

A Jesuit's Misconception  
of Scottish History and a  
Fellow-Jesuit's Apology  
for the Inexactitudes ::

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EXPOSED

BY

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WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONAL REMARKS



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## AN ASTOUNDING BOOK.\*

FATHER FORBES LEITH'S well-deserved reputation for chronic inaccuracy will be greatly enhanced by this his latest production, an attractive looking but slovenly compiled and absolutely worthless book. There were really good and scholarly men among the pre-Reformation clergy of Scotland, but an almost incredible number of them were woefully immoral, and latterly very many of them were disgracefully ignorant. In this book the author has set himself to disprove the charge of ignorance, and has miserably failed. For his failure he cannot be blamed. Success was impossible. For his methods, however, he merits most severe censure. He has suppressed important and unimpeachable evidence diametrically opposed to his theory, and, on the other hand, has lavishly used manufactured evidence. A threefold cord is not easily broken, and that may be the reason why this Jesuit has dealt with his subject in a three-ply way. His three strands are—his Introduction, his Bibliography, and his List of Masters of Arts. Although he has tried to make the most of each of these strands, they are so weak that the one does not strengthen the other.

No one turning over the leaves, even in a casual manner,

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\* *Pre-Reformation Scholars in Scotland in the XVIth Century: their Writings and their Public Services, with a Bibliography and a List of Graduates from 1500 to 1560.* By W. Forbes Leith, S.J. (Glasgow: MacLehose & Sons. 1915.)

can fail to notice the havoc that has been made of the names of recent and living writers. J. S. Brewer becomes T. Brewer; J. H. Millar becomes T. H. Millar; J. Edgar becomes T. Edgar; J. K. Hewison becomes T. K. Hewison; J. M. Ross becomes T. M. Ross; Irving becomes Irvine; Hannay becomes Hannan; Joseph Bain becomes F. Bain; Father James Dalrymple becomes D. Dalrymple; Lord Hailes loses the final "s"; R. Scott Mylne loses the final "e"; on one page W. Keith Leask loses his final name altogether; and on another page the new Principal of St Andrews University is germanised into Herschell. Some of these errors are probably due to indistinct hand-writing, but surely the author must have seen proofs. He may say in palliation that these are trifling inaccuracies. They are indeed trifling in comparison with the grave blunders which obtrude themselves all over the book. His references are sometimes so extremely vague that the volume is not specified, although the work runs into four or five. One voucher is gloriously vague—"Bannatyne Club." Of distinct works that Club issued well over a hundred! When his references are precise they are frequently wrong, either in volume or page, or in both. Quotations, too, are very unsatisfactory. It is nothing to this Jesuit to change a word, to transpose a sentence, to omit or insert a clause, without giving the slightest indication that he has taken any such unwarranted liberties. The frontispiece of the volume is a photograph from the large window in the Parliament Hall, showing the institution of the Court of Session by James V. The window, says the author, is "an enduring memorial of this event." Although the memorial is not half a century old, a good deal of the glass had to be renewed several years ago. What remains of the original Munich glass is not likely to endure, but the replacements by Ballantyne and Son are believed to be enduring.

Of the Scottish pre-Reformation clergy, Father Forbes Leith says: "That in so large a body of men discreditable members were to be found is likely enough. After years of anarchy and destructive wars, ignorant and unworthy men did find their way into the Church. That the ignorance of the Scottish clergy was either so crass or so general as some writers would have us believe is contrary to all analogy, and may be proved to be unsupported by impartial and contemporary evidence." That there were discreditable members among the pre-Reformation clergy is not a matter of likelihood. It has been demonstrated by numerous and irrefragable contemporary proofs that they not only existed but abounded; and they were much worse than discreditable.\* That latterly crass ignorance was very widespread among them has also been established by such contemporary evidence as the following:—

The Provincial Council of the Church, presided over by Archbishop Hamilton in 1549, acknowledged that the chief causes of dissensions and heresies were "the corruption of morals and profane lewdness of life in churchmen of almost all ranks, together with crass ignorance of literature and of all the liberal arts." Little more than two years later another Council, presided over by the same Archbishop, owned that "the inferior clergy of this realm and the prelates have not, for the most part, attained such proficiency in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures as to be able, by their own efforts, rightly to instruct the people in the Catholic faith and other things necessary to salvation, or to convert the erring." This was the reason why Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism was prepared, and the

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\* During the thirty years immediately preceding the Reformation in Scotland, three hundred and fifty bastard sons of the clergy were legitimated. The reverend parents ranged through a score of grades from the cardinal to the curate, ten of them being bishops, and nearly as many abbots. Comparatively few of the daughters were legitimated.

