangement between Scotland and the Papacy which had lasted now for twenty six years. Though the whole incident had been marked by considerable resolution on the one side and much bitterness on the other, yet neither the hostility of the Papacy nor the Scottish contempt of papal thunders was in any sense characteristic of a general relationship. We should altogether misinterpret the events did we suppose that the attitude of either Scotland or the Papacy was other than an exceptional result of a peculiar set of circumstances, and we should create out of the subsequent reconciliation and the utter lack of any resentment in Scotland an anomaly which does not exist. Let us therefore briefly outline the essential facts of the estrangement that the meaning of its removal may become clear.

In any consideration of the relations between the Papacy and Scotland we must bear in mind the relatively insignificant part which that Country played in the larger problems by which Rome was from time to time beset. Viewed thus much of the harshness which at intervals marked the attitude of the Church to her 'special daughter' is more readily understood. To the Papacy Scotland and her struggles must have appeared in a light much less glorious than to the eyes of Scottish patriotism. She was small and poor, and
she lay on the outside fringe of that system of which Rome aspired to be the head. Till the eleventh century she had been outside the pale of the Church Catholic altogether, clinging to the older forms of the Columban Church. Even when the process of Romanization begun by David I was complete, it was not till 1225 that Scotland became finally freed in ecclesiastical matters from the jurisdiction of England, and even after that date her more powerful neighbour too often became a 'lion in the path' to thwart her desires. When there was a conflict of interests, frequently those of England prevailed. For England was rich and powerful, playing no small part in the affairs of Europe and her Kings were often turbulent sons of their spiritual father, to be conciliated at all costs.

No better illustration of this attitude of the Papacy can be found than in the events of the estrangement. At the beginning of the struggle for independence, Rome had been more than inclined to show favour to Scotland. With France she strove to preserve peace and finally in answer to a Scottish appeal, Boniface wrote to Edward I urging him to recall his officers from Scotland and claiming the Country as belonging from of old to the Holy See. The result was a vehement protest from the English Parliament of Lincoln (1301) repudiating all papal attempts to interfere. Immediately
Boniface abandoned the Scottish cause. Next year he wrote sternly to the Scottish Bishops rebuking them as 'the cause of the present confusion' and bidding them under pain of ecclesiastical penalties come to Edward's peace. William Wishart, the patriot Bishop of Glasgow was rebuked with particular severity: he was (so Boniface wrote) 'a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence' and was bidden 'cease from offending God and seek peace'. Thus was support of Scottish nationalism cast aside, and a policy of opposition inaugurated that grew in bitterness as the issue resolved itself into the claim of Bruce to the throne.

This became the crux of the whole question. With Bruce, whose crime committed in the Church of the Gray Friars at Dumfries both Clement V and his successor John XXII were unable to forget, any truce for many years remained impossible, and Scotland was involved in the excommunication of its King. After Bannockburn the attempt was made by Edward II to use the power of the Church to accomplish that wherein his armies had failed. Between the year 1318-20 relations were at their worst between Scotland and the Papacy. Papal fulminations were met with open disregard even by the prelates of the Scottish Church. The Cardinals sent to command a truce were turned back unheard till the royal title should be conceded: a fresh attempt by means of a papal

1. Wider questions of policy were also involved. The growing difficulties of his relations with Philip of France threw him on to Edward's side.
messenger was even less successful and the unfortunate Friar was
waylaid, the papal bulls torn up and himself sent back naked
over the border. The rage of Pope John was extreme.
He was even disposed to listen to a proposal of Edward to
foment discord in Scotland "that so they may more readily
return to obedience to me and to Holy Church".
In 1320 the crisis was reached. At the famous Black
Parliament of Arbroath a manifesto was drawn up in the name of
the Barons, freeholders and whole community of Scotland.
This document which has been called 'a great remonstrance
... illustrious among appeals for national mercy and justice',
informed Pope John that the struggle was not 'for glory,
wealth or honour, but for that liberty which no virtuous man
will survive'. It reminded him that Scotland desired
nothing but peace and that it behoved him to labour for that
end. The conclusion was particularly significant.
'Should you, however, give too credulous ear to the reports of
our enemies, ... and persist in favouring the English to
our destruction, we hold you guilty in the sight of the most
High, of the loss of lives, the perdition of souls and all the
other miserable consequences which may ensue'.

This manifesto apparently convinced Pope John that
his policy was vain and that the spirit of Scotland was too
resolute to be crushed by the means at his command. From
this point the vehemence of his opposition abated. It may
be, as has been asserted, that papal policy had been influenced
by English gold, yet a consideration of the whole matter seems to indicate that the true cause was a reasonable enough belief that Scottish resistance must needs collapse before the might of England and that, in the circumstances, considering how hopeless it was to turn the English King from his purpose, the speedier road to peace was to support him and discourage the resistance of Scotland. Only when at last the Pope was convinced by the hard logic of facts, by the treatment of his Cardinals and the spirited protest of the Black Parliament, did he incline again to restore Scotland to favour. The attitude is by no means singular in the history of the papacy of the time. We shall see evidence enough in the coming enquiry of how entirely papal favour and disregard were alike conditioned by the general considerations of expediency. The one relieving point is, that in the main expediency for the papacy meant peace.

When we turn to the Scottish side of the estrangement we are encountered with an apparent anomaly. It may seem strange that, in spite of the part which the Papacy had played in the national struggle, in spite of the curses showered on Bruce and the interdict under which the Country was laid, Scotland should have hastened, as undoubtedly she did, to avail herself of the first opportunity to return to papal favour; and that in the years which followed, intrusion on an
unheard of scale in the affairs of the Church and neglect of the national interests in the hour of sorest need should have aroused not only no organized resistance but not even any articulate protest. Apart from other causes, however, there was this important fact bearing on the situation: the estrangement from the Papacy was but one aspect of nationalism implying no hostility to the Papacy as such. Only so long as the influence of the Pope was exerted on the side of the national enemy, was the estrangement real. Even then the Scottish Church continued her ministrations. There is no sign that the growth of anti-clerical feeling. The manifesto of 1320 though emphatic, is loud in its protestations of obedience to the Pope if he will but abandon his policy of favour to England, "Ever ready, like dutiful children, to yield all obedience to you as God's vice regent". Such words are scarcely the language of an opposition which circumstances might well have produced.

Almost immediately after this incident the negotiations began. Presently ambassadors were at the Roman Court and the Pope deigned to listen to them though Bruce still lay under excommunication. Next year the Bishop of Winchester and a Friar were commissioned to deliver letters to the Scottish King which Edward intercepted because of certain words which it did not seem safe to communicate to Bruce, (doubtless referring to
the vexed question of the Royal title). The eagerness of Scotland to be reconciled appeared again in the truce of March 1323 wherein it was provided that Scotland 'shall have opportunity to procure absolution'. The result was the embassy of Randolph who finally obtained from John the recognition of Bruce as King.

From now onwards although the reconciliation was not yet complete, there were constant and definite relations between the Papacy and Scotland, despite the endeavours of England to frustrate them. The chief obstacle was the resentment of Pope John who could not readily forget the treatment of his legates in 1317. Randolph, after his successful embassy of 1323, was apparently regarded as an agent in Scotland, 'in whose labours to foster peace the Pope hopes and trusts'.

There is a letter of John (1324) thanking him for his efforts in procuring the release of the Earl of Richmond who had been held captive since 1322. Again when Randolph had gone to France to arrange an alliance, the Pope thought it necessary to urge him to return to Scotland. In terms of this alliance the influence of France was now exerted in the Scottish cause at the Papal Court to procure absolution.

1. Such probably was the implication of the phrase of Fordun who speaking of the violation of the truce by the Scots in their invasion of 1327 refers in general terms to the underhand policy of England: 'detecta eorum fraude'. Lib. xi: 26, 11.
We have thus between the years 1326 and 1328 clear evidence of the Scottish desire to return to the fold of the Church. There were other influences at work also as we shall presently see. But these in themselves could have been of little avail had the years of Papal opposition left a legacy of bitterness in Scotland or had a desire been born to assert in matters ecclesiastical that freedom for which in things secular the nation had risen to the heights of heroic endeavour.

II.

April 1328 brought the final triumph of Bruce in the treaty of Northampton whereby all English claims to Scotland were resigned. Not least noteworthy was the clause whereby Edward undertook to employ his good offices at the Papal Court to obtain a reversion of all spiritual processes depending between the Holy See and Scotland against the King, his Kingdom or subjects. It is also significant of the part that the Papacy played in the affairs of Scotland at this time, that the Papal Court should expressly be appointed arbiter in regard to the fulfilment of the treaty. As penalty for failure to perform the terms, it was agreed that a sum of 2,000 silver pounds should be paid into the Papal Treasury.

The Treaty concluded, a Scottish embassy lost no time in proceeding to Avignon. Edward too appears to have been
animated by sufficient sincerity for the time to use his influence for the freeing of Scotland from the ecclesiastical censures under which she had so long lain. At last in October 1328 came the end of the long estrangement. The Pope wrote to Robert "Our dearest son, the illustrious King of Scotland", granting absolution, and removing the interdict for two years. As penance it was enjoined that the truce with Edward should not be broken. It would have been little consistent with the character of Pope John had so signal a favour been granted without some tangible recompense. The predominance of finance in the Papal transactions with Scotland in this and the next few years is a sidelight on that policy which roused the ire of the Minorite upholder of Apostolic poverty and accumulated fabulous wealth in the Papal Treasury. Not only did the Scottish representatives at Avignon take an oath to obey the Pope and Church. They also promised to pay for King Robert a sum of 12,000 florins - a debt which was discharged in two payments in October and November of the following year.

It is of interest to note who the parties figuring as proctors of King Robert in these negotiations were - John, Bishop of Moray, Adam, Bishop elect of Brechin and James Archdeacon of St. Andrews. While at Avignon, the two last were raised to episcopal rank, Adam, to the See of Moray and James, to the See of St. Andrews. More will be said presently of
this aspect of Papal policy. Meantime it is noteworthy that all three were Papal nominees, though in the case of James the process of election by chapter was observed. The name elect in the case of Adam, seems to imply election by the chapter, though here also John carefully asserted provision.

Of John there is no trace of canonical election at all. Nor was it with the Papacy only that these prelates found favour. The political labours of Bishop Adam were rewarded by a pension of £12,5,4 from the fermes of Montrose and £20 from the fishing of Steptles belonging to the town of Perth. Such facts are consistent with the important part in general played by ecclesiastics in Scottish affairs at the time.

The reconciliation of October was speedily followed by constant relations between Scotland and Avignon. In November the father confessor of Bruce received sanction to absolve him fully from his sins. Besides the constant embassies which passed to and fro there seems to have been now a resident proctor of the Scottish King at the Papal Court.

From 1329 onwards, Reynardus Jacobus de Podio Bonici appears in the Exchequer Rolls as receiving a salary of 20 Marks 'till otherwise provided for'. In the succeeding years the same

It was a disputed election but John provided James before any news of the election reached him.
priest receives larger amounts but it can scarcely be supposed that an allowance so small, when compared with what was received by the proctors of the English King, is consistent with a post so important. The inference is that this priest, probably with others who are rewarded in similar terms without precise mention of the duties performed, acted as a permanent agent for transmission of correspondence, while for weighty matters Scottish prelates came to the Papal Court in person.

There is evidence of much intercourse of importance throughout the whole 1329. Of the sum raised for the second year's instalment of the £20,000 due to England in terms of the Treaty of Northampton, the sum of £666-13-4 was set aside for the furtherance of the affairs of the Kingdom at the Roman Court. In addition we find in the Exchequer Rolls a number of payments all for the same purpose. Reginald More (the Chamberlain) received £400 for the expenses of the Bishops of Moray and Brechin and other envoys, and a further sum of £1,132-6-8 'as part of 4,000 marks ordained in the now familiar phrase' pro negotiis regni ad curiam Romanam expediendis'. The expenses of the Bishop of Moray required another grant of £333-6-8 and a similar sum was paid to the Earl of Moray, engaged in the same negotiations.

What these affairs were, the furtherance of which was so costly is almost certainly explained in a letter of the
Pope dated 15th June 1529, granting to King Robert permission to be crowned and appointed by the Bishop of St. Andrews or failing him by the Bishop of Glasgow. But six days before the date of the letter the King was dead.

What might have been the result for Scotland had fate spared Bruce to strong age, we can but conjecture; of the greatness of his loss, the succeeding years give too melancholy proof. In loyalty to him the national spirit in Church and State had for a space found expression; without him, was lost all that coherence of effort without which the most resolute patriotism is vain. With the general history of the time we are only indirectly concerned; yet even within the limits of Papal relations, the sad story of neglect, hostility abroad, and collapse of nationalism within, is not hard to spell.
THE REGENCY OF RANDOLPH.

On the death of Bruce, his son David being but five years old, the regency of the realm was entrusted to Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, in accordance with the decision of the Parliament of Scone, eleven years before. All things conspired to make this regency fortunate for Scotland. For many years he had been prominent in the national counsels. His statesmanship had accomplished the delicate task of winning a recognition of the royal title for Bruce from the Holy See. Thereafter he had been employed by the astute Pope John as his agent in Scotland for the establishment of peace with England and reconciliation with the Church. John, himself the most politically minded of pontiffs, was not slow to note one so eminently suited for the furtherance of papal designs. In the years 1324-28, we see a constant endeavour on the part of the papacy to keep in the closest touch with the future regent. To him whenever occasion arises the papal appeals touching Scottish affairs are addressed.

But far more clearly fitting him for the arduous
task of regency, than his skill however great in state-
craft, was his strength of character and love of justice.
A minority is ever a perilous times for a nation as
Scotland has proved already and was destined to prove in
future years of anarchy and national dishonour. The
years of the regency of Randolph were marked by such
security and peace that the period which follows stands
out by contrast shrouded in deeper gloom. The writer
of the Scotichronicon grows eloquent in his praises.
"He exalted the Church and preserved its liberties; he
found favour with nobles and people alike". His
justice is illustrated by tales which scarce lose value,
in the circumstances, as historical evidence by the
probable untruth. The eulogy of the chronicler is
amply borne out by what we learn of Scottish prosperity
in the period from the Exchequer Rolls. Between 1327
and 1332 there is to be observed a general increase in the
burgh rents paid to the Exchequer, amounting sometimes to
40%.

For Scotland these closing months of 1329 were
full of hope. Bruce indeed was dead, but the greatness
of his loss, lamented though it was, could not be
appreciated at the time. The nation was still living
in the after glow of great memories, with a pride yet unhumbled. Peace had been secured with England by a treaty that recognized fully the long disputed independence. In the marriage of the young King to Joan of England there seemed to be a promise of lasting concord. England herself was torn with internal strife. Even had she been disposed to renew the quarrel, her might was yet a scorn in Scotland, food for rude jests about the "Anglici Ca^dat!".

The strong hand of Randolph seemed able to cope with aggression from without and more insidious perils within. Moreover the imminent departure of Douglas on his mission with the heart of Bruce would leave the Regent without a rival in ability or renown.

From the standpoint of the Papacy also the situation left little to desire. The wayward daughter of the Church had returned to her obedience, with a wholeheartedness that the events of the next few years proved. The firebrands among the Bishops in whom, next to Bruce, the national cause had found its most resolute defenders, were with one exception dead. By careful provision the Sees had been filled with churchmen above suspicion of the contumacy of a Lamberton or a Wishart. In the person of the Regent himself, who had been the chief instrument in the Reconciliation, lay the most satisfactory fact of all.
Compared with other provinces of the Church, Scotland can have given little cause for anxiety. Her return to the fold had been accomplished with an eagerness and completeness that surprises after the years of estrangement. It has been supposed by Church historians that the memory of Papal hostility must have rankled in many minds, "that there must have been lodged in the national consciousness the pregnant idea that the religion of Scotland could live and stand without Rome". Of any such sentiment in the records of these years there is utterly no sign. In fact the whole anomaly of the reconciliation is apparent rather than real. As we have already indicated, it is an assumption unsupported by historical fact, that the spirit called forth in the Scottish people by the wars of Independence was in any true sense more than a false dawn of nationalism. Apart from antagonism to England, apart from the great names round which national feeling gathered, Scottish nationalism can scarcely be said to have existed at all. Language such as I have quoted implies a much more orderly an organic growth of national consciousness than Scottish history of the period can show. The series of provisions,
whereby the Pope largely affected and afterwards secured the reconciliation of the church, even when made without reference to those to whom the power of election rightfully pertained, aroused no protest. We do not read in the Calendar of Papal Registers in Scottish entries, as we frequently do in those relating to contemporary England, of the failure of Papal nominees to obtain the benefices to which they have been provided. It is in a matter such as this that hostility would naturally manifest itself. No doubt the comparative poverty of Scotland and her reputation for turbulence protected her from the worst evils of the Papal system of provision, to which England appeared "a garden of delights and a well which never failed", and which wrung from the Monk of Malmesbury the fervent prayer: "Lord Jesus, remove the Pope from off our backs or curb his power". Scotland had not to suffer the evil of the intrusion of Papal favourites of foreign birth into her episcopal sees or even to any large extent into benefices of less importance. When the power of provision was exercised, it was, in the cause of bishoprics, always, and in other appointments normally confined the Scottish churchmen in this period. Yet, granting all particular
circumstances, the plain fact remains that the whole period of David II is one of constant papal interference in the affairs of the Scottish Church, and throughout, the submission was complete. In England opposition grew more and more strenuous till it culminated in the Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire. In Scotland there is not recorded a single instance of protest.

The death of Bruce left the reconciliation with the Papacy as yet incomplete. One important result of the constant exertions and expense of Scottish agents at Avignon had been obtained by the latter of Pope John dated six days after the King's death, granting authority to the Bishop of St. Andrews and failing him, to the Bishop of Glasgow, to perform the ceremony of coronation. As a mark of papal favour it was directed that Bruce should be anointed also.

The question of the interdict, however, remained.
In the original settlement of the previous year, a relaxation of two years only had been granted—an obvious measure of caution till the sincerity of the Scottish repentance should be proved. The Scottish agents at the papal court meantime were applying the effective persuasion of finance. On 24th October, 1329 the balance of the £2,000 promised the previous year was paid by the Bishop of Moray and Walter de Twynham, Canon of Glasgow and Chancellor of Scotland. Early in November the Pope wrote to King David intimating that the interdict was finally removed.

Thus normal relations between Scotland and the Papacy were at last restored. The immediate result was a vast increase of correspondence. The number of letters dealing with Scottish affairs for the months of November and December exceeds that for the whole preceding part of the year. All sides of the life of the Church and Nation are touched. Canonrics, prebends and benefices of all kinds are bestowed; irregularities are corrected which had grown up in the long years of separation and war; gifts to abbeys and convents are confirmed, dispensations are granted and the widest powers entrusted to the two nuncios who had been despatched to settle the affairs of Scotland.

The despatch of the nuncios Bertrand Cariti and
Raymond de Quercu had been one of the first actions of Pope John as soon as he was assured of Scotland’s return to Holy Church. The earliest mention of their mission is 5th April 1329 when we find them commissioned to collect Peter’s Pence from all ecclesiastics and seculars in Scotland whether exempt or not. In the same month a letter is addressed to the Bishops and clergy of Scotland ordering payment to be made to the nuncios of the first fruits of all void benefices for a period of three years, in accordance with an edict of 1316 which had not been observed owing to the war. Thus in characteristic manner was the reconciliation sealed.

But the mission of the nuncios was not for purposes of taxation only. They seem to have held a general mandate for the settlement of all matters which it was not convenient to remit to Avignon. Thus we find them entrusted with the confirmation of a gift of the late King to the prior and canons of St. Andrews, and of a series of gifts to the Abbey of Kilwinning which seems to have been a subject of much dispute at the time.

More important than this however is the power with

In 1332 the question of Kilwinning rises again. Apparently the good abbot had occasion to complain of being molested in his possessions. Final and exhaustive letters of confirmation appear in 1333.
which they were invested of absolving all who by non-

payment of ecclesiastical dues and other causes, had incurred

excommunication in the preceding years. The wideness of

this faculty of absolution may be taken as some measure of the

completeness of the restoration to papal favour. Not only

are priests to be dispensed for irregularities, which

probably means disregard of the interdict, but the full power

of pardon is granted 'as may be required'. It is note-

worthy that this last letter is dated after the last instal-

ment of the £2000 had been paid (5th December).