Council said that it was prepared as much for the instruction of the rectors, vicars, and curates as for their people to whom they were to read it. These rectors, vicars, and curates were not only afflicted with "crass ignorance of literature and of all the liberal arts," but were unable to read a printed book fluently a century after the invention of printing! Hence the command that, before reading the Catechism in public, they were to prepare themselves assiduously for the task "by constant, frequent and daily rehearsal of the lesson to be read, lest they expose themselves to the ridicule of their hearers, when, through want of preparation, they stammer and stumble in mid-course of reading." As Father Forbes Leith refers to Joseph Robertson's *Statuta*, and also to Dr Patrick's translation, and quotes (inaccurately, of course) the title-page of the Catechism, he might be expected to know these damning proofs of priestly ignorance; but he ignores them; and there are other important contemporary proofs quite as relevant which he likewise ignores.\*

He is rather unfortunate in giving as examples of the abuses, which encouraged the "ignorance and degeneracy of some members of the clergy," the appointment of the illegitimate infants of James V. to be commendators of rich abbeys. These appointments were sanctioned by the infallible head of his Church.†

The so-called Bibliography, filling over seventy pages, is

\* See my *Reformation in Scotland*, pp. 42, 82-99.

† In connection with appointments substantial fees were levied; and, in the case of the appointment of one of his illegitimate infants to the commendatorship of Melrose Abbey, the King felt that he had been grossly overcharged by the officials of the Roman Court. According to Bishop Lesley (a Roman Catholic historian born in 1527), the Court of Rome, moved by the "greyt proffeit and sowmes of money" which it received through the promotion of unsuitable men, had much to do with the corruption of the pre-Reformation Church of Scotland.

a curious medley. Titles of books are dealt with in a very loose fashion. A Literary History of Scotland becomes a History of Scottish Literature. Scottish History and Literature appears as Scottish Hist. of Literature. In referring to the Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society, Ecclesiastical is substituted for Ecclesiological. The Records of the Monastery of Kinloss are transmogrified into a History of Culross. The Scottish History Society is changed into Historical Society. Such conspicuous blunders are by no means the worst. Works and authors are included which have no right whatever to be there. Why on earth should Blind Harry be thrust among sixteenth-century scholars? Why should the Admirable Crichton, who was born after the Scottish Parliament had ratified a Protestant Confession of Faith, be reckoned a pre-Reformation scholar? \* The Dean of Lismore's book is here alleged to have been "edited, with a translation and notes, by William Forbes Skene." The truth is that it was "edited, with a translation and notes, by the Rev. Thomas M'Lauchlan, and an introduction and additional notes by William F. Skene." The Porteous of Noblenes is classed as anonymous, although the colophon plainly bears that it was translated from the French by "Maistir Androw Cadiou." Again, he says: "In 1530 and 1531 Bellenden was appointed by the King to translate into Scottish vernacular Boece's History, which had been published in Paris in 1526." Then follows the extraordinary statement: "His translation constitutes the earliest specimen of Scottish prose." Quite as extraordinary is the allegation that the 1882 reprint of Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism and of the Twopenny Faith was published "by the authority of the Church of Scotland." These are merely a few typical examples of the howlers which adorn this section of the work. A thoroughly

\* The birth-dates of four of his other pre-Reformation writers, he gives as—1546, 1549, 1555, 1582. The mass was proscribed in 1560.

competent bibliographer, after looking through it, was so disgusted with the performance that he summed up his opinion in the words, "It's dirt!"