Previous papal legations in Scotland had not always

found their task an easy one. Before the concession granted

by Honorius of the right to hold a provincial council (1225),

the presence of a papal legate had been necessary before such

assemblies could take place. Scotland at this period and

right up to 1472 had no metropolitan and was thus in direct

dependence upon Rome. But after the concession was made,

throughout the whole thirteenth century there grew up a very

vigorouse determination to manage Scottish ecclesiastical

affairs without legatine aid. In 1237 and 1267 admission

to the Kingdom was actually denied. In 1274 and the years

immediately following occurred the classical incident of

Bagimont and his difficulties in imposing taxation according to
a new valuation. During the war of independence it had been the disregard of the Cardinals Gaëtanol & Lake, and the treatment of their messenger that enraged Pope John most of all.

Too frequently the conduct of the legates themselves appears to have left much to be desired. There is an oft quoted account in the chronicle of Mailros of the visit of a legate to settle a dispute between the abbeys of Melrose and Kelso. The story goes that after fair promises to both parties, he satisfied neither and finally departed enriched by many gifts from both, leaving the dispute still undecided.

There is on record the case of another legate recalled to Rome for 'excessive greed' on a Scottish Mission. The general opinion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is reflected in the fame of the Cardinal legate Martin who went to Denmark poor and returned poor, and of Gaufridus, who, when sent to Aquitaine, bought his own fish and would not accept even wooden platters.

In the present case, whether as a result of personal integrity or through Scottish zeal to give proof of the sincerity of the return to Mother Church, Bertrand and Raymond found no reason for complaint. Conspicuous among those
who lent their aid to the legates was James Ben; the Bishop of
St. Andrews. We may read the Pope's thanks for the counsel
and help he had given in a letter of October 1330.
It is inconceivable that hostility and obstruction such as
might reasonably have been expected, if the idea of a Scotland
smarting under a sense of past papal injustice were even
partially correct, should have passed altogether unrecorded.
All the evidence points to friendliness, however; of hostility
there is no trace. It may be that the policy of provision
to the Scottish sees tended to produce a spirit of more ready
submission to Rome and was partly responsible for the smooth­ness with which the affairs of the nuncios were conducted.
At the same time, no amount of favour from the Bishops of the
Church could have availed in a nation cherishing resentful
remembrances. So easily indeed was all transacted that
immediately on the expiry of the period of three years, the
Pope found it possible to recall Bertrand, 'as the business can
very well be transacted by one.'

The records of the taxation imposed are confusing.
The original mandate to the nuncios empowered them to collect
the fruits of void benefices and Peter's Pence for three years.
The sums collected were to be assigned to the Florentine
bankers, the Bardi, for transmission to Avignon. The Bardi,
with several other banking houses, the most prominent of whom were the Perusii and the Azayali appear to have been the regular financial agents of the Papacy in Britain at this time. Of these the Bardi are said to have formed the taxes of England for £40 per day. Occasionally however money was transmitted by private agents, generally trusted ecclesiastics.

During the first year of the mission there is no information about the payments in the Calendar of Papal Registers. In the exchequer rolls, however, mention is made of £40 paid towards the expenses of Richard de Ba§tergous passing overseas on business of the King and the realm. Neither his destination nor the purpose of his journey are stated; but as the same monk was employed in the following year to convey part of the Scottish taxes to Avignon, it is conceivable that the reference may be to a similar errand.

In April and May 1331 two sums of 4000 florins each in respect of a three years' tenth were paid to the Curia, part through the Monk Richard, part through the Societies of the Bardi and Azayali. The payments, it will be noted, were made in respect of a three years' tenth unmentioned in the original mandate. The wording however cannot be questioned.
A tenth for four years had been imposed upon England, and it is improbable that Scotland in her hour of reconciliation should have escaped.

A record of the actual payment is to be found in the accounts of the Priory of Coldingham under the year 1330. The papal tenth for the Easter period £3-13-4. Moreover in an acknowledgment for a further sum of 4000 florins in the same year, the fruits of void benefices and the tenth are both mentioned.

Confusion also arises from the fact that to some extent the Scottish Nuncios were subordinate to the collector of papal taxes in England. Scotland is referred to along with England, Ireland and Wales as the source of large sums remitted by Itherius de Concoreto to Avignon in January, May and October of 1331. No indication is given, however, of the extent to which Scotland shared in furnishing these.

In 1332 and thereafter the inclusion of Scotland with England in acknowledgments of taxes ceases. In April of that year 4000 florins were again paid in respect of the tenth and the fruits of void benefices, being conveyed to Avignon by John de Leys, a Canon of Glasgow, who stood high in papal favour.

A final sum of 4,600 florins was paid through the Bardi later in 1332. Thus there passed into the papal exchequer from Scotland a sum of 20,600 florins exclusive of what was paid through Itherius, and the pact of reconciliation between the
Church and her 'special daughter' was sealed.

The episode of the reconciliation and the events that followed are scarcely to be understood without an examination of the Policy of Pope John. For a number of years that most astute of pontiffs had been carefully paving the way. We have seen how he secured as his agent in Scottish affairs Randolph, Earl of Moray, who was designed for the Regency on the death of Bruce. He was meanwhile endeavouring to accomplish his purpose through the church also, by means of the system known as provision whereby ecclesiastical appointments were reserved to the Holy See. This system, which he adopted from the very beginning of his pontificate, he was now vigorously extending throughout all provinces of the Church amid such indignant protest.

At a time when ability and education existed almost exclusively within the Church, and advancement to ecclesiastical dignity was the recognized reward of merit or the proof of favour in matters spiritual and temporal alike, such a policy ceases to be of merely ecclesiastical interest. Churchmen

1. (This at the average rate of 3/4 per florin, which the documents in the Papal Registers shown to be a fair estimate would represent a sum of roughly £3400 - a very considerable amount when one considers the vastly greater purchasing value of money in the fourteenth century, variously calculated at from twelve to twenty times that of the present day).

From page 506 of the second volume of C.R.R., the value of the florin declines to 3/2.
In 1326 (f. 480) it was quoted at 3/2.
had been and continued to be associated with the highest administrative office. Missions of diplomacy were almost invariably entrusted to them. In England it is noted as significant that in 1341 a non churchman became chancellor of the exchequer for the first time. The innovation was failure which is still more significant. Even the forces which were arising to oppose the papacy grew from out of the Church's fold. It was the ability of Minorities which very largely made the revolt of Lewis of Bavaria more than a passing encounter in the old strife of papacy and Empire.

In Scotland various causes rendered the Church less potent than elsewhere as a factor in the shaping of national policy. Most important was the absence of a metropolitan See without which the church remained in direct subjection to Rome. However eminent, however able, any individual Bishop might be, he yet remained primus inter pares, and the jealousy of each for his fellows tended to destroy unity and to retard the development of self consciousness in the church as a whole. Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the position of head had been assumed by the Crown, and with this condition of affairs the church was generally speaking content. Certainly we have in Scotland scarcely an echo of those struggles whereby in England the Church developed the ability to play as a
whole a responsible part in national affairs.

Yet even so the power of the Church was not slight. Indeed it might be said that in proportion to the lack of coherence in the church as a whole, the power of individual churchmen tended to be greater. And clearly in circumstances such as these provision was a powerful instrument which might be used not only to promote the papal interests but to obtain an influence in the shaping of national policy. Long before, the Scottish Church had met similar attempts with vigorous opposition, less probably on its own initiative than as a result of its close relations with the Crown. From David I onwards, the Kings of Scotland, while liberal patrons of the Church, had been most careful to keep it in dependence upon themselves. Time and again they appear as vigorous defenders of ecclesiastical rights and liberties within their realm, and as champions against oppression from without. It is a notable proof of the harmonious relations which existed between Church and Crown that in Scotland there occurred only a single passage of arms between them of a really serious nature viz., the confused struggle of the Bishops John and Hugh under William the Lion. This incident ended in the triumph of William and the gift from Pope Lucius of the golden rose. Throughout the next century also the control of
Ecclesiastical matters was well maintained and even sided by the jealous nationalism of the Church. Papal legates on more than one occasion were denied admittance to the Kingdom and assured that Christianity flourished exceedingly without their help.

In such circumstances papal encroachments were naturally few. In the thirteenth century the episcopal registers contain repeated enactments against provision, particularly between the years 1240-1250, during the episcopate of the vigorous Bishop David de Bernham of St. Andrews. It is quite certain that till the accession of Pope John XXII, one or other of the methods recognized by Canon law was regularly adopted in elections to the Scottish Sees, and confirmation was regularly given by the Pope to the person thus elected. Any interference with the freedom of election came more frequently from the Crown than from Rome. Indeed in the papal bull confirming the postulation of Bernham to St. Andrews in 1239 the royal influence is explicitly recognized.

With John XXII, from the very beginning of his pontificate, the policy of provision to all benefices and church dignities of all kinds was adopted and vigorously extended. The gain to the papacy was two fold. It enabled the Pope to appoint those who could be depended upon to further papal interests and was at the same time a source of great revenue from the fruits of void benefices and from
candidates for papal favour. With the latter aspect of the matter we are not at present concerned, though in England and elsewhere it was one of the causes which roused most vehement opposition. Commenting on the Bull "Exsecrabilis" by which in 1317, Pope John forbade pluralities and cleared the way for the exercise of the powers of provision which he claimed, the English chronicler remarks with bitterness on the untold treasure he secured as a result. It was this wealth likewise and the cupidity he showed in pursuit of it that made him appear the very Anti-Christ to the Minorite upholders of apostolic poverty.

It is the other aspect of the provision policy, however, that is to be noted chiefly in Scotland. As a political instrument its application to the situation was obvious and the results enormous. We must here remember the part which the Church and in particular the Bishop had played in the Wars of Independence. In the eyes of the Papacy they had been 'stones of stumbling and rocks of offence', 'cherishing the nation in its contumacy'. John therefore set himself to remedy this deplorable state of too ardent patriotism, in the hope that by dexterous and careful selection in Scottish appointments, "the church which was producing wild grapes should yield sweet fruit." His
efforts in the first years of his rule were naturally interpreted as marks of his partizanship of England. Yet if we consider his policy as a whole there is scarcely a doubt that we can discern a very sanely directed endeavour for securing stability and peace.

The first efforts of John in this direction met with little success. Towards the end of 1316 Robert Wishart the Bishop of Glasgow died, after years of imprisonment in England for his adherence to the national cause. His episcopate had been a stormy one. From the first he had supported Wallace and afterwards Bruce with an energy that no disaster could weary. No perjury had seemed to him culpable, no crime beyond pardon if committed for the independence of his country. The very wood sent him to build his cathedral tower had been used to build engines of war for use against Edward. Clearly he was no man of peace, and John was resolved that the vacancy caused by his death was a suitable opportunity to introduce a less warlike spirit in the Scottish Church.

Accordingly Stephen de Donydouer, whom the Chapter elected in his stead, was sent back unconsecrated by the Pope to prove his worthiness, almost certainly in a mission of peace. 1 Stephen died on the way and John, to prevent the election of an unacceptable prelate, reserved the See. The reservation

1. The actual phrase "for the furtherance of certain matters" can bear no other meaning.
however was ignored and the Dean and Chapter elected John de Lindessay, a Canon of Glasgow. Pope John was firm in his purpose. Declaring the election null and void because made contrary to the reservation of which the Chapter of Glasgow was "perchance ignorant", he provided John de Egglescliffe an English preaching friar to the Vacant See. A deadlock resulted. Friar John was unable to obtain possession and Bruce addressed to Avignon an indignant protest, not against the provision but against the elevation of an Englishman to a Scottish bishopric.

Finally the difficulty was overcome by the translation of the new Bishop to an Irish See (1323).

The next step is curious and significant. John de Lindessay who, six years before, had been rejected appears now to have found favour at the Papal Court, for he is provided to Glasgow and returns to Scotland full of zeal for Pope John. Under the year 1324 we find him in the register of Glasgow protesting against the collation by King Robert upon Walter de Twynham, keeper of the seal, of a prebend which had been intended for a favourite nephew of a foreign Bishop. Most piteously he writes to the Pope that he has not been able to withstand the wrath of the King, and has admitted the royal nominee. In the same year the Pope addresses to him a mandate providing a Florentine citizen to a canonry of Moray.
Next year he again appears in the provincial council of the Scottish Church as an opponent of the power claimed by Bruce of presenting to benefices in the gift of a vacant bishopric. The inference is hard to escape that Lindesay's appointment was shrewd papal policy, inspired by the knowledge that in him the Church would find a resolute prelate, obedient to Rome, in whom none of the qualities of a Wishart would be found.

His previous rejection occurring at a time when relations between Scotland and the Papacy were extremely strained, together with the fact that a suitable English candidate was ready to hand does not imply any suspicion of ardent patriotism in Lindesay. Nor is it in Glasgow only that this skillful use of provision may be observed. William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews who with Wishart had suffered imprisonment in England, and had fallen under papal excommunication for his resolute support of nationalism, died in 1328. Pope John saw to it that his successor should be of no such heroic mould. He announced that in the life of Lamberton he had reserved the see and proceeded to provide James Bene who, as we have seen, was on a diplomatic mission to Avignon at the time. It is notable that in this instance only have we on record any clear protest from Scotland. The author of the Scotichronicon remarks indignantly that it seemed as if the Pope had reserved to himself the appointment to all the bishoprics in the whole world. The choice for
Papal purposes was excellent. Bene fulfilled all expectations as a docile servant of the Church, welcoming the Papal nuncios in 1329, and proving his unwarlike spirit by flight to Flanders on the return of the English invader in 1332. The affairs of the bishopric of Aberdeen have the same tale to tell. Bishop Henry, another of those who had been excommunicated, died probably in 1328, and the Pope, availing himself of the death of the bishop elect (Walter Hero) provided Alexander de Kyninmund. Of regular election by the Chapter of Aberdeen there is no sign. Alexander was already a papal chaplain and had served on an embassy to Avignon in 1320. Again Pope John seems to have known his man.

In 1326, David Bishop of Moray, who also had braved papal displeasure in the struggle for independence, died. Again the opportunity was seized and provision made without reference to the dean and chapter of the see. Here also the new Bishop was one who the Church had tried.

John de Pylmore had been the Vicar of the Archbishop of Rouen, the future Pope Clement VI. He figured largely in the negotiations for reconciliation, and the family to which he belonged enjoyed much favour, as is shown by repeated grants of church dignities to them in the papal registers. Richard de Pylmore was afterwards provided to the bishopric of Dunkeld.
The year 1328 found the see of Brechin also vacant. In this case indeed the method of canonical election seems to have been observed, though the consecration of Adam of Moray, the elect, the Pope was careful to state that the appointment had been previously reserved to his own provision, thereby rendering the election an empty form, to be regarded or not in the future as circumstances suggested. Adam of Moray however was a person entirely suitable for the papal purpose. Of the three prelates who negotiated the final reconciliation and took the oath of obedience to the Church he was one. Moreover he was already a recognised and paid agent of the Scottish Government.

The year following his election found him an auditor of the Scottish Exchequer; in 1330-1, he was chancellor and served as an ambassador to England at least twice in the year 1335-6. He was in attendance on David while in France and after the young king's return was frequently entrusted with affairs of moment at home and abroad.

It is the policy of the papacy in securing the appointment of prelates such as he, submissive sons of the church who yet are fitted to play their part in secular affairs that the explanation of the collapse of church nationalism must
be found. Of the remaining Scottish Sees, Ross and Caithness both received new bishops immediately before the reconciliation, the former in 1325, the latter in 1328. In neither is there mention of election, though records are insufficient to form basis for definite statement. The insignificant part played by both renders it of little moment. Lismore was held by a Bishop who had throughout associated himself with the English King. The Bishop of Sodor appears alone to have been elected and received consecration in 1327. Galloway, still a suffragan of York, was held by one Simon of Wedale whose only notable act was the support he gave the English party of Balliol in the Parliament of Edinburgh 1333-4.

William Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Melcolm of Dunblane alone remained, who had taken a notable part in the great struggle. Of their changed attitude in the changed time we shall have occasion presently to speak, but enough has been said to show clearly, that Papal Policy had been very consistently directed towards filling the Church with prelates who should come under no suspicion of too ardent patriotism. That the policy so begun and so persistently followed met with so slight resistance, may seem strange to us.
having the inevitable comparison with contemporary England in our minds. Yet we must remember in the first instance, the eagerness which Scotland showed for reconciliation, to which, opposition to papal policy would have been an effective barrier, and afterwards the confusion of the time in which even the presence of the invader failed to inspire sustained resistance. Lastly we must not allow the circumstances of their appointment to obscure the frequently obvious fitness of the men.

Meanwhile the system of expectancies and reservations, first widely developed by Pope John was being extended in the Scottish Church. We may trace two general purposes in the ecclesiastical appointments of these years. John desired to advance and reward those who had done good service for the papacy in Scotland, and to strengthen the friendship now re-established by showing favours to those who held office under the Regency. Frequently in this period of harmonious relations, both purposes could be served by the advancement of the same person.
There is a certain John de Leys whose name frequently occurs in letters of the period with a frequency that indicates that he must have in some capacity rendered valuable service to the Papacy. A fuller information than we possess regarding him would do much to extend the very imperfect record of Scottish politics in these years.

John comes on the stage of events first in May 1327 when, though perpetual vicar of Abernethy, he is provided to a canonry of Dunkeld. In the following year (December) immediately after the final removal of the interdict, he is again rewarded by a canonry of Glasgow.

Incidentally we learn that he holds a canonry of Dunblane together with yearly pensions of 3 Marks and 100 shillings from the Sees of St. Andrews and Dunblane. Meantime he appears in the exchequer Rolls as a clerk of the King receiving as a gift £6-13-4. The inference is difficult to avoid that John had won the gratitude of both the Pope and the Scottish Government in the negotiations of these years.

In 1331 he receives further a canonry of Moray.

Next year the reservation of a benefice of yearly value of £30

1. In all probability he held a commission for the performance of duties which were afterwards defined when the post of papal collector became established in Scotland.
is added.

The letters of 1332 give us some indication of what the services were. He is mentioned on these occasions as an agent for the transmission of considerable sums to the papal curia.

The family of Pilmore to which John, Bishop Morey, belonged also enjoyed many favours. Bishop John, it will be remembered, had transacted the final business of settlement between Scotland and Avignon. Robert held canonries and prebends of Ross, Aberdeen and Glasgow, William, Archdeaconry of Dunkeld with canonries of Moray and Brechin.

There is in fact no cleric who busied himself with the affairs of the papacy in these years who passes without similar reward. Adam of Dornach who conveyed a gift from the Bishop of St. Andrews to the Pope is rewarded by a benefice of the value of 20 marks. Malcolm of Inverpeffrie and Thomas of Haddington who performed a similar errand likewise rewarded.

We shall note on the other hand, the favours shown to John, son of Reginald More, the Chamberlain, who is provided to canonries of Glasgow and Dunkeld, and to Walter of Twynham the Chancellor of Scotland. Walter's first appointment to a canonry of Glasgow had been made by Bruce contrary to
papal provision, and had been the subject of dispute between Bishop of Glasgow and the King. The incident however, now appears to be forgotten. Walter is prominent in the mission to Avignon of October 1329 and is rewarded by Canonries of Moray and Aberdeen. Nigel de Carruthers, Chamberlain of the Regent, is provided to a Canonry of Glasgow. Thomas de Kirkcudbright, Chaplain of the King received a benefice in the gift of the Abbot of Holywood.

But apart from instances such as these, where we are able definitely to see the causes, there remains a very large number of reservations of benefices of all kinds. In 1328 the number is exceptionally large; but throughout the whole regency of Moray they continue to be made steadily.