The reverend father seems to be somewhat vain of his list of graduates, which occupies nearly fifty pages. Of it he proudly says: "The list of eleven hundred Masters of Arts which follows the Bibliography is a remarkable display of the life and vigour which had been given to the Church just when she seemed to be beaten out of the field by her foes."\* The list is indeed "a remarkable display," but of something else than life and vigour. As almost every entry has a special reference in its support,† a mere tyro may regard the list as unimpeachable; but any record scholar, or any person having a slight knowledge of the period, can see at a glance that it is largely fictitious. It has been artificially, if not artfully, inflated by frequently inserting the same men several times under different dates. Thus the first page of the list professedly gives the names and dates of twelve different men. The very first of these is Walter Abernethy, Provost of Dumbarton in 1513. He occurs a little further down the same page as "praepositus eccles. de Dunbertane" in 1502. On the same page another man is entered thrice, twice as John Adamson and once as John Ade. On the next page is Bernard Baillie, rector of Lamyngtoun in 1533. The same individual figures on the following page as Bernardus Ballie, rector of Lammyngtoun in 1540, and also as Bernardus Beilye, rector de Lamyntoun in 1539. And on the same page John Barry, vicar of Dundee, is also entered thrice, twice as John and once as Robert. The authority given for Robert is Maxwell's *History of Old Dundee*, p. 37; but Maxwell gives his name as \*John, not as

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\* Even if the list were taken as it stands and accepted as immaculate it only contains 1010 entries, not 1100. There is therefore an exaggeration of ninety to begin with.

† Some seven and twenty of the entries have no voucher whatever.

Robert. Through page after page Masters of Arts have been freely multiplied by this simple process. The spelling of proper names varied much in the sixteenth century, and a number of amusing instances might be given to show how the list has been further dilated by accepting each as a distinct name, such as Symon for Simon, Syncler for Sinclair, and Vaus for Waus. But it must not be imagined that variations in spelling are always responsible for the reduplication. David Setoun, vicar of Strathmiglo, is entered twice, although the spelling is the same, the date the same, and the voucher the same.

Occasionally the names have been bungled by the Jesuit or his jackal, and this bungling has also inflated the list. Thus, Gilbert Stratoun, vicar of Inverkelour, appears on two different pages, once with his surname disguised as Shatoun. In both cases the reference in proof is to the same document. Similarly, William Manderstoun, rector of Gogar, appears on two pages, once as William Wandorstoun. Here, again, the same document is cited as a voucher for both. The next example is such a conglomeration of errors that I quote it in full:—

"1539. M. Walterson, Robert, a co-regent of Major, Provost of Bethany and Rector of Pellcokkis (No. 1902, Great Seal Reg., 8 April 1539; Liber Protocollorum, p. 528; Reg. M. S. 1962)."

It is hardly necessary to explain that "Reg. M. S." stands for "Registrum Magni Sigilli." Did the Jesuit not know that this is only another name for the Register of the Great Seal? or did he wish to swell the number of his authorities in the eyes of the ignorant? One of the references is worthless. No. 1902 has nothing whatever to do with Walterstoun. That number is a blunder for 1962, which is a summary of the confirmation, dated April 8, 1539. Then Bethany is a blunder for Bothans, and Pellcokkis is a blunder for Petcokkis. In No. 1962 the spellings of the



surname are Walterstoun and Valderstoun, and on the page cited in the Liber Protocollorum it is Walteristoun. In the entry above quoted none of these forms is adopted; but in the next entry Walterstoun is given as the surname and Petcokkis is given correctly, and the voucher is "Reg. M. S. 1962." It is surprising that a third entry has not been manufactured with the Bethany blunder for its basis. The famous Patrick Pantere appears twice, once under his proper name and once as Patricius Parker. This last has been borrowed from the "Reg. de Panmure, Vol. II., p. 267," but the Jesuit ought to have been able to detect such a glaring error.

The dates have sometimes been taken, not from the original charters or writs, but from the ratifications, and in this way fifteenth-century dates have been advanced into the sixteenth and so made available. One man of 1451-52 is post-dated 1553,\* another of 1490 is now 1509, another of 1486 is 1501, another of 1482 is 1510-11, and another of 1490 is now 1504. In one case the error is the other way about, a man of 1560 having been entered as of 1496. Two men are properly entered under the respective dates 1483 and 1493. If he had any proof that they lived into the sixteenth century it ought to have been given.† With the expenditure of little time and less trouble he has created more graduates than a university could turn out in several

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\* This was an archdeacon of Glasgow. In 1553 Queen Mary confirmed a letter which had been granted by her great-great-grandfather, James the Second, in January 1451-52, in the 15th year of his reign. The archdeacon is mentioned in this letter. In the printed *Register of the Great Seal*, A.D. 1451 is misprinted 1551; but the mistake is corrected in the *errata* at the end of the volume. Even though it had not been so corrected there could have been no excuse for giving 1553 as the archdeacon's date. The name of the king makes that year utterly impossible, and any person of average intelligence ought to be able to fix the precise A.D. from the regnal year.