Of the evils of pluralities and non-residents there is abundant evidence. On occasion Pope John could be forgetful enough of his own Bull condemning the system. The case of John de Leys we have already seen but others are not far to seek. At the request of John, Bishop of Moray, a certain priest is allowed to receive the deanship of Moray, though he already holds the Archdeaconry of Caithness with canonries of Ross, Aberdeen, and Dunkeld. Thomas de Fingask, afterwards Bishop of Caithness, though rector of
Forbes in the diocese of Aberdeen is allowed to hold at the same time a canonry of Caithness and a dignity in the Cathedral of Moray. The Rector of Blair obtains Canonries of Glasgow and Dunkeld. Most frequently it is Cathedral dignities that are accumulated. As early as 1262 the evil of non-residence of canons of Cathedral Churches had roused protest in Scotland. The lavish generosity of Pope John on a scale such as we have seen, certainly did not tend to remedy this abuse. Of the much greater evil of the neglect of parish Churches through the custom of appropriating them to monasteries and the minimum salary, there is little direct evidence save what is implied in the frequent occurrence of the word "Rector". It is certain however that the system was already very wide spread.

Evident though these abuses are it is certain that the dealings of the Papacy with the Scottish Church contrast very favourably with the melancholy condition of the contemporary church in England. Whether as a result of papal caution lest the apostasy of late years should be renewed, or from the evil reputation for disorder and poverty which the Country enjoyed, Scotland remained notably free from the burden of foreign Cardinals and others who enjoyed in their absence the fruits of many benefices which they never visited. Two clear instances only occur in the evidence supplied by the

1. I have since writing noticed two clear cases: a. C.P.R. ii. 348-9 series of Appropriation to Kilquennan. b. C.P.R. ii. 358 - an appropriation to Holywood.
Papal Registers and I have not lighted on any elsewhere, save for the attempt made in 1324 to intrude Nicholas de Guercino into a Canonry of Glasgow, the failure of which we have seen.

In 1331 reservation is made to a priest of the diocese of Connor of a benefice in the gift of the Abbot of Paisley. Next year the Pope writes to King David begging him to obtain the money due from benefices and other sources for William, Bishop of Bethlehem. Compared with this extent of the abuses in England, the above instances are almost negligible.

Now did the Scottish Church witness the same violence and disorder, or the same ignorance and wordliness on the part of bishops, causes which were bringing the Church into contempt in England. Moreover though Pope John could, to serve his purposes permit the accumulation of benefices and dignities, he could also appear as the austere reformer of the earlier years of his pontificate. Cases are not infrequent in which the recipient of a benefice is called upon to resign that which he already holds.

An attempt was also made to correct abuses which had grown up in the Scottish Church during the estrangement.

1. Of the English Bishop who "feared the Queen more than the King of Heaven", another "an architect of evil" another "a wanton son of Belial of infernal avarice" Vide Capes cp III passion.

2. There is also the instance in 1324 (cp. ii 226) of the provision of Seracutius Bernutius of Florence to a Canonry of Moray.
Abuses there certainly were, inseparable from the confusion of the time. Thus we find the Bishop of Glasgow conferring the Church of Dalry on a boy of thirteen. Another Church had been held for eleven years by a person unordained. Monastic life also seems to have degenerated. There exists for instance a letter of the Abbot of Arbroath urging the Monks of Fyvie to the performance of their religious duties "lest the observation of regular discipline be lost". The Abbot himself does not seem to have been above blame for using Church property to enrich his own kindred. Apart from the general mandate of correction given to the nuncios Bertrand and Raymund, a friar Leonardus de Tibertis visited Scotland in 1331 to reform and correct the priories of the Hospital of St. John.

IV.

The whole process of the establishment of normal relations between Scotland and Avignon was aided by two outstanding facts. In Scotland itself there was a notable absence of friction between the secular and spiritual interests; both were animated by a real sincerity and zeal, at least to begin with, in their desire to return to the fold of the Church.
On the other hand Pope John displayed towards Scotland a moderation and a helpfulness which does not seem to have received sufficient notice.

1. SCOTLAND. As we have already pointed out in the period of the Wars of Bruce, the bitter relations with the papacy were but one aspect of the political situation, by no means implying antagonism towards the Church. Any interference with customary church activities was the direct result of war. The church for its part actively associated itself with the national cause. The incident of the completion and consecration of the Cathedral of St. Andrew at a time when papal fulminations against Bruce were frequent and furious is very significant. It almost seems to have been regarded as an occasion for national thanksgiving for deliverance from the English. McEwan puts the matter well: "The distinction of the ceremonial which was performed in the presence of the King, seven Bishops, fifteen abbots and most of the secular nobility indicates that the severance from Rome, which was in that year complete, had little influence on the devoutness of the nation". Bruce himself was a liberal patron by whose munificence many monasteries were enriched, particularly Melrose
to which he made a grant, which has been estimated at about £50,000, to help in the work of restoration. There also it was his first intention that his heart should be enshrined after his death.

This intimate and friendly relationship between Church and State continued. We have traced the prominent part which Churchmen played in the events of 1328. There are many evidences throughout the exchequer rolls of grants made to all departments of the Church during Moray's regency. Thus the Bishop of Sodor received a grant of £100, to cover the expenses of his election, and the Bishop of Moray 100 marks from the burgh rents of Forfar to aid him in building his Church. Religious houses enjoy grants from every town, of importance in the Kingdom. The Regent himself appears in the register of Moray bestowing a foundation for five chaplains, and we have the statement of the Scotichronicon that he "exalted the Church". Douglas on the eve of his departure for the Holy Land gave to the Abbey of Newbottle one half of his land at Kilmad.

There is only one important piece of evidence at variance with the general impression of harmony between the Regency and the Church. In February 1330 the Pope wrote to the Earl of Moray requesting him to show due reverence to the Church and in particular to the Church of St. Andrews. The point of the remonstrance is

1. It was burned by Edward 11 in 1322.
obviously in the reference to St. Andrews. What the facts of the matter were we do not know; but when we remember how studiously Bishop James endeavoured to keep the good graces of the Papal Court we can easily understand that his wrongs would be readily heard. The only recorded incident in connection with the Regent which shows disrespect of the Pope is contained in Scotichronicon in the tale which tells of the wrongdoer who, having obtained absolution from the Pope, returned to Scotland and was thrown into prison by the Regent, on the plea that even if we were absolved from guilt, he must yet be punished for his offence. So inflexible an exercise of justice had little in common with the ecclesiastical practice of the time, and is but one of the features of Moray's Regency that makes us wonder how very different the history subsequent years might have been had his strength been spared to guide Scotland.

The bearing of this, however, upon John's protest is doubtful, save in so far as it establishes a probability that the cause of complaint was an interference with rights of jurisdiction which the Bishop of St. Andrew's claimed. This of course remains conjecture. The main point is that there is evidence a real harmony between the Church and the Regency, which the above incident is insufficient to disprove.

1. He had shown himself helpful to the nuncios in a degree that called for special thanks from the Pope. He contributed a subsidy of 4,000 florins against heretics, and on his death, bequeathed 2,000 florins to the Holy See. Cf. R ii. 504, 8.
Amid all the events in the renewal of intimate relations Scotland as a whole played very completely the role of repentant daughter eager to return to the favour of Mother Church. Even the unheard of extension of provision not to bishoprics only but to benefices of all kinds evoked no protest. The papal nuncios came and departed and history for once records no complaint. Doubtless the evidence at our disposal is scanty, yet it is inconceivable that there should be no evidence had not the reconciliation with the Church been remarkably complete.

2. THE PAPACY. The desire of John to befriend Scotland and as far as possible assist the establishment of stable government is strikingly shown in several matters in connection with the Treaty of Northampton. By a clause of this Treaty the Pope had been made arbiter of the fulfilment of the conditions, and either party by failure to observe these became bound to pay £2,000 to the papal treasury. It had been agreed that Scotland should pay £20,000 as an indemnity to England, payment being extended over three years. This burden had been undertaken with the consent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons and other chiefs of the Realm, and in its payment the clergy bore their share. A regular 'contribution for the peace'
was levied from the Churchmen, the Abbot of Dunfermline acting as receiver. In the second year only (1329) is there a clear account preserved, from which it appears that of a total sum of £7414, £1863 was contributed by the clergy, approximately one fourth. It is implied in the accounts of 1331 by the mention of payment of arrears that a similar contribution had been made in 1330. Now against such contributions of the clergy for secular purposes the Papacy had frequently protested. A century and a half ago the Scottish church had been forbidden to contribute to the ransom of William the Lion. Thirty years later she was forbidden in like manner to assist in the ransom of David II. It was the definition of this attitude of resistance in the Buli Clericis laicos' that had precipitated the quarrel of Boniface with Philip the Fair and had led to the captivity at Avignon. In England similar difficulties had arisen over contributions of the Clergy demanded by Edward I. Yet in the present instance the action of the Scottish Church passed without rebuke.

Several circumstances probably contributed to this unusual relaxation of papal custom. Beyond all doubt, the primary object of John had been the establishment of peace,
even when his failure to appreciate the determination of the 
Scottish resistance, led him to give undue support to 
English claims. Now that peace had come, it was clearly 
to the papal interest to assist in the fulfilment of the 
Treaty. Moreover to have resisted the contribution of 
the Clergy would have meant delay in the final settlement 
and the imposition of an inordinate burden on the remainder 
of the nation - a policy particularly injudicious at such 
a time. Notwithstanding Scottish zeal and the completeness 
of the return, it clearly was not the occasion to open up 
the whole dispute of ecclesiastical immunities which had 
borne so bitter fruit elsewhere, and risk a renewal of 
hostility in Scotland to the papacy. Moreover a certain 
concession was made by the transmission of a proportion 
\( \frac{3}{10} \) (£666-13-4) of the clerical contribution from Scotland to 
the curia for the affairs of the realm. It could thus be 
claimed that the levy was partly at least for ecclesiastical 
purposes, to procure the final removal of the interdict.

So far indeed from attempting to protest against the 
levy, John authorised the nuncios Bertrand and Raymond to 
grant two loans of a thousand marks each towards the last 
instalment of the indemnity, when the regency found difficulty 
in collecting the amount due by the appointed time. The
whole incident points to a desire on the part of the Pope to assist and even conciliate the Scottish Government. Were this a solitary instance such a conclusion might be hazardous. It is only one of several, however, that all point in the same direction. The inclusion of a command for the sacred ceremony of anointment to be performed at the coronation of David has already been noticed. The triumph of Scottish nationalism received fresh recognition by the permission to the order of Friars Minor, who had been closely associated with Bruce and his party even in the darkest days, to establish a separate vicariate independent of England. In Church appointments we have noticed the preferments bestowed on officers of the Regency, notably on Walter de Twynham, the Chancellor, in spite of his original advancement contrary to Papal wishes. There occurs also a small but significant in the Exchequer Rolls under the year 1331, when we find the Pope himself granting a loan of £400 to meet a troublesome deficiency in the Exchequer.

The most striking instance, however, of Papal favour to Scotland occurs in connection with another clause of the Treaty of Northampton. It had been stipulated thereby that Wake, Beaumont and Percy should be restored to their lands, but
The claims of Beaumont and Percy continued to be ignored, and they remained in England protesting against the injustice done them. For a time the action of the Regent in disregarding this clause involved no risk of War, and whatever the injustice, all reasons of sound policy supported it. Both Wake and Beaumont had become involved in the internal quarrels of England and had suffered exile as a result. But with the overthrow of Mortimer and the assumption of the reins of Government by the young King Edward III all was at once changed. A demand was immediately addressed to Scotland that the lands should be restored. Other threatening signs were not wanting. Edward Balliol son of John of unfortunate memory was permitted to come to the English Court and there reside.

Still however the restoration was delayed. As a result Wake & Beaumont together with others who considered themselves wronged by the 'shameful treaty' of Northampton attached themselves to Balliol and prepared to make good their claims by force of arms. The attitude of Edward was studiously correct. As the warlike preparations went forward during the years 1331-2 he protested solemnly against any infringement of the treaty, and at least prevented the proposed invasion being made directly over the marches. At the same time he continued to press upon
Such was the menacing situation in the summer of 1332. Randolph, resolute not to permit the entry into the Kingdom of those whom he considered with reason the friends of England, prepared to defend the Kingdom. At this critical juncture when the invaders were already sailing north, intending thus to invade from the sea, Scotland since Edward refused to permit them to do so otherwise, the Regent died (July 20th).

Now when we consider the attitude of the Pope to these events the salient fact emerges that, though he had supported the fulfilment of the Treaty in the clause of the indemnity to England and had even assisted Scotland towards the payment, he at no time attempted to interfere on behalf of Wake and Beaumont. Yet their claims were equally a part of the Treaty. The neglect is particularly notable in connection with Beaumont, who had often before acted almost as John's confidential agent.

Now it is inconceivable that Beaumont should not have made his wrongs heard in a quarter which he had reason to believe would be favourable to him. He was in exile about 1330 and had every opportunity of proceeding to Avignon. It is implicitly stated by John in a letter of March 1333 that he has been informed by Beaumont of the delay in the restitution of the Scotland the claims of his turbulent proteges.

1. Thus we find him urged to give Edward II his help and council, again, to use his influence with the King in the interests of peace and justice; to him political missives are repeatedly addressed.
The information, of which John speaks, would hardly be given at a time when the English party was for the time victorious. The reference must certainly be to earlier complaints. And even apart from information supplied by Beaumont, the Pope had ample means of keeping in touch with Scottish affairs. That he knew of the neglect of the Regency to fulfil this article is beyond doubt. In such circumstances the hesitation of the Pope to interfere appears to confirm what has already been said of his desire to support the Government of Moray. Had he been concerned only with the scrupulous observation of the Treaty, there was every reason why he should have urged upon Scotland the claims of Beaumont and Wake, the more so considering his intimacy with the former. This however he altogether refrained from doing till Moray was dead and it had been proved that there was none left to take his place. Then only, when further support of the regency seemed vain and resistance to the claims obviously meant confusion within Scotland and an almost certain renewal of the English war, did John take up the cause of Beaumont and Wake and issue a belated appeal that justice should be done. Such facts seem to put the policy of the Papacy in the matter beyond all question.

Nor was the disregard of the infringement of the treaty without good reason. To have pressed for the
restitution of the disputed lands was not only to invite rebuff from the Regency and a return of strained relations, but it was of very doubtful expediency for peace within Scotland. To the fulfilment of the treaty in this article, Scotland was resolutely opposed with a well founded suspicion that the presence of Beaumont and Wake would be but a beginning of fresh English interference and intrigue; and to this, as after events showed, the Papacy was not inclined to consent. In addition there was the attitude of Edward towards the claimants. While supporting them, he was at the same time ostentatious in his protestations of a desire for peace, and there is no reason to think that Pope John had yet penetrated the disguise or suspected his sincerity. Above all, there was the fact that peace and stability were assured in Scotland while the strong hand of Moray held the reins of power; this in itself was a strong argument for papal support.

Altogether there seems good cause to believe that John was inspired by a real desire to foster the Government of Scotland and, as far as was compatible with peace, to acquiesce in the policy it adopted to safeguard the national independence.
THE COMING OF BALLIOL.

The death of Randolph was the signal for the complete overthrow of an already precarious peace. While he lived, his name had been a powerful check on English aspirations. In his death Scottish historians, whether truly or not, discovered the English treachery, and the fact that the tale gained ready credence reflects accurately enough the greatness of his loss. In scarcely more than a month (August 12th) the Regency was overthrown and Scotland was again entangled in the evil fortunes of the family of Balliol. Within three weeks of his landing in Fife Edward Balliol was crowned at Scone in the presence of the Earl of Fife, William Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld and the people and the clergy of Fife and the surrounding districts. A fortnight later (October 7th) the national party recovering themselves, descended on Perth and retook it by the treachery, it is said, of the Earl of Fife who had been left to guard it by Balliol. The success was followed by the election to the Regency of Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, brother-in-law of the late Bruce. Edward meantime moved north to York to ensure the safety of his kingdom. Throughout the
winter of 1332-33 he remained there, and to him there, Edward Balliol, secure in his proximity to the English Border surrendered the liberties of his kingdom. The part which the English King had played, were it not sufficiently clear, is openly acknowledged by Balliol in his grant of Berwick and the Marches, "an account of the great honour and emoluments we have received through the sufferance of our Lord the King". A month later the pseudo monarch, lurking at Annan in the confines of his realm, was driven forth by a sudden night attack and fled half naked to his liege lord.

Even in circumstances so shameful, a part of the Scottish Nobles seem to have shown a disposition to submit. The dreary winter dragged on, Balliol endeavouring to make good the promises he had made to the English King. In March, supported by English Barons he returned, and in exasperation Douglas invaded Cumberland. Thus was the pretence peace at last cast aside. Yet it was in keeping with the miserable fortunes of Scotland that not only should Douglas fall into the hands of the English, but the Ragent also, in an attack on "Balliol at Roxburgie", was taken (March). Edward declaring the Treaty broken, advanced to the siege of Berwick in May. Such is the rapidly moving scene that opens the tragedy of the years
Meanwhile what of the attitude of the Pope, the arbiter of peace? Truly there was field for his efforts in these distracted months.

Till March 1333 Pope John remained a passive onlooker while Scotland sank deeper and deeper into an anarchy of conflicting claims. Throughout the months August - March there is in the Papal Registers no document that bears in the situation. That John was ignorant of events cannot be supposed. He was aware of the death of James, Bishop of St. Andrews at least as early as October 1332.

It is scarcely creditable that he should not have been at the same time informed of the circumstances of his flight from Scotland. Moreover in the same month he received a petition from Edward for preferment of Robert of Ayleston Archdeacon of Berks to the vacant see. It was urged that in the existing state of Scotland it was of great moment to have someone well affected to the peace for which the King had laboured.

The language of the request is significant. Not only does it imply a knowledge on the part of the papacy of the Scottish situation; at the same time it shows Edward dexterously endeavouring to identify his own ambitious
projects with the papal policy of peace. Pope John does not appear to have been deceived.

In December Edward found it necessary to write again to Avignon lest his conduct in Scottish affairs should be misrepresented. He recounted the victories and coronation of Balliol but said no word of the surrender made at Roxburgh of the Kingdom in the preceding month. That he should have neglected to mention a compact so important together with the tone of self justification indicates clearly enough his knowledge that it would not be over welcome to the Pope. Edward knew that his interference in Scotland was regarded with no friendly eye. There might be hesitation in the wind of John whether to support the disinherited Lords or the National Party. On the other hand to assist in the subjection of Scotland to England was now no part of the papal purpose. That party which should show itself strong enough to restore order and peace was beyond doubt certain of papal support.

The whole attitude of Pope John during the years 1328-32 towards Scotland had been one of favour and kindly aid. During the Regency of Moray the claims of the dispossessed barons had fallen on deaf ears. The rule of Regent meant peace and security for Scotland, and honour
for the Church within her borders. All the interests of the Papacy while these conditions lasted lay in support. Even with the fall of the Regency, Pope John hesitated till the situation should become clear, and he should be able to discern which party by its triumph would restore security and peace.

It is notable that even the Pope had rejected the English candidate for the vacant see of St. Andrews, he was scarcely less reluctant to appoint a Scottish prelate to so important a dignity till the claims of expediency should become more clear. Almost immediately after the resignation and flight of James Bone, the Canons had elected William Bell, Dean of Dunkeld, who had repaired to Avignon for consecration. Through the opposition of many the confirmation was withheld, and the see remained vacant for nine years. Whatever may have been the later causes of this long and unusual vacancy, it is almost certain that Pope John refrained from appointing William Bell in the hope that subsequent events might enable him to use his power of appointment at an opportune moment in the interests of peace.

Thus the winter of 1332-33 passed and the papal favour remained in doubt. Balliol from England endeavoured to make good his promises of November, and finally in early
March, supported by English barons, re-entered Scotland. Immediately the war blazed out anew. The intentions of Edward could no longer be doubted. In March the position was indeed threatening. The Scots had begun to make raids over the border in violation of treaty. At last Pope John intervened.

On 17th March he addressed a letter to Edward requesting him not to attempt or permit others to attempt anything against the peace made between him and David. To David he wrote entreaty him to put an end to the delay of which Beaumont had acquainted him, in the restitution of the rights and lands promised by Bruce. Thus under stress of changed circumstances John after so long delay took up the cause of Beaumont and made as a last desperate expedient of peace. Otherwise his attitude was unchanged.

The claim of Balliol was completely ignored. He was not even mentioned by name, being obviously regarded as a mere disturber of the peace. Such is the plain implication of the language of the letter to Edward. David is expressly named as King. All this in spite of the Coronation of Balliol and his submission to Edward, the former of which fact was certainly and the latter probably known to the Pope.

There can be no clearer indication than that afforded
Quite obviously he still intended to uphold the independence of Scotland which the Treaty of Northampton had guaranteed. A month later he urged the Bishop of Winchester to use his influence with the King for peace. At the same time the letter to David shows that John had come to realize that disregard of the claims of the disinherited earls was an effective barrier to peace, and was now prepared to press their claims; so long ignored. The proposal is virtually a compromise, which, fatuous as it may seem to us in the light of subsequent history, yet did not lack cogent reason at the time.

On the one hand, experience had taught John that Scottish nationalism was not pliant mood to be swayed at will merely by a papal monition. Otherwise the course would have been plain. Recognition of the title of Balliol would have solved the whole problem. On the other hand the claims of Beaumont and Wake if disregarded would be a perpetual cause of interference on Edward's part and a possible cause of war. The maintenance of peace was above all essential, not for Scotland's sake only, but because of the wider problem of European peace it involved. France was already the ally of Scotland and had exerted herself at the English Court on her behalf for Scotland. To permit war between Scotland and England
was to invite the threatening and infinitely more dangerous struggle between England and France. Such were the general features of the problem which the question of Scottish peace involved.

In March and April events moved rapidly. Edward declaring that the treaty was broken by the Scottish border raids in justification of the personal intervention on which he was resolved. From the Scottish side the exasperation caused by the return of Balliol led to an organized invasion of Cumberland under the young Douglas, Archibald called Tineman. The pretence of peace was no longer possible. An English counter invasion resulted in the capture of William Douglas, Lord of Liddlesdale and, almost at the same time, the Regent in an attack on Balliol at Roxburgh fell into English hands. In his stead Archibald Douglas was elected to the Regency. Edward delayed no longer. His armies were ordered to assemble at Newcastle by the end of April. He advanced to the siege of Berwick in May.

In such circumstances Papal council was of little avail. Edward himself, who must ere this have received the Papal letters on behalf of peace, had cast aside all disguises of his purpose. I have not met any record of his reply to the letters of Pope John, but to the King of
France, who likewise had been urgent in the interests of Scotland, he replied that the Scots had violated the peace and that he was resolved to chastise their outrages in the manner which seemed good (May 7th). Nor, considering the person of the Scottish regent, was there the faintest hope in that quarter of any concession, such as John had suggested, to the disinherited lords. Thus with the resolute ambition of Edward and the confidence of Scotland in her martial supremacy which Duplin had failed to shake, the quarrel had passed beyond papal control.

Pope John himself appears to have recognised the fact. With the one remonstrance he contented himself. Possibly the troubles that beset him elsewhere tended to dwarf the question of Scotland. On all sides difficulties crowded upon him. Clamorous accusations of heresy were raised against him and there was ominous talk of an appeal from his authority to a general council of the whole Church. Lewis of Bavaria formed a difficulty ever present; the more formidable for the shelter he gave to various brands of heretics and the Schismatical Fraticelli. His relations with the new King of France were unhappy. Finally there was his great age which left him less vigour to deal with such perplexing problems. Thus it is not strange if the

1. He had rashly denied the Beatific vision, holding that the saints do not immediately behold the Glory of God.
echoes of confusion and war in Scotland sounded faintly in Avignon. Nor did Scotland herself endeavour at the papal court by the sure diplomacy of France to further her own cause. The summer passed and the hopes of Halidon Hill perished with the Regent and practically all his supporters. "Now", says the historian quoted by Hailes, "it was the general voice that the Scottish wars were ended, for no man remained of that nation who had either influence to assemble or skill to lead an army".

In September, John made a last effort. Gerold Othonis, Minister General of the Friars Minors and Arnold du St. Michael, a Friar Preacher, were commissioned to proceed to England and Scotland to induce Edward and the representatives of David to make peace. Power was given them to annul all facts and covenants contrary to peace and Edward was exhorted to give ear to their pleadings "that his realm may be undisturbed and impediments to the affairs of the Holy Land removed". Similar appeals for peace were addressed to Beaumont, Atholl, Percy, Mowbray and others, all of the English party, and to the prelates of England.

A fortnight later the Pope wrote to Edward that he had heard the petitions of his Ambassadors and was prepared to give a favourable answer. "As to that concerning the Kingdom of Scotland it was not expedient to make it generally
known". On the 30th October the nuncios Gerald and Arnold were recalled, "seeing that by their letters their going to the King of England would be useless".

It is to be observed that in this final chapter of diplomacy the sovereignty of David is still upheld. Yet when the first letters were written (5th September), the news of Halidon was already six weeks old. The fact that the Scottish appeal is addressed solely to the English party, seems to imply that the fate of the leading Nationalists was known. The continued disregard of Balliol is singular in the extreme. Not only was his claim to the Scottish crown ignored: he was not even included among those to whom the papal appeal was addressed. Whatever were the means by which peace was restored, John showed no inclination to be a party to the designs of Edward to subdue Scotland by the elevation of a mere puppet King. The evidence of the March letters and those of September is quite conclusive on this point. So long as the National party had sufficient coherence to be a political fact the Pope had given it his support. To the last he apparently had hopes that a settlement might be effected without the independence of Scotland being impaired. We should do John an injustice by the assumption that his policy was merely one of temporising,
altogether swayed by the changing fortunes of War. We have evidence of the same reluctance to admit English interference in Scotland, in the persistent refusal to accept the candidates of Edward for the vacant see of St. Andrews. One such attempt had been made by Edward in October 1332 as we have seen. In July 1334 the English King advanced the claims of another candidate, Robert de Taunton, secretary and treasurer of his wardrobe. Again the attempt failed.

The evidence of such facts is not to be disregarded. To fill the Scottish sees with vigorous Churchmen who should protect papal interests and further peace was one thing: the intrusion of Englishmen was another. If the previous policy of John actually resulted in destroying the vigorous nationalism of the Church and facilitated the overthrow of Scotland, it certainly was no purpose of that policy, as conceived in the mind of John. One suspects, indeed, that the gravity of the situation was not fully realized. It is difficult to understand how, to one acquainted with the facts, an appeal to such irreconcilable parties as the disinherited Lords and the partisans of David on the one hand and Edward on the other can have seemed an effective step towards peace. The events of the preceding months had shown beyond doubt that the return
of Beaumont and Percy implied, at least for the time, the ascendancy of Balliol and subjection to England. To Pope John it seems to have appeared possible, merely by ignoring Balliol, to eliminate the difficulty of England. The harmonious fusion of the disinherited Lords with the national party, an event beyond all hope as matters stood - is almost assumed as a part accompli.

The mission of Gerald and Michael, however, removed all misapprehensions. The whole situation is reminiscent of a similar failure of John sixteen years earlier to appreciate the sternness of the struggle till his eyes were opened by his legates Gaucelin and Luke. In the command to the nuncios to return, we see plainly a confession of despair. "No useful purpose can be served", so ran the letter, and the miserable affairs of Scotland are left to shape themselves as they may.

In truth these affairs, gave reason enough for despair. The leaders of the National party had fallen at Halidon almost to a man. A letter of Pope John of the following years casts a melancholy light on the situation. "Owing to the death of so many of the nobles of Scotland many noble ladies remain unmarried or are taken by low born Englishmen, some of whom are apostates from religion or married already". In the whole country in the autumn of 1333 four strong holds remained in the hands of the supporters of King David. In
one of these, Dumbarton, the young King was kept for a time. Finally in the early summer of 1334 he was conveyed by Sir Malcolm Fleming one of the few survivors of the fatal field of Halidon, to France to remain there for seven years as the honoured guest of King Louis.

In October 1333 the Parliament of Balliol assembled at Edinburgh to ratify the treaty between Balliol and his Lord. The settlement was completed in February 1334, whereby the independence of Scotland was surrendered. Berwick and its lands ceded to England and Balliol himself bound to serve in Edward's wars. In June a further cession was made of Lothian and Scottish 'Monarchs' did homage to Edward at Newcastle, for his whole Kingdom.

Meantime what of the Church? In the dark days of the struggle under Bruce it had rallied the people to the national standard as to another crusade. But the former glory had departed. In the parliament of Balliol which assented to the surrender, there were present the Bishops of Glasgow, Aberdeen, Brechin, Galloway, Ross, Dunblane and Dunkeld. The see of St. Andrews was still vacant.

Of the more important prelates the Bishop of Moray alone is wanting. Now it scarcely suffices to say that the

There is some doubt about this, although it is the common statement. Only the Bishops of Galloway, Aberdeen and Dunkeld are mentioned in official record D.B. 361.
Church in common with the majority of the nation might reasonably despair of the national freedom and lead their support to any composition that promised peace. The Church in the past had not shown herself over ready to listen to counsels of despair. Rather we should see in the submission, the result of the provision policy of John.

With the exception of William, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Maurice, Bishop of Dunblane, the consenting Bishops were all of papal choice in the years immediately preceding the reconciliation.

We have remarked that there is much reason to suppose that their selection was carefully designed, and that all were churchmen rather than patriots, lacking in the qualities of a Lamberton or Wishart, to whom all things were justifiable if done in the National cause. There certainly seems something else required than mere despair to account for the remarkable readiness with which the submission of Edinburgh gained the consent of the leaders of the Scottish Church. Doubtless the whole matter cannot be explained thus. We must also take into account the instability that marks the actions of so many of the chief actors in Scottish affairs—a condition natural enough in the absence of any strong figure round which national sentiment could rally. The same spirit infected the leaders of the Church.

Even
William, who had so loyally served Bruce made his peace with Edward III for the time, only to seize the first opportunity to revolt again.

The most effective resistance seems to have been made not by the regular clergy, but by the religious orders, notably the Friars Minors, now organized in an independent vicariate. So strenuous supporters of national freedom did they prove, that Edward declared the Scottish resistance "in no small measure due to their preaching under a fictitious garb of sanctity", and drove the Friars of Berwick forth, filling their places with Englishmen.

Such action however was exceptional. The collapse of the Church as a pillar of Scottish nationalism in the crisis of 1332-4 was complete; and of the causes that produced that collapse, the system of provision and the more submissive temper of the Churchmen advanced thereby to the Sees of Scotland, is one which has hitherto received less attention than it deserves.

The eventful pontificate of John XXII was now drawing to a close. Few Popes had ever plunged so boldly into the stormy sea of mediaeval politics as he.

None had done so avowedly for so purely temporal ends.
Under him the residence of Avignon ceased to be a captivity. In the greater part of his pastorate, it was a fortunate circumstance which should increase his influence over the feeble successors of Philip the Fair, and aid him in a vast scheme for the overthrow of the Empire and the exaltation of the more pliant monarchy of France. He was accused of having, in the pursuit of this scheme deliberately fostered strife; the years of his pontificate were years of confusion first in Germany then in Italy. Resentment was increased by the exactions of his avarice under which Europe groaned. His death disclosed the amount of the Papal treasure to be 18 million gold florins besides gold and silver plate and jewels. Popular discontent found expression in speculations subversive of the whole principle of the medieval Church, in the writings of Marsilius of Padua, the Englishman William Ockham, and John of Jaudun.

Scotland however lay outside the arena of Papal strife, untouched by the obstinate questionings of the time.

The circumstances of the reconciliation which we have traced, together with her alliance with France, tended to make John

The circumstances were very much altered by the succession of Philip of Valois in 1330 whose ultra-orthodoxy, strength of purpose was a constant anxiety in the last years of John.

The Diet of Frankfort in 1323 taunted "James of Cahors who calls himself John XXII", with being "the enemy of peace, no vicar of Christ but a cruel and lawless tyrant". This emanated from the spiritual Franciscans whose tenet of apostolic poverty rendered John particularly obnoxious to them.
her friend. Whatever truth there be in the aspersions upon Pope John as a formentor of discord elsewhere, there certainly is none so far as Scotland is concerned. Nor were political causes lacking which in this instance fostered his desire for peace.

War between England and Scotland, considering the Franco-Scottish alliance, was fraught with grave danger of provoking the threatened strife of England and France, with a possibility of alliance between England and the Empire. Such an event to the papacy must have appeared to John, as it afterwards did to his successor, perilous in the extreme. The same general conclusion is supported by the fact that Edward found it profitable to mask his aims in his correspondence with Avignon, and that his final success in the restoration of Balliol was not recognized.

1. We might note also several small tokens of favour shown in ecclesiastical taxation. Thus in 1328 Scotland escaped the extension of the period for which payment should be made in England. From the tenth for six years imposed in 1333 she remained exempt.
John XXII was succeeded in 1334 by James Fournier, a French abbot of the Cistercian order who assumed the name of Benedict XII. Lacking the avarice and the pre-occupation with things temporal, he lacked also the resolution of John. His whole pontificate was an earnest endeavour for reform within the Church and peace in Europe at large. The former endeavour served but to win him the hatred of the lax monastic orders and of the innumerable benefice seekers who had thronged the Court of his predecessor; in the later he was constantly thwarted not only by the difficulties of the problem but by his own trepidity and the subjection to France which he was not strong enough to avoid. His virtues however had little bearing on the history of Scotland. His weakness was reflected in the neglect which marked the attitude of the papacy to her political fate; a neglect the more melancholy to the Student of Scottish history because it became in Benedict and his immediate successors a definite feature of papal policy. The urgent problems by which they were constantly embarrassed rendered the distracted condition of that unhappy country of little moment to them save in relation to the troublesome affairs of England and France.

The attitude of Benedict is plainly disclosed in his first letter, dated 30th July 1335, dealing with the
Scottish War. He intimates the despatch of two nuncios on a mission of peace and appeals to Edward to listen to their counsel. To Philip he writes seeking his aid to the nuncios in their mission; he sets forth the difficulties in the way of peace; finally he comes to the troublesome point, that the Franco-Scottish alliance may oblige him to help King David and so prolong the war. In this he begs Philip to act with prudence.

And indeed although no open act of hostility to England had been committed by France in support of Scotland, the closeness of the ties that bound the two countries together was sufficient cause for alarm. France had become the residence of the exiled Court of David, and a land of refuge to the National party, fleeing from the adverse fortunes of war. At Chateau Gaillard in Normanby the young King awaited more prosperous times, relying at least in part on French King's generous aid. At various times between the date of his departure from Scotland and his return he received sums amounting in all to over £3000. Thither the young Randolph, Earl of More, repaired after Halidon. Reginald More, the Chamberlain, Sir Robert Keith the Marischal, Sir Alexander Seaton and many of the Bishops and leading Churchmen were also in attendance on the King. Throughout 1335 the influence of France was being constantly exercised at the English Court in the Scottish cause.
It is notable in relation to Scotland that Benedict should have followed the example of John in continuing to recognize David as King - a fact scarcely to be explained save by the influence of France in the papal counsels and the ignorance of Benedict of Scottish affairs. No more impossible occasion for the assertion of David's sovereignty could have been chosen. The attempts of the National Party at the Parliament of Dairsie in April to attain some coherence, had been frustrated by the inexperience of the Steward and the haughty ambitions of Atholl. "Nihil actum est" says Fordun, "nisi derisiane dignum". The Earl of Moray had fallen into the hands of the English in August, as he was returning from conducting to the Borders the defeated party of Guy of Namur. There had followed the treaty of Perth confirming the oft repeated submission of Balliol. Three nobles only remained true to the memory of Bruce, the Earl of March, William Douglas of Liddlesdale, and Sir Andrew Moray. "None but children in their games dared to call David Bruce the King".

The Papal efforts however bore some fruit, not perhaps so much by their own weights as by reason of the satisfaction of Edward that his position in Scotland was tolerably secure. Wm de Montague was commissioned to

The Scotichronicon narrates with customary love of the spectacular that "the English King not only refused to listen to them but even to admit their presence". Lib Xlll cp 29. Such a slight if it had occurred would not have passed unnoticed in the Papal Registers.
treat with Sir Andrew Moray (23rd November) and Geoffrey Scrope, Chief Justice of England to treat with David. These facts seem to lend some probability to the document quoted by Hailes with scorn, which records an agreement of the Scottish nobles to submit to Balliol during his life; David and his wife were meantime to reside in England, and it was at least implied that, on Balliol's death, David should succeed him. The agreement, it is added, was not observed through the machinations of France. It is difficult to see why, if some such negotiation was not afoot, Edward renewed the Scottish truce no less than seven times in the winter of 1335-6, although Sir Andrew Moray was continuously in the field, surprised and slew Atholl, whom Edward had appointed Lieutenant of Scotland (November 30) and laid siege to the Castles of Cuper and Lochindorb.

As the Spring of 1335-6 advanced the hostility of France became more and more plain. In February Edward issued a proclamation in ambiguous terms referring to this menace: "It has reached our ears that certain men of Scotland are forming leagues and alliances abroad and that for this cause foreigners are preparing for war and striving to assemble ships in great numbers overseas; for the hostile invasion of our Kingdom". The peace negotiations
languished. In April the papal nuncios had crossed over to France, and Benedict ordered their recall to Avignon. In May the pope earnestly besought Philip to deliberate maturely before taking further action touching Scotland. He was apparently content to sacrifice Scotland, if thereby the peace between France and England could be preserved. When Edward, in the summer of 1335, marched north and wasted Scotland as far as Inverness in the vain attempt to crush all resistance in this quarter before the French storm broke, Benedict uttered no protest. The dreaded French intervention was ineffectual. A contingent sent to Scotland was of so little service that we learn of its presence only by the passing reference in the Exchequer Rolls to a payment made to the Commander. The small amount of the payment £120-15-0 shows that the contingent cannot have been large. There were raids also on Isle of Wight and the Channel Islands. Such incidents had no result save to increase the irritation of Edward with France. To all intents Scotland faced this most determined onslaught alone.

The next year brought a much needed respite as Edward busied himself with preparations for the French War. Slowly and with many vicissitudes of fortune the National Party regained lost ground. Yet we look in vain in the Papal Registers for a single comment on the heroic struggle.
Had the Papacy been ranged on the side of England, or had the war in Scotland been waged for a Monarch whose claims were not admitted at Avignon, the neglect would be more readily intelligible. The conclusion from which we cannot escape is that Benedict saw in the situation nothing of a grim defence of national independence which his predecessor had been driven to recognize and had finally laboured to uphold, but only a troublesome complication in the already tangled affairs of England and France. The assertion of the royal title of David does not appear to have implied with him any approval of the efforts of Scottish patriots to maintain it, and French aid to Scotland in support of that title was discouraged.

From 1337 onwards when the assertion by Edward of his claim to the French crown made war a certainty, the affairs of Scotland ceased to engage the attention of Benedict any longer. Every means of remonstrance and persuasion was employed to avert the struggle and above all to deter Edward from the alliance which he contemplated with Lewis of Bavaria. The earnestness and intensity of his endeavour can be read in every page of the correspondence of these years. But Scotland had ceased to be the storm centre and Benedict found enough to occupy him elsewhere. When in the summer of 1337 the Cardinals Peter and Bertrand were sent on a mission of peace, Scotland was not included in their mandate. When
reference to her occurs at all, she is now always associated with the fortunes of France. In the general turmoil there was no separate consideration of her troubles or her aspirations. Thus in 1337 we find Philip making it a condition of his willingness to come to an agreement with Edward that the latter shall not invade France or Scotland. Again in 1339 in the peace proposals submitted to Avignon by Edward, it was stipulated that French aid should not be sent to Scotland, and in his reply Benedict urged that a truce should be made in Scotland for the same period as between England and France and that "the business of Scotland should be placed in his hands" for settlement along with that of the other two countries. And when in 1340 Edward concluded the truce of Tournai, Scotland was again included. Much light is cast on the situation by the report of the mission sent by Edward to the Papal Court in November 1340 to plead his cause. There the English envoys maintained that Philip, fearing lest Edward should press his claims to the Kingdom of France, had devised the scheme of involving him in a protracted Scottish war. To the reasonable proposals of Edward for peace, they pointed out that Philip had refused to do anything till full restitution was made to all the Scots and their heirs of what Edward held in Scotland. The Pope replied in vague and unfriendly terms, that what the English King urged "did not tend to peace but rather
to light fires of dissension", and offered his services as mediators. Of the actual questions involved his excess of caution prevented him from saying anything whatever.