† Others are entered under 1576, 1578, 1579, 1601 and 1602; and a score are entered without dates.

years; but if his list were carefully revised it would be tragically reduced. It may be mentioned that he frequently omits the Christian names, although they are given in the authorities cited.

The paper is excellent, the typography is perfect, most of the illustrations are good as well as interesting, and the binding is neat. Otherwise the book is the most wretched bit of work that it has ever been my lot to examine critically. It would disgrace a school-boy. Its trend might lead one to suppose that some of the most predominant faults are wilful, but it is much more charitable to believe that they are entirely due to invincible carelessness or unfathomable stupidity. The author has succeeded in proving, not that the pre-Reformation clergy of Scotland were scholars, but that in the twentieth century a man does not require to be a scholar in order to be entitled to write "S.J." after his name.

There is one thing about this book even more astounding than the book itself, and that is that a professor of Scottish History has highly praised it. At least one Roman Catholic journal has hailed it as a triumphant vindication. That was to be expected. But how the author's fellow-Jesuits who happened to know better must have chuckled when they found Professor Rait commending the work as "a valuable and thorough piece of research."

*From "The British Weekly" of 6th April 1916.*

## A JESUIT'S APOLOGY FOR THE ASTOUNDING BOOK.

*To the Editor of THE BRITISH WEEKLY.*

SIR,—My review, in *The British Weekly* of 27th January, of Father Forbes Leith's *Pre-Reformation Scholars in Scotland in the Sixteenth Century* has evoked a reply in the March number of *The Month*. On hearing of it, I ordered a copy, which was long in coming. The reply is over the initials of Father Pollen, a much more competent student of history than Father Forbes Leith. He does not venture to defend even one of the many errors which I exposed. He owns, indeed, that "many clerical errors" were pointed out, but tries to belittle them, and offers excuses for their author. Had all my space been devoted to enumerating the worst blunders and most misleading statements, my review would have been much more damaging; but it seemed better to try to give some idea of the diversified nature of the errors, small and great. Even the smallest of them—the murdering of authors' names, the giving of wrong titles to books, the looseness and inaccuracy in the references—are so frequent that they not only exhibit chronic inaccuracy, but indicate incompetence and rouse suspicion. In Father Pollen's opinion, my criticism on these matters was "very legitimate and useful," but was pushed "to far too great an extreme," "as if such slips of the pen and oversights of the printer's reader could invalidate

the whole work." To blame the printer's reader is a most unsportsmanlike proceeding.\* He could not be expected to check all the references, or to make those precise which were monstrously vague. It is the looseness in quotation, the number of grave blunders, and the suppression of important facts that invalidate the whole work.

For the artificial swelling of the list of graduates, Father Pollen thus apologises: "The origin of many of these small mistakes and duplications of the names of Masters of Arts is intelligible enough to a sympathetic mind. Father Forbes Leith, who has long since passed his eightieth year, has been reading for these notes in spare moments extending over a generation, amid other work and during residence abroad. At first only old editions of registers, etc., were available, then those which were more modern. Revising old by new editions is a very complicated operation, and it is really very little wonder that some entries should have, under these circumstances, been confused, some doubled." It is pitiful to find a man of Father Pollen's attainments and reputation venting such excuses. If Father Forbes Leith is in his dotage, then the Superior to whom he owes obedience is to blame for allowing him to publish trash. He is an old delinquent, however, in more senses than one. It is seven-and-twenty years since I drew attention to his *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, as "a book remarkable for its misrepresentation of facts."