Thus were the affairs of Scotland completely overshadowed, and the party of King David struggled on the final success without Papal aid. Yet all the while the Pope plainly considered David King of Scotland. At his request he conferred on a certain Wm. de Lard a Canonry of Aberdeen, and it was to David asking that intimated appointments to the Scottish episcopal Sees. It is altogether characteristic of Benedict that confessing the justice of David's claim and never once recognizing the title of Balliol or right of Edward to intervene, he yet lacked the courage openly to support the one or oppose the other. Yet this policy, so lamentable from the standpoint of Scotland, was dictated by the most earnest desire for peace and union amid the Princes of the Church for the prosecution of the crusade.

Both by John and Benedict the importance of peace for this purpose was repeatedly and earnestly pleaded. In the East the last embers of the struggle with the infidels broke at intervals into feeble flame. In Spain the example of the Kings of Portugal and Castille, who united for the discomfiture of the "Saracenie host", was one which Clement never wearied in setting before his other turbulent sons.
Visionary as such a project may now seem, it was real enough to Benedict. The vast treasures of John were at hand to finance the attempt. The French King was stirred by enthusiasms in the intervals of his jealousy for rival Monarchs. On one occasion the order was actually issued for the preparation of the fleets. Edward declared himself ready to bury his enmities and join. Yet nothing was possible without peace. Peace was the whole burden of all Benedict's political labours. This peace was a matter of such moment, that to attain it, he was willing to waive the too open support of Scotland or even altogether to abandon her. Such undoubtedly was his purpose in his appeals to Philip not to lend his aid. And as the breach between England and France widened into open hostility, Benedict came to regard the Scottish question more and more as subordinate and as a troublesome complication best let alone for the present, as he himself expressly phrased it, "lest fresh fires of dissension be kindled".

In Scotland itself no attempt was made to obtain the spiritual support of the Papacy in the struggle. We do not even see any sign that the plain neglect was resented or even observed. An attempt at normal relations was preserved, as we learn casually from a payment made to the Monk Richard de Ballergous as procurator of the King at the
Papal Court, but we read of no statement of grievances or appeal for aid such as might have been expected. Several causes make this less remarkable. Chiefly there was the confusion in which Scotland was plunged. The National Party consisted of a small band of resolute patriots round whom in success considerable forces gathered only to melt away in the hour of difficulty. At no time did the resistance to England become a movement of the whole nation as in the wars of Bruce. On all sides there was general irresolution, despair and too often treachery. That coherence and unity which could have made possible an appeal in the name of the whole Scottish nation was not attained.

But even more than in the lack of national coherence, is the cause to be found in the collapse of the Church. We have already noticed this fact and its general significance in the crisis 1332-4. It remained an outstanding feature the whole period. Many of the leading Churchmen abandoned the distracted country for the peace and security of the young King's Court in France. Both the Bishops of Aberdeen and Brechin were associated with the negotiations of 1335-6 for submission and the re-establishment of Balliol. The Bishop of Galloway openly sought the protection of the English King. Only one Scottish Bishop joined in the resistance—William Sinclair of Dunkeld—one of two survivors among the Bishops of the heroic days of Bruce. With the single exception of the
time serving William Bullock we read of no Churchman who between 1332 and 1341 played any notable part in the struggle. The Friars Minor continued to play their traditional part of ardent nationalists; we find it stated, in a petition of David on his return, that they suffered more than any other order in the war. Their action however was exceptional.

It is scarcely remarkable that with the activities of the Church national thus suspended and the National Party hard pressed at times to maintain coherence at all, these years should be barren of direct political relations between Scotland and Avignon.

In ecclesiastical matters the pontificate of Benedict brought almost a complete reversal of the Policy of John. In comment upon the evil of nepotism he is reported to have said "A Pope should be like Melchisedeck, without father, without mother, without genealogy".

Even in the narrow sphere of the Scottish Church, we cannot but observe a striking fall in the number of provisions to benefices of all kinds. Doubtless the confusion in which the land was almost continuously involved, so little favourable to vigorous church life, contributed to this end. Yet we
cannot thus altogether account for the fact that in the whole period of Benedict there occur only two provisions, one to a canonry of Aberdeen at the request of David, the other of a Scottish ecclesiastic to a canonry of Bruges because of the poverty caused in Scotland by the War.

Even in episcopal appointments the system of provision was abandoned. When the See of Glasgow fell vacant the method of canonical election was observed and the elect consecrated with papal demur in 1337 and again in 1339. The same respect for the tradition method is seen in the consecration of Allan Bishop of Caithness after his election in 1341. His reluctance to consecrate William Bell, the elect, to the See of St. Andrews since 1332 has already been noted. A similar situation arose when Dunkeld became vacant on the death of William Sinclair in 1336. The English King, after his experience of the late Bishop's too ardent patriotism, resolved to see to it that a suitable successor should be chosen. A contested election resulted. Two candidates Richard Pilmor, and Malcolm of Innerpeffrie, both proceeded to Avignon to prosecute their claims. Of these the former, bore the same name and was probably of the same family as the Bishop of Moray; the latter, as almost certainly proved by the friendly solicitude of Edward, was of the English party. Benedict with his customary caution
refrained from consecrating either and the See remained vacant till after his death.

From the scanty records we get a glimpse also of Benedict the reformer, who, in the picturesque language of a medieval biographer, "caused the Church which had become Hagar, to be again Sara". In 1336 the Abbots of Kilwinning and Dunfermline received instructions limiting the allowance payable to those sent to a chapter general of the province. Whether some such gathering was contemplated to regulate the abuses prevailing in Benedictine houses is impossible to say: it certainly seems implied and would be in keeping with papal policy. There is however no doubt about a letter addressed in 1339 to the Abbot of Jedburgh and the prior of St. Andrews, bidding them choose a fit place to hold their chapter and cause to be observed the Statutes and ordinances touching the Canons regular of St. Augustine. But in this as in other matters the normal exercise of Church administration must have been rendered exceedingly difficult by the circumstances of the times.

Ecclesiastical taxation, which was wont to bulk so largely in the relations of the provinces of the Church with the Holy See, must of necessity have been impeded.

Even if one allows the untrustworthiness of isolated pieces
of evidence, the poverty and misery of three years can scarcely be questioned. Here and there throughout the country, districts may have escaped the general desolation. Yet considering how continuously and universally the Anarchy prevailed it is impossible that the prosperity of the last years of Bruce and the regency of Moray should not have been severely checked.

Perhaps the clearest evidence is that of the diminished revenues shown in the Exchequer Rolls. In the first account after the return of David, rendered by William Bullock as Chamberlain in 1342, the total revenues amount to £1,205 as compared with £3,774 in 1331. And the general conclusion is borne out in smaller matters. In Cullen the allowance of the Chaplain celebrating for the Soul of the late Queen is stopped "till God give better times". In the accounts of the Sheriffs appended to Bain (vol III) the entry: "Nothing received" occurs with melancholy frequency. In the Register of the Bishopric of Glasgow we find grants at this period (1335) to relieve the poverty caused by the war. The Scotichronicon has miserable tales of famine and despair. In 1336 it is recorded that many left the country and those who remained were driven by want to eat straw and came to a piteous end. Still greater was the famine of 1339 when Fordun has a strange story of cannibalism to tell.
The records of the Priory of Coldingham contain a petition to the Pope in which the Monks complain that not only are they unable to succour those 'who flock to them from all sides', but they can scarce eke a bare existence themselves.

Such conditions do not afford much scope for Papal taxations. In the first year of Benedict however, the nuncios Bertrand Sistre received a mandate to collect and compel the payment of Peter's Pence in Scotland. The results of his efforts in Scotland cannot be known, for in all acknowledgments of sums received from him, a total sum is given representing England and Wales and Ireland also.

One other document remains, which is of peculiar difficulty. In 1341 William, Bishop of Glasgow receives a papal contribution for the four terms of the years 1340-41, and in the following year a complete account of the total sum from the whole Bishopric is stated - £247. No particulars of the purpose of the contribution are given - nor is any light cast on the matter by the Papal Registers, in which there is no reference to a Scottish levy at this time.

Doubtless the mandate of Bertrand Sistre still held good but the sum is too large to represent Peter's pence and no extension of the original mandate is recorded. The large amount and the fact that none of the other registers record a contribution make the matter particularly puzzling.

Apart from the instances given above, a few dispensations, and a mandate for the sequestration of the
fruits of a vacant prebend of Glasgow, these ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland suffered no interference from the Holy See during Benedict's rule.
THE RETURN OF DAVID.

The truce of Tournai in which Scotland had been comprehended was observed as truces were wont to be observed in Scotland about this time. The armies of the Regency remained in the field. Edward, returning to find the administration of England neglected and in confusion, in spite of the need of his presence in London, was forced to hurry north and spend a gloomy Christmas at Melrose watching his Northern borders. Though able by his presence to check further aggression he was powerless to recover any of the territory north of the Forth which he had so carefully secured. Edinburgh alone of the Castles north of the border remained in English hands. Thus the winter passed. In April the English parliament assembled and Edward departed to engage in wordy warfare with resolute Churchmen.

Immediately the truce was disregarded. By a carefully planned stratagem, the Castle of Edinburgh was captured (17th April) and the English garrison driven out. A few weeks later, the Kingdom being now virtually free from the invader, it was decided to send an embassy to France

1. They still held Berwick, Jedburgh, Lochmaben & Roxburgh.
for the young King. In May, David and Joan landed in Fife. Their coming, says the Scotichronicon, filled Scotland with festivity and joy.

The event was ominous for peace. Scotland, already elated by the steady progress of the Nationalist party, might be expected to rally round the youthful monarch, whose very name was calculated to stir patriotic emotions. Now it might seem had the time come to avenge under the fortunate banner of a Bruce the disaster of Halidon and the desolating invasions of Edward. In David himself all causes conspired to foster ambitions for warlike renown. The days of Bannockburn were not yet so distant as to be but a glorious memory. The eyes of his countrymen were turned eagerly to the near future when he should prove himself the son of his father and bring to pass the prophecies of his childhood. His youth, passed in exile in a country where hostility to England was fast becoming a tradition, cannot have been without effect in the moulding of his character. Already, it is said, he had borne arms against Edward in the French cause. The star of Edward also had suffered eclipse. For a period in 1340 it had seemed that the hour had come for the overthrowing of France. The English King had won the alliance of the Emperor, who appointed him Imperial Vicer of the West. The wealthy cities of Flanders
were united in his support. At Sluys the French Fleet was swept from the sea. But now all was changed. Edward, worn out with delays before Tournai, had accepted a truce. The ardour of Flanders had cooled and Louis revoking his gift of the Vicariate, allied himself to Louis in a desperate hope of reconciliation with the Holy See. Edward seemed on all sides abandoned. Even in his own Kingdom a stubborn parliament and more stubborn churchmen made government no light task. Truly it might seem as if fortune herself were calling Scotland at so favourable a juncture to an active policy of aggression against her ancient enemy.

There is little evidence how the return of David was regarded by Pope Benedict. Its almost inevitable result he must have surmised. Yet so urgent were the other problems which beset him that he showed no inclination to interfere in Scotland till actual occasion arose. Meanwhile the political horizon around him darkened. The peace which was attained for the time by the truce of Tournai was a mockery in which it was impossible to see any glad fruit of his labours. Its terms had been hostile to his attempts at mediation. Both Kings had suspicions of his
sincerity which they were at no pains to conceal. They pledged themselves that they "procure not that any innovation be done by the Church of Rome or others of Holy Church on either of the Kings. And if our most Holy Father the Pope will do that, the two Kings will prevent him, so far as in them lies". The truce was employed by Edward to restate his claims without abatement at the papal court. Philip refused to admit even a discussion of peace till these claims were abandoned, and haughtily informed Benedict that only 'as a private person' would his services as an intermediary be accepted at all. At this juncture, when the bitterness of the captivity was forced upon the Pope, came the sudden change of policy by Louis of Bavaria and his alliance with France. From an opponent, the French King became an ardent supporter of the Bavarian's petition for reconciliation with the Church. And though for the moment Benedict had courage to reply boldly, he must have realized the peril of the alliance to such prestige and authority as he yet could claim. Much as he may have desired the submission of the Emperor, he could not accept it at the dictation of France. Peace undoubtedly had been the aim of his whole pontificate, but a peace in which ancient dignity of the Papacy as supreme arbiter should be maintained. On this gloomy scene with the resolute enmity of the Kings of England and France and the impossible alliance of the latter with the Empire, the curtain was rung down. Benedict died,
defeated in all for which he had striven in April 1342.

Amid such perplexities it is not remarkable that the situation in Scotland should have received little attention. There, whatever threats might be contained in the future, there was at least peace from David's return till the spring of the following year, while the young King made a tour through his Kingdom. We have record of the repayment to the town of Aberdeen of a loan of £66-13-4 towards the expenses of Ambassadors sent to the papal court, probably to announce officially David's return. At least the Pope does not seem to have been hostile, as indeed we should scarcely expect him to be after his persistent support and recognition of David during his exile. We may take it was a proof of a certain degree of Papal favour that the See of St. Andrews which had been vacant for so many years was at last filled by the provision of William de Landallis, in answer, it is said, to a royal request. On the other hand it is quite certain that there is no evidence of an effort on the part of the Pope to encourage and strengthen the restored Monarchy in Scotland in support of France and opposition to England. Such action would have been entirely at variance with the whole policy of Benedict, so consistently pursued, for the establishment of peace, with himself as intermediary. However great the

1. The outlines of the royal progress are summarised in Exchequer Rolls Vol. 1, p. clX ii - iii
favour he may have shown to France, there is no suspicion that he acquiesced in French schemes for the use of Scotland as a pawn in the game for the humiliation of England.

The peaceful review of his Kingdom completed, David turned his thoughts to warlike enterprise. The Border fortresses, still in the possession of England, were a challenge to his pride. The French King also lost no time in encouraging his ally and stirring up trouble for his rival, 'our brother England'. Throughout the winter the Scottish court resided at Aberdeen and thither came Ambassadors from France. Nor was it an isolated incident. The records of payments made to envoys shows the intercourse between the allied Kingdoms to have been very considerable during the year. The release and return of the Earl of Moray, a prisoner since 1335, settled David's determination for war. Under his practical leadership the Scottish forces poured southward over the western marches, spreading desolation into
Cumberland. On the expedition the King himself served as a volunteer. The whole year of 1342 was one of constant raids into Northern England without very tangible result, save in the capture of Roxburgh. Already sufficient proof was given that in David England was to have a turbulent neighbour too ready to lend himself as an instrument of the French King.

There were other events also of melancholy presage for Scotland. In this short space the weakness of David and his inability to curb the power of his Barons, grown irresponsible and lawless in the disorders of past years, was already clearly shown. Ramsay, the captor of Roxburgh, rewarded by the Sheriffdom of Teviotdale was seized by Douglas who claimed the office as his own and in the Castle of Hermitage slowly starved to death. David, lacking strength to punish the offender who in addition to his crime lay under suspicion of treason, adopted the doubtful expedient of securing his loyalty by honours and rewards. Such was the inauspicious beginning of David's rule.

The internal evils that resulted do not here concern us except in so far as they were reflected in the Church. More important for us and more immediately disastrous for Scotland was his policy of close alliance with France to which circumstances and his ambition alike urged him. It remains
to examine the part which the papacy played as a restraining
or a contributory factor in the final disaster of 1346.

III

On the death of Benedict XII, Peter Roger, a French
Cardinal of noble family was elected in his stead. The name
of Clement VI, which he assumed was a declaration to
Christendom that he had no intention of exercising his pastorate
in the spirit of a Benedict. Much of the hesitancy which
had marked his predecessor was at once cast aside. In
matters ecclesiastical and political alike he claimed and used
the widest powers. To those who urged as objection that no
predecessor had acted so, he replied: "They knew not how to
be Pope". Before coming to the consideration of his
relations with Scotland let us turn to his action in the tangled
affairs of England and France in which that Country was
involved.

"Francis Francus ferventer adhaesit":
says a biographer, with admirable brevity summarising his
pontificate. And indeed his sympathies were never in doubt.
One of his very first acts was to procure the neutrality of
Brabant and Hainault, thus depriving Edward of his last imperial
allies. How closely allied were his interests with those
of France is shown by the enormous loans, amounting to four
million florins which he granted to the French Kings to
aid them in their wars. From 1344 onwards the submission
of Louis of Bavaria, for which John and Benedict had vainly
striven, left him free to direct his whole energies to the
quarrel of England and France, immensely strengthened the
position of the Papacy.

In England itself the steady rise of anti-papal
feeling increased the estrangement already existing with
Avignon and threw the favour of the papacy more definitely
on the side of France. In the Parliament of 1344
a petition was presented denouncing the undue privileges of
the clergy and the interference in England of the Pope,
friendly to the tyrant of France. How deeply Clement
resented this and how far he blamed the English King himself
as the Chief cause, may be seen in the indignant protests he
kept addressing to Edward against 'innovations attempted
against Holy Church'. Nor were the papal protests
unfounded. Repeatedly the papal nominees to benefices
found themselves ousted by the King's man. The proctors of
the cardinals Anibaldus and Stephen on a mission of peace
were received with violence even from the clergy. So
thoroughly was England convinced of the partiality of Clement
to France.
Thus in his political relations with Scotland, the traditional hostility of that Country to England and her French alliance both were causes inclining Clement to lend what support he could. To suppose however that in his zeal for France he was prepared deliberately to encourage the aggressive ambitions of David and promote war, would be to impute a cynicism of which Clement with all his worldliness was not guilty. Desirous as he doubtless was, when once the struggle was launched, for the victory of his Country, he still, while there was hope, strove for peace. And the half heartedness which we may at times discern in his efforts, is accounted for readily enough by the too obvious futility of his appeals. Probably the words of Philip summed up the thoughts of most men of the time. "It will never be well till one is King both of England and France". For the time at least, in the impasse of irreconcilable claims, the fortune of war alone seemed able to incline either Monarch to any concession.

(4)

Clement was scarcely seated on the chair of Peter ere the struggle which had been ended by the Truce of Tournai broke out again. Thus early was the opportunity presented of disclosing the policy he intended to pursue. In October
1342 Edward crossed over to France, whither English armies had preceded him, to champion in opposition to Louis the claim of the house of Montfort to the Duchy of Brittany. True to their French alliance the Scottish forces created a diversion by an invasion of England which though unsuccessful proved so embarrassing that Edward resorted to pardoning felons to swell the English ranks. Clement adopted the policy of Benedict. Disregarding for the moment the hostilities on the Scottish borders as a mere side issue of the Anglo-French quarrel he despatched two Cardinals to Brittany to procure peace. There, in January 1343 their efforts, aided by the hardships of the winter campaign and the reluctance of both Kings to hazard all in a decisive engagement, resulted in a further truce - "in reverence to mother Church that the parties may be able to declare their reasons before the pope". Scotland was included in the truce. Apparently the possibility of Scottish affairs having any political significance of their own did not present itself. It was assumed on all sides that peace in the Northern Kingdom was to be had by a clause of a European treaty. Even Edward seems to have imagined the matter ended thus, for he issued a proclamation in which, consenting to the peace, he referred to Scotland only by inference as an ally of France.

Avignon, for in January 1344 we find Clement writing to David exhorting him to acquiesce in the counsels of the priests.
All parties discovered however that they had reckoned without the ambition of David. Edward, on his return from France, found it necessary to march north and conduct a hostile demonstration. Philip, probably as a result of representations from Edward, regarding the conduct of the unruly ally, wrote to David begging him to accede to the truce. To this David made no haste to reply. Finally however an understanding was reached about May, as appears from a letter of Clement to Edward, and throughout the remainder of the year negotiations continued between the commissioners of England and Scotland.

The whole position in Scotland during 1343 is obscure. It is not even certain that David concurred in the open negotiations which were afoot. Douglas followed up his dark deed of the previous year by entering into communication with England. Ever since his return we may detect the presence of a peace party, little in sympathy with the martial ambitions of the young King. Thus at the very time when David was returning from his raid into Cumberland in the spring of 1342, a safe conduct was granted to the Bishop of Brechin, the Earl of March, Douglas, Thomas Charters, the Chancellor, and William Bullock coming to Edward. Information on the state of affairs seems to have reached Avignon, for in January 1344 we find Clement writing to David exhorting him to acquiesce in the counsels of the prelates.
and others of his realm who love justice and peace, and suggesting that he send envoys to the Pope to meet those of England and France.

What was the immediate result of the papal letter we do not know. Almost certainly it had none. It is significant only as throwing light on the internal politics of Scotland and as containing a momentary admission of her importance as a factor in the Anglo-French settlement. Elsewhere in the diplomacy of Clement the neglect of Scotland at this time is complete. To such an extent did the quarrel of Edward and Philip obscure other issues.

Meanwhile David grew weary of peace, and in August again marched south over the English border. For the movement various causes have been suggested — the secret prompting of Philip, resentment at English intrigues which beyond doubt was afoot, and David's own ambition. All three causes probably had a share. From 1336 the possibilities of using Scotland as a means of indirect attack on England had appealed strongly to France, and aid had been sent to the national party both in 1336 and 1339. Whether the same tactics were now repeated is uncertain. Edward at least was in no doubt, and declaring the treaty broken by Philip in sending French aid to Scotland, he made it one of his reasons for a renewal of the war.

It is difficult to determine the attitude of the
papacy towards the incident. Clement's support of France was now almost openly declared, but the Scottish question was still left out of the discussion. To conclude that he was aware and approved of French policy in Scotland is altogether unwarranted. Had he done so, some more definite trace would have occurred in the secret letters to France.

As it is, not even a hint is found of such an understanding in the midst of copious evidence of papal sympathies and aid secretly bestowed.

On all grounds, indeed, the supposition is discredited. Indignant as Clement undoubtedly was at the anti-papal feeling of England, and biased towards France, he yet had no reason to desire Edward's complete overthrow and the unlimited increase of Philip's power. The French Kings had not ever been the docile sons of the Church. Anagni was a memory but forty years old, and incidents had not been lacking in the pontificate of his predecessor to show how real the captivity could become through the imperiousness of France. Almost beyond doubt the ambition of Clement was confined to the attainment of what to the Papacy was a more desirable end, the recognition or at least acceptance of his services as supreme arbiter of the quarrel. The same.

1. Thus in July 1349 Clement informs Philip of a letter he has received from Edward and records his great displeasure. At the same time he sends it for Philip's perusal, that he may better provide for the safety of himself and his realm.
ambition had played a considerable part in the pacific labours of Benedict, and had for the time met a distinct rebuff in the clause already quoted of the Truce of Tournai. We can now see Clement with caution pursuing the same ambition, endeavouring to bring the dispute within his own jurisdiction and safeguarding himself from too open defeat by humble phrases. The power to act in the matter, he explains, is not claimed on his own authority but on permission granted by the rival kings.

Whatever the ulterior motives connected with its attainment, it is scarcely possible to question the sincerity of Clement in his desire for peace. A French peace it may have been, and one in which the Papacy should be recognized as arbiter, it nevertheless was peace. When Charles of Blois was guilty of aggression in Brittany contrary to the truce, in answer to Edward's protests, the Pope commanded him in peremptory terms to desist under pain of excommunication. Cardinal legates and agents of lesser rank were constantly passing to and fro. That their efforts were not altogether vain is shown by a prolongation of the truce in December of 1344 for another year.

In view of these considerations the failure of the Pope to intervene in the interests of peace in Scotland is the more striking. The Scottish raid of 1344 seems to be referred to in a letter of March 1345 in which Clement lays the complaints of Edward before Philip, against breaches of the
truce especially in Brittany. The reference however is only indirect, and the fact remains that, except for the one appeal to David, no attempt was made for peace. For this neglect the most probable reason was the failure at Avignon to appreciate the situation in Scotland. So long as peace was secured between the two main parties in the quarrel, papal policy was for the moment satisfied, to assume that Scotland as an ally of France would accede to the general settlement. Even the seriousness of her failure to do so does not seem to have caused so much alarm as the disturbances in Brittany. The whole attitude of Clement in fact is largely explained that, as a Frenchman, he allowed the French aspects of the problem to obscure others of no less importance. We must try also to envisage the situation as it might appear to an observer of the time. To him the salient facts would be these: that Scotland had for years been torn by bitter internal strife and repeatedly overrun by an invader. Her King had been compelled to pass his youth in exile, and now, still a mere lad, was dealing not very successfully with the preservation of law and order within his own Kingdom - a situation piteous enough, if you will, but not fraught with any very grave menace to the urgent problem of peace. Probably too Clement felt as Benedict had done, that too
precipitate intervention in Scottish affairs at this juncture was but to raise a host of troublesome questions with England and 'light fresh fires of dissension'.

Nor do we read of any interest in the politics of Scotland when the war between England and France was renewed and it became certain that the French alliance was to bear fruit in an invasion of England by King David. It was in response to an urgent request of Philip, says the Scotichronicon, that the fateful expedition was undertaken, 'so that the King of England, straitened on all sides, might be weakened in the violence of his attack'.

The Pope however had no eyes but for the main issue. His efforts were rejected by England and his Cardinals insulted and stoned even in France, yet he persisted to struggle for a peace. The aid of the Emperor and of John of Bohemia was sought for the same end. Nor were the efforts of the Cardinals relaxed even after Edward had landed in France and all hope of a composition for the present gone. In the circumstances, therefore, it does not seem possible to ascribe the papal attitude to events in Scotland to any other cause than neglect, due partly to an ignorance of the gravity of the situation and partly also to a preoccupation with events in the main theatre of war.

Thus yielding to his own ambition and to the insidious suggestions of France, King David set out on his ill-starred venture, that was destined to lead to his own
captivity and a renewal of misrule and invasion in Scotland, without any attempt from the Church to procure peace.

With the capture of David at Neville's Cross we enter on a dreary period. Only once does there appear any solicitude for the fate of the Scottish King in the papal correspondence. In May 1347 Clement wrote to Queen Joan consoling her and promising to exert himself for David's freedom. At the same time he besought Philip of France to do what he could to procure his release. Then there was silence. Three years later David addressed a melancholy letter to Avignon, imploring aid and counsel: he had no friends to ransom him, and by the fortune of war he had lost the help of France; freedom could be had only on humiliating terms of paying homage and surrendering the castles of his Kingdom. But Clement had more important matters to attend to. In a perfunctory way he directed that letters be written to the King of France, requesting him to do something in the matter. Thus, without even an attempt directly to influence the English King on David's behalf, the appeal was dismissed.
Had no attempt been made on the part of Scotland for the ransom of David, the indifference of the Papacy would have been less notable. But ample opportunity was afforded for co-operation by Clement had he been so inclined. Negotiations were begun in April 1348 for the liberty of the King, and continued through the greater part of the year. Moreover these transactions were not conducted without the aid or against the wishes of the Scottish Church. In them at least four Bishops took part - a circumstance which would have rendered papal intervention particularly opportune.

Nor did Clement exhibit any greater eagerness when two years later negotiations were resumed, although, as we have seen, King David simultaneously besought his aid. He does not even seem to have troubled to be consistent in his recognition of David's sovereignty. Thus in March 1351 we find him confirming an appropriation to the Abbey of Sweetheart at the request of Edward (Balliol) 'King of Scotland and Lord of Galloway,' though in the previous year Edward III had to all intents set aside Balliol's claim. Surely no greater proof can be found than this of his indifference to the political fate of Scotland, once honoured by the title of 'Special daughter' of the Church. Whatever other inference we draw from these facts, they at least bear out the previous argument that the papacy had no hand in the policy of France to stir up Scotland against
England from 1342-6. If this were so we should expect to find Clement seeking the re-establishment of David and the preservation of a strong and aggressive Scotland as a deterrent to English ambition in France. The absence of any shred of evidence for this is almost conclusive that the Pope had more of a serious desire for peace and a less complete partisanship of France than has often been supposed.

Such a supposition at least gives a rational explanation of events. Doubtless we have here another repetition of the constantly recurring tragedy of the history of Scotland and the Papacy - the subordination of the interests of Scotland to those of her more powerful neighbours. Yet repugnant as the idea is from the standpoint of patriotism, the captivity of David was not undesirable in the interests of peace. There certainly was every reason to suppose that his return would afford a fresh opportunity for French influence and a renewal of war. In addition Clement was probably influenced by a desire to offend England as little as possible, when there were already difficult enough problems in his relations with her.

Much, however, must remain a matter of conjecture. The essential fact remains that Clement died in 1352 without having in any degree exerted himself for the release of David, or indeed at any point of his pontificate shown an interest in the political history of Scotland.
VI.

The papal neglect is balanced by the infrequency with which, save in purely ecclesiastical matters, such as Church affairs, resource was had by Scotland to the papal Court. It was an age when petitions to Avignon were in great vogue, and the practice which tended to extend influence and increase the flow of funds was sedulously encouraged. The privilege of presenting petitions through proctors, at first confined to powerful religious bodies and distinguished persons, became more and more general from John XXII onwards. We have already noticed the custom in connection with Bruce and in the earlier years of David II, but evidence now fails us. One passing reference seems to imply that a canon of Glasgow was in residence at Avignon in 1342, but whether in the capacity of proctor for King David it is impossible to say. At all events the relations between the Scottish Government cannot have been of any intimate nature when affairs of such moment as the negotiations in 1348-52 for the ransom of David are unnoticed in the papal correspondence. There certainly was nothing approaching the close and constant correspondence that marked the first years of the reconciliation in the time of John XXII, or which was customary in the case of England. Not only had Edward III resident proctors at the
Papal Court on whom benefices and favours were heaped with no stinted hand, but Clement also for his part kept agents in secret communication with him in England. Henry, Earl of Derby was beyond doubt implicated in this, employing as intermediary a Carmelite Friar. The value of his services is reflected in the anxiety of Clement at his disaffection and participation in the French War. There was no parallel to this in contemporary Scotland.

Equally notable is the scantiness of private petitions to Avignon. It is here that the evidence of the Calendar of Papal Petitions becomes invaluable. From England these petitions followed to the Papal Court in a large and constant stream in connection with a multitude of details of ordinary religious life. We have petitions for dispensation from vows, for permission to enter religious houses, for permission to own a portable altar and to have mass celebrated at special times, for leave to partake of 'flesh food' on certain occasions, for plenary remission to be given by a priest to the petitioner at death, and marriage dispensations beyond number - all this apart from petitions from priests and religious bodies. Scottish records present a vivid contrast. Save for requests for leave to celebrate marriage within forbidden degrees, the total

1. Such were Richard de Thornmerton, C.P.R. (iii) 64 etc; (He succeeded Gilbert de Mildelton C.P.R. iii 77) Michael de Northburgh CPR iii 318.
number of petitions is exceedingly small. The fact is conspicuous above all in connection with petitions for plenary remission, a favour for which the dismal time of pestilence created a very great demand in England. The Black Death lingered in England so long ere it attacked Scotland that the latter country began to imagine itself immune. By 1350 however it had crossed the border and its ravages were as extensive as elsewhere. Yet when we examine the petitions of the year 1351 we find in one long list of 237 petitions only seven from Scotland, and out of another containing 82 not a single one.

This is well set forth in McEwan Vol 1, pp 284-6. It became a custom to swear 'by the foul death of England'.
CLEMENT VI AND THE SCOTTISH CHURCH.

In the affairs of the Church the policy of Pope Clement was an almost complete reversal of that of Benedict. Here at least within the natural limits imposed by the conditions of Scotland we see little of the neglect with which she met in matters political. Benedict had been content to leave the Scottish Church to direct her own affairs. The vacancies of the Sees were filled by canonical election of dean and chapter, except, as we have seen, in the case of St. Dunkeid. Reservations of benefices were so few that, even considering the dislocation of much normal church activities caused by war, a deliberate policy of non-interference appears to have been pursued.

But with Clement all was changed. It is not merely that we have the additional evidence from 1342 onwards of the Calendar of Papal Petitions; even in the Calendar of Papal Registers for every instance of interference by Benedict, the years of Clement offer at least ten. This of course is only consistent with the general policy of Clement throughout the Church. On his accession he is said to have offered
preferment to all poor clerks who should present themselves at Avignon within two months. A hundred thousand flocked thither to share in the harvest of his bounty. Nor was it over such benefices only as might satisfy the ambitions of the humble that he asserted the Papal claim. Church dignities of all kinds were everywhere reserved. From all provinces of the Church the stream of ecclesiastics flowed to Avignon when it became known that rich prizes were to be won by seeking Papal favours in the proper way. Thus was established 'Clement's market' to the dishonour of the Church and the weakening of her influence for good.

II.

The very first vacancy was used by Pope Clement to inaugurate a course which he afterwards consistently followed in dealing with Scottish Bishoprics. In 1342 Alan, Bishop of Caithness, died and the Chapter elected Thomas de Fingask in his stead. When Thomas, however, betook himself to Avignon to seek consecration and the election had been examined in the usual manner by three Cardinals, he was persuaded to resign his rights 'for certain causes, but not for any fault in himself'. Thereupon Clement reappointed him 'by apostolic authority'. The same happened in the contemporary vacancy of the See of Lismore. In this case there had been two claimants and
both had resorted to the papal court. During the enquiry the one died and the other resigned his claim into the hands of the Pope. As in the previous instance he was then provided.

We have already mentioned the curious situation that arose at Dunkeld on the death of William Sinclair, how Pope Benedict with characteristic caution kept the two rival claimants at the Holy See and refrained from consecrating either, lest the English partisans of Malcolm or the Scottish supporters of Richard de Pilmore should be offended. So the matter stood on Benedict's death though six years had now elapsed since the See became vacant. Malcolm had died shortly before, but though the course was now clear and Richard could have been consecrated, Clement declared the election void and appointed Richard not in virtue of the election but by his own authority (1344). At this point another feature of Clement's general policy appears. The settlement of a dispute so long standing was not to be had without expense. Richard is found petitioning for leave to contract a loan of 3000 florins on the temporalities.

He is said to have belonged to the Anglophile house of Lorü and to have had the support of a petition from the English King. This probably was the beginning of the disrepair into which the Cathedral had fallen in 1379.
of the See to meet the expenses incurred 'in expediting his business'. Thus we have openly established a system scarcely to be distinguished from a sale of episcopal appointments. In effect it was but an extension of a practise already existing, whereby Bishops as protectors of benefices disposed of the revenues during vacancies. The claim "tended to become a regular tax of half a year's revenue paid by the next presentee". This claim Clement in effect applied to the bishoprics themselves. In a considerable number of cases an appointment is followed very shortly by a letter of permission to raise a loan for the repayment of debts thus incurred.

Usually, though not always, where this occurs the appointment was one regarding which there had been question. This was so in the case mentioned above, and again in the appointment of the next Bishop in 1347 when we hear a loan of 2000 florins. Other instances are William, Bishop of Sodor (1200 florins, 1349) and Alexander, Bishop of Ross (1000 florins, 1351). Although in Scotland the sums were small compared with those levied on rich appointment in England, they were sufficient frequently to lead the Bishops into serious financial difficulty, as for instance when, a few years after our period, a Bishop of Moray was in danger of excommunication through non-payment.

1. Cf C.P.R. (iii) 26,387 where the debts of the Archbishop of Canterbury amount to 15,000 and 16,000 florins.
The three instances given, all of which occur in the first two years of Clement VI, illustrate the main features of his policy towards Scottish Bishoprics. In every case where a vacancy occurred, the right of papal provision was exercised, the election in the canonical manner being declared null and void owing to the previous reservation of the See. Yet only once, in the vacancy of Dunkeld in 1347, does the elect of the Chapter seem to have been set aside. We have thus the curious spectacle of the chapters proceeding to elections which in every case were cancelled, though in actual practice they were normally regarded in the subsequent appointment by the pope. The language employed is practically the same in every case. It is recounted that, on the death of the previous bishop, the chapter, in ignorance of the papal reservation proceeded to make an election by one or other of the canonical methods, that the elect, also in ignorance of the reservation, assented and set out to seek confirmation at the Holy See. Thereupon, the papal narrative continues, learning the facts that the See had previously been reserved, he resigned his rights and was then re-appointed. In nearly every case it is laboriously emphasised that the chapter and the Bishop elect disregarded the reservation from ignorance, the rather peculiar words "as is alleged" being added.

This occurs in elections to Dunkeld 1347; Aberdeen 1344, 1350; Brechin 1349, 1351; Dunblane 1347.
The aim of the Pope apparently was, not to use the right of provision as a means of intruding creatures of his choice, but to assert that right and establish it beyond any question or dispute, should need arise for its use in any more vigorous manner than present circumstances demanded. In Scotland itself the formula of reservation was not regarded as more than a phrase. Capitular elections continued and were with monotonous regularity cancelled; yet the almost invariable provision of the 'elect' removed any sense of grievance against papal action. Moreover the absence of a strong and resolute monarchy, jealously watching the rich appointments of the Church as a convenient means of reward or token of royal favour, and resenting as prejudicial to the rights of the crown the papal claim to provide, removed at once what was the most potent cause of discord between the Papacy and England.

In the one instance where the elect of the Chapter was set aside, Clement acted in the interests of efficient church administration. Robert de Den, whom the Chapter of Dunkeld elected as their Bishop in 1347, was either already acting as a collector of money due to the papal camera in Scotland or was now designated for the post. It was inexpedient that one entrusted with so important and often

1. He is spoken of as a papal collector soon after, C.P.R. iii 243.
difficult duty should be embarrased with the ordinary episcopal cares, and in general the post of collector was seldom associated with a bishopric. Thus Robert was not consecrated. Lest his deprivation of the See should be a loss, in compensation he was enriched by many benefices of which he only enjoyed the revenues without residing. On the other hand there is no reason to suppose that Duncan of Strathern appointed in his stead was an unworthy recipient of favour. The incident seems to be fully explained by Clement's wish to reserve Robert for work in which he could be of most service to the Church.

Finally there is no trace of that contemptuous exercise of papal authority which was so galling to England. If Scottish elections were cancelled, at least it was not done, so far as we may judge, in the spirit which animated the language under similar circumstances in English appointments. We might compare for instance Clement's 'spreta electione facta de eo', with which he dismissed the election of Simon Islip to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, or the comedy which accompanied the election of another English prelate, when an ass followed him into the papal presence bearing round his neck a petition that he

2. He held Archdeaconry of Dunkeld, Canonry of Aberdeen and at least two parish Churches.
also should have a See. Of such incidents in connection with Scotland there is no trace.

III.

But the net of reservations was spread more widely than for bishoprics only. Benefices of all kinds both great and small were soon entangled so completely in its meshes that it became a matter of serious doubt whether any appointment was valid without petition to Avignon. Such a result was entirely satisfactory from the papal standpoint, not only as increasing the power, but as productive of large revenues to the Holy See. Throughout the whole period of Clement VI the amount of interference in the affairs of the Scottish Church generally was very great and the stream of petitions large. Under various circumstances different pleas for this interference were found; yet the papal right to interfere at all met with little opposition and no question. The eagerness of the King, and after his capture, of Queen Joan, to address petitions to Avignon on all occasions important and not, and even of Bishops to secure their grants and favours by papal consent made the whole matter easy.

In connection with Cathedral dignities the policy of Clement was similar to that which he adopted in dealing with the
episcopal Sees. In general he was content to permit the holder of the benefice to remain in possession, after asserting his own right of disposal. Thus we find him declaring an appointment made by the Bishop of Aberdeen to an Canonry 'null and void, and at the same time conferring the Canonry on the same priest. In 1344 an appointment made by the Bishop of Moray was set aside. At other times he was satisfied to protect the papal rights by less emphatic measures, merely confirming the appointment which the bishop has made.