When Father Pollen speaks of "some" of the entries in the list of graduates having been confused and "some" doubled, can he have any idea of the number of such

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\* In my *Reformation in Scotland* an error crept into a quotation. As my MS. had been torn up before it was discovered it was impossible to ascertain to whom it was primarily due. But it was in the second proof, and, as I had failed to detect it there, I took the entire responsibility, and never dreamed of blaming the compositor or the printer's reader.

blunders? \* His allegation that these are due to the difficulties caused by working with old and new editions of "registers, etc.," is a genuinely jesuitical subterfuge. For this section of his book his fellow-Jesuit cites a few MSS., and about ninety printed works. Nearly all of these printed works are more or less familiar to me, most of them being on my own shelves. Of many of them there is only one edition; and during the last sixty years, so far as I know, new editions or translations, have been issued of only six of the others. To four of the six, he has only one reference apiece; to another, two; and to the last, sixteen. To the *Register of the Great Seal* alone he has over three hundred references. A revised edition of the first volume of that *Register* was published in 1912; but it only comes down to A.D. 1424, and Father Forbes Leith's period begins at A.D. 1500. Of the many glaring blunders which I pointed out in this part of the book, not one can be accounted for on the plea of old and new editions. No plea could excuse some of the blunders, as, for example, the entering of a famous Provincial of the Black Friars as three different men.

Father Pollen says: "Dr Hay Fleming *wants* to prove the old Scottish clergy crassly ignorant." Why, crass ignorance was acknowledged by the Church itself in two of its councils as quoted in my review. One of them, in the original Latin, uses the words, "CRASSA INSCITIA." According to Father Pollen, what the statute of the other really proves is that "although the clergy might be able to read printed books fluently, they still might 'stammer and

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\* As so many of the references are vague and so many are wrong, it is a very tedious task to check the names by the authorities cited; but, in a somewhat perfunctory test of the first fifteen pages of the list, that is, in barely a third of it, I have found three men triplicated, and twenty duplicated. One of these appears as M. David Davidson and as M. Willelmus Davidson. The same voucher is given for both entries.

stumble' unless they practised reading in public." Vain suggestion, for, as Dr Patrick pointed out, the Catechism was "couched in the simplest style and in the plainest vernacular," and the Council of 1549 was "painfully conscious of the illiteracy of the clergy, and anxious, as far as in it lay, to put an end to the scandalous condition of things."

Lord Acton held that papal infallibility has always been a favourite doctrine of the Jesuits. This trait may explain why Father Pollen wonders what infallibility has to do with the confirmation of ecclesiastical appointments. Surely the iniquity of sanctioning the appointment of infants to important benefices was more heinous in an infallible than in a fallible mortal. Are a pope's delinquencies not aggravated by his infallibility? Was, for example, the suppression of the Jesuits by Clement XIV. not a much graver transgression than if it had been done by a mere king or emperor? What was the good of his infallibility if it did not enable him to decide with absolute certainty whether a thing was morally right or wrong?

In his concluding paragraph Father Pollen writes thus:—"Dr Hay Fleming has little to say about Father Forbes Leith's 'Introduction' and the mass of evidence collected there in support of his proposition. The author can quote many reputable historians, such as Andrew Lang, on his side; his critic ignores this fact, and also all the constructive work the volume contains." To Cæsar he has appealed. To Cæsar he shall go. Here is Mr Andrew Lang's verdict:—"The almost incredible ignorance and profligacy of the higher Scottish clergy (with notable exceptions) in Knox's youth are not matter of controversy; they are as frankly recognised by contemporary Catholic as by Protestant authors. In the very year of the destruction of the monasteries (1559) the abuses are officially stated, as will be told later, by the last Scottish Provincial Council.

Though three of the four Scottish universities were founded by Catholics, and the fourth, Edinburgh, had an endowment bequeathed by a Catholic, the clerical ignorance in Knox's time was such that many priests could hardly read." Needless to say, Father Forbes Leith does not quote this passage. In his "Introduction," to which Father Pollen so rashly draws attention, there are three quotations from Mr Lang. A very brief one refers to the scholarship of Erskine of Dun, a layman who became an ardent Protestant. The other two respectively relate to appointments to benefices and the Tudor policy towards Scotland. In the last, for the words "such weak causes as are worked by priests and women" the Jesuit has substituted the word "traitors." This alteration can hardly be due to carelessness.

In his "Introduction" Father Forbes Leith mentioned, of course, that "a General Provincial Council of the clergy voted the imposition of a yearly tax upon the prelates for the maintenance of the College of Justice." But he kept his thumb on the fact that Cardinal Beaton, the head of the Scottish hierarchy, refused to pay his share of the tax for five years, and that an action had to be raised against him at the instance of the King's Advocate.