In this way for instance he dealt with a Deanery of Ross in 1350, a Deanery of Brechin in 1352 and a Deanery of Moray in 1349. Most frequently, however he bestowed Cathedral dignities without reference to the Bishop at all. How readily Scotland submitted to this exercise of papal authority is shown by a petition of the Bishop of Moray to make an appointment to a canonry of his own Cathedral. Now and again a difficulty arose not through resentment of those to whom the election rights belonged, but through the reluctance of a stubborn priest to resign a lucrative post. Such was the case when Clement I conferred the rich treasureship of Moray upon Donald de Marre, a favourite chaplain of Queen Joan. It was held however by a priest called Martin who, had more respect for his own profit than for papal censures, and was with difficulty removed.

1. It was worth £40.
There is implied the same tacit recognition of papal rights, in a petition of 1343 for the Chancellorship of Glasgow on the ground that the holder has not been provided thereto.

The amount of interference with Scottish monasteries was comparatively small. There is mention of a provision made to the Abbacy of St. Mary's, Kilwinning in succession to William de Deyn who became Bishop of Aberdeen in 1344. One other instance is interesting for the light it incidentally casts on Scottish feeling in the matter.

The Abbot of Dunfermline had set out for Rome in 1350 in order that he might participate in the general indulgence extended to those who should resort thither in that, the Jubilee year. On the way back he died. Now it was the custom that vacancies caused by death under such circumstances should be reserved to the Pope. At this point the Scotichronicon comes to our aid with a strange tale. A certain Monk of Dunfermline then a Student of Paris, so it is told, learning what had happened and fearing lest the headship of his beloved monastery should fall into foreign hands, made his way to Avignon and at the expense of 50 marks procured the vacant Abbacy for himself. Meanwhile the prior and brethren of Dunfermline had elected one of their own number, who was urged by the "Lords secular and temporal" not to yield his dignity to the papal elect. When the rival Abbots met however an amicable settlement was reached by the voluntary resignation of the local monk, who
received a 'goodly pension' as his reward. The interesting point of the tale is the hostility of lay opinion to papal interference which it tells of, and which, considering that the rest of the tale is proved by the contemporary witness of the Papal registers, there seems no reason to doubt. At best however it is only a stray gleam of information upon a dark situation. Popular irritation even if we assume that it did occasionally exist as in the above instance, was too ill defined to produce any obvious result.

In ordinary benefices - Parish Churches in the gift of a Bishop, covent, or lay patron - the letters on the subject show us that an excuse for papal interference was not hard to find. Time and again provision is made because the present holder or his predecessor had neglected to be ordained, and the benefice had therefore lapsed to the collation of the Pope. Nor was this the only irregularity widely prevalent. Often the patron, lay or clerical, neglected to appoint a priest to a vacant benefice or used it as a gift to a friend or relative - frequently a mere boy. Sometimes again

The end of the story is also notable. It recounts that the Pope agreed that "in future as hitherto the right of election by the monastery, and the right of consecration by the Lord Bishop should remain whole and unimpaired as it had been from the first foundation of the house".
a parish Church had been held with some other 'incompatible' benefice without sanction from the Apostolic See.

All these were seized upon as opportunities for the exercise of provision.

If one were to judge by such instances as these, it might almost appear that Clement was an earnest reformer. He certainly could be strict enough when he pleased.

Not even were Royal favourites always assured of unbounded papal favours. Queen Joan's petition for John de Marce was met by a sharp reminder that, as an illegitimate person, he could not hold successive benefices even with the dispensation he had already received. It is characteristic of the Scottish situation that the Queen returned a submissive reply.

Quite frequently grants of benefices to petitioners are accompanied by a command that they shall resign one or more of those they hold. The role of reformer, however, was one which Clement only occasionally assumed, usually as a means of emphasising his authority, as in his reply to Queen Joan, or with some other aim in view. The vast bulk of evidence points the other way. Notices of pluralities and non-
residence abounds. Thus Gilbert Fleming 'the King's Councillor and Ambassador' is allowed to hold canonries of Aberdeen, Glasgow and Moray; another accumulates the Chancellorship of Glasgow with canonries of Moray and Brechin and a benefice in St. Andrews; another combines churches in Inverness and Moray with a canonry of Dunkeld. Of this instances could be multiplied.

But Clement could extend his sanction to more flagrant abuses than these. We find him dispensing youths and boys of fifteen to hold benefices, although this was an evil which he had himself censured. Nor did Scotland altogether escape the burden of foreign priests. A Canon of Saintes held the Deanery of Glasgow and a Portugese a Vicarage in Aberdeen; a French prior was dispensed to hold any dignity in Scotland short of episcopal, though he already had a Church in the diocese of St. Andrews; a citizen of Florence enjoyed the fruits of a canonry of Moray.

There is evidence also of a custom more widespread elsewhere, whereby students at a University were permitted to hold one or more benefices to pay their expenses - a custom which

1. On his promotion his place was taken by another foreign priest C.P.D.(v)

2. Of the XIV century synodal statute of St. Andrews enjoining residence.
would have appeared in a favourable light had some provision been made for the Churches in their absence.

Certain monasteries were actually required to send a stated number of Monks to the University, the amount to be paid them also being fixed. In Scotland within this period we read that the Dean of Aberdeen was absent at a University for five years; the Rector of Douglas likewise was permitted to be absent for three years, his allowance being limited to 50 marks. In 1349 a number of masters of the University of Paris received provision of Scottish benefices.

IV.

A review of papal action in Scotland at this time at once raises the inevitable comparison with England and invites enquiry into those causes which in the former country prevented those results which similar action produced in her southern neighbour. The first thought that suggests to itself is that at no time in the history of the Scottish Church had papal claims been so extensive, or papal authority, in the affairs of the Church, been so persistently exercised, and yet Scotland St. Albans had to send five with an allowance of £10, C.P.R. iii 332. Other instances are C.P.R. 15, 130.
had never been so submissive. Nor was the submission confined to the Scottish Church only. From no quarter did there arise any comment that can be with certainty interpreted as a protest.

The contrast with England is nowhere so emphatic as in the relations between the Papacy and the Scottish Crown. The undoubted harmony is nevertheless scarcely remarkable. Successful resistance elsewhere was largely the result of a conflict of interests between the Papacy and the Crown, where the latter was strong enough to defend the rights it claimed. We have remarked already how during the thirteenth century the Scottish Kings were quick to resent the interference of Rome, and how the tendency of the papacy to favour England produced a period of Church nationalism which ended only with the reconciliation of 1528. Now however the circumstances were changed in almost every respect. The years of anarchy that followed the death of the Regent Randolph had effectively destroyed the possibility of an easy restoration of a strong Monarchy, even had the return of David given Scotland a King able to cope with difficulties so great. There was no obstacle in this quarter to the extension of papal influence, such as had often arisen in the past.

C.f. the difficulties of the Pope with Alexander I and the despairing plan of the English Monk Badger after a vain attempt to govern the See of St. Andrews: "It will be vain for you to expect any friendly intercourse with him. It is his will to be everything himself in his own Kingdom".
In England the Crown took up a resolute attitude of defiance to papal claims to the right to provide. Not a year passed without many instances of the papal candidate arriving to find the benefice already in the hands of the royal nominee. References to such occurrences may be read in the third volume of papal registers by the score. Frequently it was not only disappointment that awaited the intruder but violence and even imprisonment if he proved too persistent or if the holder stood so high in the royal favour that to question his right was tantamount to an insult to the dignity of the Crown. Redress in such circumstances was not to be hoped for in the Royal Courts. Sometimes the dispute ended in riot and bloodshed. In 1548 at Kettering John Wade, the Pope's man who had gained possession was besieged in his Church by a crowd of indignant laymen and covetous clerics who 'burned the doors, broke the windows . . . threw down images of Christ crucified as if they were infidels' and finally occupied the Church for three months, after which the sorrows of the unfortunate John were completed by letters of banishment issued by the King.

No such forceful assertion of Royal rights was made by King David. By constant petitions before his captivity in 1546 and occasionally afterwards he implied an admission of Clement's most extravagant claims. There is a letter of
1346 which illustrates how ready he was to waive even those rights of patronage which had from time beyond memory been inherent in the Crown. "By immemorial custom" the letter runs: "King David has disposed of the vacant Church of Kinkel". Afterwards it became known that through one of those pretexts of which Clement often availed himself, the Church had become reserved. David wrote humbly begging that the grant should be made anew by the Pope. A very different attitude to that of Edward III in England, and one of which Clement showed his appreciation by the favour he conferred in answer to the incessant petitions of David and his Queen. Thus in the instance already quoted, not only was a grant made of Kinkel, but a Canonry and prebend of Moray were added. The Queen's Secretary receives canonries of Moray, and Aberdeen and Glasgow, and the Parish Church of Blair; his brother fares almost as well; the Royal almoner obtains a canonry of Moray and a benefice worth £40 in the gift of the Bishop of St. Andrews. The petitions for royal clerks and kinsmen of the King, made and granted without demur, might be enumerated to weariness. A connection with the Court almost inevitably proved a sure guarantee of favour. Friar Walter the King's confessor must have been a boon to his needy relatives. The worst abuses that occur were permitted in deference to the wishes of the King.

The previous holder had without dispensation held an incompatible benefice.
or someone of the Royal household. From time to time Clement inserted a reminder of his authority to grant or withhold, as when he questioned the claims of John de Mar.

There is however no trace of royal resentment; the right of Clement to deal with the Scottish Church as he chose was unquestioned. The impression is one of close co-operation between the Crown and the Papacy, whereby the interests of both were served. The former found a convenient means of reward for those it favoured; the latter, enjoyed a free exercise of power which was seldom assented to elsewhere.

After 1346 there was still less possibility of any check to the Papacy. If we fail to mark much extension of authority it is because the compliance of David had already left little to desire. But so long as he ruled there was at least a definite head of affairs who might conceivably aspire to imitate his 'brother England'. With his capture the Government devolved upon a Regent whose impotence removed all further dangers. The genial optimism of the Scotichronicon on this occasion is very completely disproved by the sure testimony of the Exchequer Rolls. The fragment remaining of the accounts of the year 1347-48 discloses a lamentable confusion. Everywhere difficulties and these difficulties

Sc. Lib Xlll cp 47; "Then the Kingdom began to prosper, the Church to be respected . . . ."

An example has been already quoted, that of two boys of 15 obtaining benefices C.P.R. (iii) 262.
The position contained danger enough to the Church as a result of wide-spread lawlessness. The Bishop of Moray, for instance, complained that 'there was an evil custom of nobles and powerful persons on their journeys occupying Canon's houses to the danger of burning the Cathedral'. But that, though bad enough was a simpler matter to deal with than a self-assertive monarch, refusing to tolerate interference in his Kingdom.

In connection with papal action other than provision to benefices there is the same lack of evidence of any resentment on the part of the Crown. Here, as before, the absence of David removed all possibility of resistance after 1346; but even had the fortune of war been different, there is no reason to think that the harmony would have been disturbed.

There had hitherto been much inconvenience caused by the fact that, in the absence of a Scottish metropolitan, appeals from the decision of a bishop had to be made directly to Rome, a process attended by much delay. To remove this, Clement appointed papal auditors with powers of deciding

The difficulty was met thirty years later by the power to hear first appeals, granted to the Bishop of St. Andrews, Dowden M.C. p.12.
disputes. Here we find a fresh instance of the close relations between Crown and Papacy. The possibility of friction was avoided by the appointment in the only case where the auditor is named, of the Churchman and Courtier Gilbert Fleming. Such facts go far to explain the situation in Scotland. The harmony was in fact largely assured by a wider harmony which existed between the Crown and the Church. There is no parallel in Scotland to those acrimonious disputes which led finally to the Statute of Praemunire in England (1353). We might quote, by way of contrast, a dispute in which the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Norwich was overridden by the King's Justiciars, the goods of the unfortunate Bishop seized and the enormous fine of £10,000 imposed. In the past there had been but few passages of arms between the ecclesiastical and civil courts. In the present period there is no evidence of any conflict at all. Where there is evidence it is of friendly co-operation, as in 1349 when we read that the Bishop of Aberdeen and the King's Justiciar held a joint court at the standing-stones of Rane. There is the same proof of the wish of David to aid rather than interfere in the exercise of ecclesiastical justice, contained in the letters he wrote after his return, assuring the Bishop of Moray of his support in enforcing the decisions of Church-Courts.

If the Crown offered no resistance to papal
intrusions still less did the Church. Hitherto when it showed a stubborn spirit, the Church had always acted in alliance with the temporal power. Such had been the case both in the thirteenth century under the Alexanders and again under Bruce. But now, when the Crown was accepting papal policy without question, even had the Church so wished, it lacked the coherence to make a stand. There is no sign however that the desire existed. The Bishops like the King were frequent petitioners to the Holy See. Often they were too closely united by interest, past and present, to the Court to be able to adopt any vigorous attitude of their own. Others were bound to the Papacy by being employed on important and responsible duties, as for instance Robert, Bishop of Aberdeen who held the post of Collector of money due to the papal camera. Even when Clement took it upon himself to cancel episcopal grants no protest was made. The papal nominee appears to have been admitted. Throughout the whole Church there was a readiness to invoke papal decision. It is common to meet with a priest who is smitten with doubt that after all the benefice he holds may have been reserved and who hastens to secure himself by petition. The disposition to question papal right in the matter is conspicuously absent.

1. e.g. the Pilmore brothers, Bishops of Moray & Dunkeld and Patrick de Lochrys. C.P.R. iii 165.
Among the causes, apart from those already indicated, which were responsible for the Scottish submission to Clement VI, must be reckoned the French alliance. The intrusions of the French pope, believed generally to favour the French cause which was at the time that of Scotland also, were less obnoxious, thus France had become the natural land of refuge for those fleeing from Scotland in an evil day. The intimacy of the two countries is shown by the influence of the French King in the Scottish Church. In the year 1350 no fewer than four canonries were granted in Scotland by Clement at his request. Thus the very causes which tended to produce submission in Scotland, for England fanned the flame of revolt. There, as the struggle with France grew more bitter, the opposition to the papacy became national.

The dominant conviction was voiced by Adam Marimuth sent by Edward to expostulate with Clement, who rounded off his argument by pointing to the appointment of the French Cardinal, Tallyrand of Perigord, to the Deanery of York, whom all considered the deadly enemy of England. The frequent unworthiness of the persons appointed aggravated the sense of grievance against "la pecorehence cite d'Avenon, where brokers of benefices procure by simony that a caitiff who is worth nothing shall be promoted to churches and prebends worth a thousand marks". Thus events moved steadily to the result known as the Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire (1351-3).
Lastly the evils under which the Church groaned in England, were less flagrant in Scotland. If provision was universal in vacancies of episcopal Sees, at least it was Scottish prelates who secured appointment, and even in lesser dignities the number of foreign provisions is comparatively small. There is, for instance, nothing in Scottish records to compare to the plague of Cardinals that descended on English benefices within a few months of Clement's succession to the pontificate, when one received all the benefices to be vacated in the province of York to the value of 1000 marks, another the same in the province of Canterbury and so on till the appetites of ten Cardinals for benefices had been satisfied.

Innumerable instances might be cited of injustices of papal policy in England such as Scotland never suffered. Thus the election of an abbot of the rich and powerful Monastery of St. Augustine, Canterbury, was cancelled in favour of an Italian Cardinal. In a levy from the clergy of the diocese of York, it was forbidden to take anything from the Cardinals holding benefices therein. To such an extent had this evil of non-residence grown that in the Cathedral of Salisbury there had been no resident dean for forty years. Permission is given to hold the profits of four benefices without residing or even being ordained.
When due account is taken of these circumstances the absence of all resistance to the policy of Clement VI presents less of an anomaly than we should at first suppose.
The death of Clement VI and the succession of Innocent VI was an event of no political importance to Scotland. The policy of the Papacy remained unchanged and the period of eclipse and neglect into which Scottish interests had fallen at Avignon continued. Innocent, like his predecessor was wholly engrossed in the main question of a settlement between England and France, and had no eyes for the miserable confusion that reigned in the Northern Kingdom. It was not that the desire of Innocent for peace was in any measure insincere, or even that there was any conscious assent to the subjection of Scotland and the captivity of her King. Like Clement he appears to have considered that by virtue of the French alliance the Scottish question could be solved automatically by the wider quest for an enduring Anglo-French peace. On that at all events he concentrated his whole efforts. Probably too the delicacy of negotiations with the English King and his readiness to resent any appearance of papal intrusion in matters which Edward held to concern himself alone, acted with Innocent as it had done with Clement and even with Benedict before him, as a deterrent to over-precipitate intervention, which, far from tending to an
amicable settlement might only serve to provoke further strife.

In 1553 the interest had again become centred upon Brittany and the efforts of the partisans of Charles of Blois, fellow prisoner of King David in England, to recover the Duchy for their absent lord. This was the first field of Innocent's labours. Within a week of his succession he addressed an earnest request to Edward for the release of Charles 'who will be of great service in promoting peace'. At intervals the petition was repeated with an urgency that bears witness to Innocent's sincerity in a matter which was believed to bear closely upon peace. At the same time other avenues were explored. The proposed marriage of the son of Charles to Edward's daughter met with his eager support. It was a triumph for the papal efforts through the legate Guy of Porto, that a promise of peace seemed to have dawned in the conference of Guiné (April 1354) and that Edward consented to lay his claims before the Papal Court. 1.

Amid these negotiations the affairs of Scotland met their customary fate. Against the many petitions on behalf of Charles of Blois we cannot set one in which David is named or even indirectly referred to. Yet there was constant correspondence, about this very time, between England and Scotland for his release; and in this, Innocent, had he wished, could have exerted himself. An agreement was

1. Cf the words of Innocent "considering how suspicious the English are, and how difficult the business is". *Cfr. in l. 679.
reached at Newcastle in July (1354) whereby the ransom for David was fixed at 90,000 marks to be paid in nine years. During this time there was to be a truce between the two nations. The issue therefore was more than the release of the Scottish King; the treaty contained a guarantee of peace in Scotland. Yet not even this consideration aroused the interest of the pontiff. There is a letter addressed by him to Edward in the same month in which the agreement was reached, in which he expresses his joy at the King's disposition to peace with France. Regarding Scotland there is silence. In December the treaty was ratified without the good offices of the Papacy having been offered, or indeed requested by either party to the contract. Occasion for intervention would presently have arisen, we may be sure, had the treaty become effective, for by its terms the clergy in common with the rest of Scotland had become bound for the payment of the ransom. Thus there was involved the question of ecclesiastical immunities regarding which the Papacy but seldom chose to be silent.

Meantime however occasion did not arise. The ever present curse of French influence asserted itself and the Treaty was frustrated. It clearly was not expedient for King John that his useful allies should withdraw thus, and
leave him to bear the full brunt of an English attack alone. The danger grew greater as the parleys which had been in progress since Guines became more and more hopeless and it grew plain that a solution of difficulties was only to be found by the sword. The presence of a stubborn foe in Edward's rear, ready to take advantage of his absence, was an advantage not lightly to be forgone. The logic of circumstances is very clear. Edward's Easter Parliament (1355), growing impatient of French delays, agreed to a renewal of the war. Immediately afterwards, Eugene de Guarancieres, who had taken part in a similar mission in 1336 and again in 1339, was dispatched to Scotland with a small force 'and no empty hand', to win back the wavering ally. He was entirely successful. The Scottish nobles, preferring present gain to the immeasurably greater advantages of peace, agreed to disregard the treaty and make a fresh attack on England. The result was presently seen.

While Edward was in Brittany in November the disquieting news reached him that the Scots had again risen, surprised Berwick and were threatening the Castle. It is almost certain that we should connect with his vexation at finding himself harassed thus, the surrender made by Balliol of his Kingdom and the reassertion by Edward of his own claim to the Scottish Crown. The incident has the appearance of a first step in the final attempt at a thorough subjugation of Scotland, and the removal for good of this obstacle to the success of
Edward's French wars. There seems no particular reason otherwise why Balliol should have chosen this moment for his resignation; the whole circumstances make it very doubtful whether his action was voluntary at all. The elaborate list of his published reasons (amounting to eleven) seems to indicate that we have here something more than the final scene in the tragic-comedy of his line. Edward's preparations also were made on a larger scale and more carefully arranged than was necessary for a primitive raid. We should also note his savage vengeance on Lothian when the invasion became a disastrous failure. The monarch who had on previous occasions shown respect for the Church, when all else was committed to the flames, and who was rumoured to have slain his own brother for the destruction of the monastery of Lesmahagow, now showed no mercy. His burning of the Church of the Friars Minors at Haddington, known for its beauty as the "Lamp of Lothian" remained a memorable outrage in a campaign whose ferocity won for it the name of Burnt Candlemas. The seriousness of his purpose has been largely obscured by his failure.

Peace with Scotland was now imperative, that he should be free to co-operate with his son in France. Foiled in his attempt by force of arms, Edward hastened to secure himself by a renewal of the communications for the

1. Cf. his sparing of Elgin in the campaign of 1336.
release of David and for perpetual friendship between the two
Kingdoms. To this end commissioners were appointed, and
throughout the summer of 1356 peace reigned in Scotland, while
such as found it irksome flocked to the French standards, for
the most part to fall or be taken on the fatal field of
Poitiers. In January 1557 the Scottish Parliament met at
Perth and the Bishops of St. Andrews and Brechin, with Sir
William Livingstone and Sir Robert Erskine were named to
treat with Edward for the King's ransom and the ratification
of peace. Thus were the negotiations, destined at last to
terminate David's long captivity renewed.

All this however without any sign of interest at
Avignon or any attempt to promote a settlement. The history
of the political relations between Scotland and the Papacy
becomes here entirely negative and the narrative of events
bears on the present enquiry only as showing the utter neglect
into which Scottish affairs had fallen. The French
mercenaries came, rekindled strife and departed; Edward
revived his royal claims, and frustrated, wreaked his savage
vengeance on Lothian; peace came again. Yet not once did
Innocent deem these events worthy of a legati/re mission, or
trouble to include Scotland in the mandate of his nuncios
coming to Edward in the interests of peace. Letters passed
in abundance into the papal chancery dealing with the normal
business of the Scottish Church, telling a dismal tale of
desolation and poverty caused by war, and Innocent issued replies. Provisions were made and indulgences granted, and an elaborate system of Church organization completed, but the affairs of the Church and the political interests of the Country, even when in actual fact they affected each other, were kept rigidly apart. In the former connection the Pope showed himself fully alive, in the latter neither the release of the King nor the promotion of peace nor even the evils of invasion have left a trace in the papal letters.

We have already noted the contrast between his attitude to the release of David and that of Charles of Blois. But there at least some justification for the neglect can be claimed. The return of the King, as Innocent might well suspect in the light of previous events, scarcely tended to peace.

We may likewise argue that the toleration of the fresh assertion by Edward of his rights to the Scottish Crown was a measure of Papal caution, though to do so implies a blindness on Innocent's part to the lesson of almost fifty years stubborn resistance. In both cases, however, the simpler and the truer explanation is one of sheer indifference and neglect. So little did Innocent concern himself about the Royal title of Scotland that he was willing to assent to its use by Balliol, though simultaneously addressing David as King and addressing letters on national affairs to him. The same conclusion is borne out by the papal silence, when, in the disastrous spring of
1356, Edward pressed forward to give effect to his assertion of rights in Scotland by the sterner reasoning of fire and sword. Yet when it was a question of the invasion of France, no effort was spared; the Cardinals did not abandon the attempts at pacification till battle was joined. There at least the personal interests of the Papacy as well as the national sympathies of a French pontiff were involved. On one occasion the course of victory brought the Black Prince to the very walls of Innocent's Palace and precautions had to be taken for the stronger fortification of Avignon.

Above all we must reckon with Innocent's pre-occupation with the interests of France. "Now", sang the English soldiers after Poitiers in rude rhyme, "Now is the Pope become a Frenchman and Jesus English; now shall be seen who will accomplish more, the Pope or Jesus". Scotland was far however, and the call of her need was drowned in the urgent clamour of pressing dangers close at hand. Moreover the persistency with which the French King petitioned for promotions in the Scottish Church must have made the relationship between the countries appear closer than it was and have strengthened Innocent in his policy of regarding Scotland as altogether comprehended in the interests of her ally and not important enough to merit separate consideration.

There is one document only which calls for notice at

1. Cf the letter of Innocent bidding his Cardinals follow the armies into the field in hope of averting a battle at the last. C.P.R. (iii) 618.
this point. In May 1556 Innocent wrote announcing to the Regent that he was sending David de Har to transact business in Scotland. The papal emissary was at the same time recommended to the Bishop of St. Andrews; Patrick, Earl of March; Thomas, Earl of Angus; William Douglas, and Sir Thomas Moray of Bothwell. It has been assumed that the mission was concerned only with a dispute concerning certain lands belonging to the Hospital of St. John, yet the fact that the persons addressed were also those who presently figured chiefly in the transactions of the ransom seems to afford ground for a conjecture the mission had some ulterior purpose.

The invaluable testimony of the Exchequer Rolls as a record of relations with Avignon is here lacking. The incident therefore remains isolated. No other entry of any political significance occurs in the papal registers till Innocent's refusal to sanction the contribution of the clergy to David's ransom in June 1558.

The whole intervening year was one of busy diplomacy as the negotiations for the King's ransom proceeded. The defeat and capture of John of France and the treaty of Bourdeaux which followed it (March '57) was the occasion of a more vigorous statement of independence from France than recent years had seen. It was assumed that Scotland could in the usual way be included as a French ally but this course was declined and a separate truce concluded in May. If Innocent

1. McEwan Vol 1, 232.
noted the fact it does not seem to have suggested to him that Scotland could be a separate problem, not to be dealt with incidentally in a passing phrase or by tacit assumption included in the settlements of France. His attitude remained one of indifference as before.

As the summer of 1357 wore on, the treaty which had been so long delayed approached a conclusion. David was conveyed to Berwick and there in August a conference of the commissioners was held. In the main the English proposals were similar to those made four years previous, save for the increase of the ransom to 100,000 marks and more stringent measures taken that the Treaty, once made, should be observed. The clergy as on the earlier occasion bound themselves through their Bishops for the payment of their share of the ransom. The unanimity of the clergy and the large part which they had taken in the transactions appear conclusive proof that the subsequent refusal of the Pope to sanction the contribution of the Church was not based on any reluctance within the Scottish Church itself.

Of the six commissioners who carried the Treaty through, three were Bishops (St. Andrews, Brechin and Caithness). The burden of the ransom was undertaken by all the important sees without exception. Whether the agreement was reached in a regular council of the Scottish Church or not is a small point, which does not affect the main inference. Sodor and Galloway alone were not represented and of these the latter acceded
afterwards; the absence of the former is insufficient to prove 1.
or disprove anything.

The final ratification of the treaty took place in the beginning of October, and David, after a long captivity of eleven years, was free to return to his Kingdom. The precaution had been taken by Edward, with a knowledge that was the fruit of personal experience, that permission from the Pope should be sought for the ecclesiastical contribution. It may be that he hoped for more favour to be shown to Scotland in a petition of this kind than he himself had enjoyed. If so he was mistaken. Innocent replied that he was unable to give consent in view of the loss it would cause to the prelates of the Scottish Church.

No further information is contained in the registers of papal correspondence, but we read elsewhere of renewed petitions at Avignon in the following year for a tenth of Scottish benefices to be applied to the payment required under the treaty. Two of the commissioners, Robert of Erskine and Norman of Lesley proceeded thither and were successful in obtaining a grant of a tenth for three years only on condition that no additional exaction should be made from the Scottish Clergy. Such was the grudging assent at last given by Innocent to any aid towards Galloway, by the fact that its metropolitan was York, stood apart from the other sees. In the case of Sodor, Bishop Williams interests were also dominantly English. Cf the reference in D.B. p. 234.
the fulfilment of the treaty: of direct assistance at any point in the transactions or of any solicitude for the establishment of Scottish affairs there is no trace.

The whole history of the ransom forms a striking contrast to events thirty years before. It is true that there were important elements in the situation then existing which were lacking at this later time. Then it had not only been a question of peace but of reconciliation after long estrangement from the Church. Yet even so we have seen that there was clear evidence of an amount of favour shown to Scotland greater than the actual circumstances required; that in the permission granted by John XXII to the clerical contribution, and in his support of the Regency in its policy of nationalism even to the extent of an infringement of the Treaty of Northampton, there was implied a friendly exercise of papal policy in the cause of Scottish independence for which we afterwards look in vain. In the present instance the indifference is rendered more remarkable in that it included not only the ransom of David, and indeed the whole question of Scottish independence, but even the simple problem of peace. It was no longer apparently a matter of any concern to the Papacy that Edward should spread desolation in Scotland. His refusal to ratify the undertaking of the clergy was based solely on the question of financial loss to the Church. There entered into his reasoning no consideration of the unhappy condition of chaos and recurrent invasions and the possible result if the Treaty were frustrated. Nor could it
be claimed that he acted in support of the wishes of the Scottish clergy who had shown themselves willing to undertake a share calculated strictly on the amount of Church lands.

The reason for the neglect of Innocent can not be found altogether in his lack of concern in general with temporal affairs. Under him the Empire became obedient to an extent that must have exceeded papal hopes. In spite of the entreaties of Ghabelline Chiefs, Charles IV preferred to conciliate his favour by an abrogation of Imperial claims. Italy was reduced to order and the power of the Church established again over territories long lost. His letters to the Black Prince show a ready enough appreciation of expediency in political affairs.

Even for individuals he could on occasion exert himself untiringly. He followed up his efforts for the release of Charles of Blois by petitions for reduction or remission of his ransom. On all grounds the attitude of the Papacy is to be fully explained by utter indifference and the assumption that Scotland, if considered at all, could be adequately dealt with almost as an appendage of France.
The pontificate of Innocent VI accentuated that severance, which has already been marked under Clement VI, between the ecclesiastical and secular interests of Scotland. As a province of the Church constant relations with her were maintained, but her political affairs were more and more overshadowed by those of France and England till, as we have seen, they finally fell into complete disregard. In this disregard, however, ecclesiastical affairs nowhere shared. Here we are at no point in any doubt as to the policy of Innocent.

In the main he pursued the course marked out by his predecessor, with little abatement of the extensive power which he had claimed; but the austerity of his life and the severity and discrimination with which he exercised his authority stood out in vivid contrast to the luxuriousness of the Papal Court under Clement and the lavish hand with which he showered ecclesiastical favours around. "Preferment," he is reported to have said, "should follow merit not birth," and he insisted vigorously on the fitness of all candidates for office. Non-residence and pluralities, the outstanding abuses of the Church under Clement, were checked. To a Papal Chaplain who sought the
advancement of his nephew, he replied, "One of the seven
benefices which you hold will suit him well". But in spite of fine protestations, there is evidence enough
in Scotland as elsewhere that Innocent could deviate from
the high standards which he set up.

In filling vacancies of the episcopal Sees he followed the example already established of asserting the
papal rights, but at the same time regarding the wishes of the
dean and chapter as expressed in the election they had made.
Two vacancies only occurred between the years 1352 and 1358
and in both cases the now familiar ceremony of election,
cancellation and reappointment was gone through. On the
death of Bishop Duncan of Dunkeld, the Pope writes, the
chapter, in ignorance as they alleged of the papal
reservation of the See, elected John, the Precentor of
Dunkeld; and he, in like ignorance assenting to his election,
came to seek confirmation at the Holy See. Thereupon
the Pope declared the election null, but nevertheless
reappointed John (1355). In the vacancy of Aberdeen in
the same year events followed an exactly similar course.
"The chapter, 'in ignorance' elected Thomas, Arch-deacon of
Aberdeen; the Pope set the election aside and conferred the
See upon Thomas 'auctoritate apostolica'. The manner in which again and again the process was gone through almost
verbatim, and the infrequency with which the Pope chose to go
beyond a mere statement of his authority, must have made Papal action appear a mere form to the Scottish Church, and disarmed suspicion. An incident in connection with the vacancy of Aberdeen shows that, even if we have no instance of resistance to Papal appointments to Scottish Bishoprics, it would be rash to assume an altogether unconditional submission. It is recorded that King David wished the election of one Nicholas whom the Chapter refused. Indeed it seems probable that the restraint which the Pope himself showed in connection with Scottish episcopal appointments was in a large degree responsible for the harmony that prevailed.

In general, the intrusions of Innocent though considerable were marked by more caution and withal, more sincere concern for the real welfare of the Church than Clement had shown. We find the unusual phrase 'if no one else has a lawful claim' appended to a grant of a dignity in the Cathedral of Moray, made in response to a petition presented by a Royal Chaplain. Such respect for the lawful rights of others had played little part in the munificence of his predecessor. Very frequently before a fresh benefice is bestowed the petitioner is called upon to resign one or more of those which he already holds. It becomes the custom to state definitely the revenues of the Churches or prebends already enjoyed, when requesting fresh favours.
Thus, to take an instance, a cleric seeking confirmation in his appointment to the Deanery of Caithness, explains carefully that though he has canonries of Brechin and Moray and a hospital in Caithness, their combined value is only eight marks. Such cases are not infrequent.

Another feature of Innocent's rule was his insistence upon competence. A signal instance of this was his rejection in England of the Chaplain of Prince Edward as insufficiently learned. In Scotland we may see the same severity. King John of France had petitioned for his secretary to be given a Canonry of Moray. It was granted only in consideration of the fact that he had been 'examined and found sufficient in arts at the Roman Court'. A similar condition was stated again in the following year in another grant at John's request, and the phrase 'after due examination' recurs regularly throughout Innocent's Scottish correspondence. But with all his strictness, the old evils of the Church remained. It is certain that many of the grants of benefices made at the request of France implied the abuse of non-residence which he had himself condemned. A scholar of Paris was permitted to become a Canon of Glasgow; the secretary mentioned above held not only a Canonry of Glasgow, but a Church in the diocese of Dunkeld. And pluralities even if less conspicuous than in
There are several aspects of ecclesiastical affairs that have a significant bearing upon the general relations between Scotland and Avignon. First there is the great extent of French influence within the Scottish Church. During the years 1352–4 the intrusions of King John are very frequent indeed, and it is possible that this fact may have influenced Innocent in his attitude to Scotland. It is not remarkable that, finding the French King requesting dispensations for marriage in Scotland as if he were petitioning for his own subjects, Innocent should have inclined to underrate the importance of Scotland and her claim to separate consideration.

On the other hand, his ordinary intercourse in Church affairs must have forced upon his notice the desolation caused by war and the need of peace. The diminution of Church revenues was a cause of constant petitions to Avignon. 'From which he gets nothing because of the wars' and phrases of like tenor are repeated over and over again. The failure of Innocent under such circumstances to make any attempt to further peace in Scotland apart from his endeavour to reconcile England and France, is most conspicuous proof of the

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1. The most notable instance is that of Walter de Coventre who afterwards became Bishop of Dunkeld. He was Dean of Aberdeen, Canon of Moray, Ross and Dunkeld and expected a benefice in St. Andrews Cpp; 241.
insignificant part that Country now occupied in it the general considerations of the Papacy. And in connection with the captivity of David, it can hardly escape the Pope that the absence of the King was prejudicial to the interests of the Church. In the general lawlessness, regard for Church rights was only apt to fall into abeyance. We have seen how in the latter years of Clement, the Bishop of Moray had complained of the abuse of ecclesiastical buildings by the Scottish Nobles, and Innocent himself had directed an investigation into the secularisation of the lands of the Hospital of St. John. Difficulties frequently arose in the collection of papal dues. On his return to Scotland, David found a flourishing crop of evils; we see some instances of his endeavours to correct them in his letters to the Bishop of Moray who had suffered from the encroachments of his neighbours and their refusal to pay tithes. The defaulters it appears stood in little awe of ecclesiastical discipline, though the good Bishop had hopes that by the aid of the "secular arm they might be brought to mend their ways" David replied that he intended to defend and cherish the Church, her lands, and revenues and he gave effect to his promise. In a letter of 1364 he accounts the abuses which have sprung up in his absence, and confers upon the Bishop.

The difficulties increased till the savage attack of the Wolf of Badenoch in 1390 and the destruction of the Cathedral.
However, availed to enlist the help of Pope Innocent in procuring the King's return.

We have left to the last the system of internal organization which is the most notable feature of this Pope's rule. Clement VI had set the example by his appointment of specially accredited agents within the Scottish Church. Of these, as we saw, the chief was Robert de Den. The system thus outlined was completed by Innocent. Robert de Den had died at the Holy See, probably about October 1349. No time was lost by Innocent in appointing a successor. In his first year of office he chose William de Greenlaw to be papal nuncio in Scotland with power to exact and receive all sums due to the Papal camera paying the amount through the merchant bankers, the brothers Melabaila of Asti. Thereafter scarcely a year passes without evidence of fresh favours shown to Greenlaw and extensions of his power. In less important appointments he acted as papal examiner of the fitness of candidates. He had power to exact procurations in full episcopal style at the places which he visited. To him the Pope committed the investigation of abuses, such as wrongful tenure of benefices, and from 1357 it became the custom to send notification of appointments in Scotland to him. His duties however were in the main financial and in these he was aided by a number of sub-
collectors, one of whom was the Dean of Dunkeld and another a Canon of Glasgow. Greenlaw's path was not all roses however. There was an inclination on the part of his assistants to withhold the sums collected and we find him commanded to call them to account, and to enforce payment from all persons ecclesiastical and lay. Apparently the contempt for Church discipline was not confined to the diocese of Moray.

The importance attached to the appointment of Greenlaw is shown by the recommendations and requests for favour to be shown him, addressed not only to the Scottish Church but also to the temporal power. His services were rewarded with a lavishness not often found under Innocent. He held the Deanery of Glasgow, canonry of Aberdeen, rectory of the Church of Adel (Edzell), Archdeaconry of St. Andrews, Archdeaconry of Brechin and Canonry of Moray. He continued to hold office till his death in 1373.

The whole system thus established was one of considerable utility to the Church. It afforded a pliant organization admirably suited to the peculiar needs of Scotland, which though so closely dependent upon the Apostolic See, in the absence of any ecclesiastical head, was, because of its distance and in other respects also, a difficult province to administer efficiently. From the Scottish
standpoint, the arrangement had this advantage that it removed the intrusions of Foreign collectors. Greenlaw was at least a Scotsman.

Having come thus to the end of our very imperfect enquiry, as we look over the period, the dominant impression we receive is one of disappointment and frustrated hopes. The record of papal relations contains nothing to brighten the gloomy verdict so often passed by the general historian. We have seen how the opening years of the reconciliation contained a promise of the support of the Church to Scotland in her task of guarding the independence so long and stubbornly defended; and as the fortunes of the Country darkened and she sank into a confusion which the return of David did little to relieve, we have seen not only the favour but even the barest interest of the Papacy in her political fate gradually withdrawn. To this result the complexity of the general situation and the urgency of the problems it presented, the caution required in dealing with any matter which might embarrass the already difficult relations between England and Avignon and the closeness of the ties that bound Scotland to France, all conspired. In particular we must reckon with the tendency of the Pope, himself a Frenchman, to be preoccupied with the direct concerns of France and to consider Scotland as even less than an ally. But though we may thus
explain with satisfaction the essential facts of the papal attitude we do not thereby obscure the significance of that attitude for Scotland. There, as we have seen, papal neglect roused no resentment and intrusions in the Church, no protest. We have here no flicker of that spirit which yet living in a small band sustained Scotland through the darkest days. The sterility of the Scottish Church was complete, not as a political factor only; even in the sphere of Church affairs, those heresies and questionings that were everywhere arising to show the stirring of a new life and the passing of the Middle Ages left them untouched. In the whole attitude of Scotland to the Papacy we should certainly err if, remembering the events of the days of Bruce we saw here an anomaly. That this was in any true sense a testing time for the Church in Scotland there is no sign. Where we have glimpses of the ordinary life of the nation we may see devoutness or the lack of it, but nowhere do we see a feeling of hostility or grievance.

Many of the causes that were to produce the fervour of the Reformation were doubtless already present; the spirit which, seizing on those causes flamed out in revolt, is not even faintly foreshadowed.