Father Forbes Leith's constructive work is wood, hay, and stubble. A few errors inevitably creep into the most painstaking books, and for such due allowance is made by reasonable critics. But his work does not have one redeeming feature from beginning to end.

Father Pollen charges me with "a breach of the canons of fair criticism," with "incurable bias and determination to find fault," with "intemperate animus," with "uncharitable innuendo and unscholarly abuse."\* Nevertheless, to several

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\* I find that he also charges me with "religious prejudice." This is good from a Jesuit!

varieties of defects in the book I have not even alluded, either in my review or in this letter. Good work I always appreciate heartily, and as heartily I always detest scamped work, no matter what the creed of the author of the one or the other may be. The notice of the book which promptly appeared in *The Month* was evidently the product of what Father Pollen calls "a sympathetic mind"—a mind so blind, wilfully or otherwise, to all the grave faults of the work that it did not give the slightest hint of their existence.\*

As Father Pollen's remarks about *The Hungarian Confession* have nothing whatever to do with my review of Father Forbes Leith's book, they will be dealt with elsewhere.

D. HAY FLEMING.

EDINBURGH, 31st March, 1916.

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\* According to the notice in *The Month* (June 1915), "Father Forbes Leith has chosen an effectual method"; and there is "no more need, after that, to defend by controversial methods the clergy as men of culture." He is declared to be "quite convincing . . . on his main subject"; but not quite so satisfactory "on some minor points." The scale on which the notes and illustrative matter are supplied "is not wholly adequate when the matter has been controverted before." Some of the illustrations, though quite good in themselves, are "a little far-fetched," and "here, too, the letter-press is inadequate." It is admitted that "the cut of the broad seal of the University of Cambridge shows debased architecture, belonging not to the period which the author commends to us, but to that which he depreciates." This is the only condemnation, if condemnation it can be called, in which the sympathetic writer in the Jesuit organ indulges. As for the reference to architecture, Pugin, whose authority in that art Roman Catholics will not question, maintained that a gradual decay in it had begun a century before the Reformation.



## ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

As pointed out in my review, Father Forbes Leith has unwarrantably inserted men and books in the bibliographical section of his work that ought not to have been there. His "Introduction," to which Father Pollen thinks that I have not devoted enough attention, is similarly tinged with audacity or crass ignorance. In it he says:—"Bayle, in his notice of John Cameron, another professor at the University of Bordeaux, records the astonishment of the French professors, who wondered how this youth, raw from Glasgow, had acquired a perfect mastery of Greek." Cameron was not only an eminent Protestant theologian, but was born in the Salt-market, nearly twenty years after our Parliament had abolished the papal power in Scotland! In no sense whatever can he be regarded as a pre-Reformation scholar.

As Father Forbes Leith is loose and inaccurate in quotation, he could not be expected to be trustworthy in summarising, and he is not. Here is one of the most innocent specimens in the "Introduction." For it he gives Skelton's *Maitland of Lethington*, i. 154, as his authority. For ease in comparison I place the summary and the precise words in parallel columns.

## FORBES LEITH.

A number of posts connected more particularly with the administration of justice in the capital were bestowed upon the more capable of the clergy.

## SKELTON.

There were a number of posts, connected more particularly with the administration of justice in the capital, which were bestowed indifferently upon the more capable of the clergy and the lesser gentry.

Why has the Jesuit omitted the lesser gentry? Would it have dimmed the glory of the clergy to put them on the same level? Here is a grosser specimen. "On September 10, 1547, more than a thousand priests were slaughtered at the battle of Pinkie." For this statement he cites the contemporary authority—"W. Patten, *The Expedition into Scotland*. Dalryell's Coll., 1798, pp. 72-3." As Patten was present at the battle he ought to be a good authority: but, unfortunately for the reverend father, he does not give the number of clergy killed in the battle. He merely says that "many prestes and kirkmen as thei call them" were among the slain. The writer of the laudatory notice in *The Month* (June 1915), magnifying the results of Father Forbes Leith's work, exclaims exultingly:—"Sparsely peopled as Scotland then was." But neither of the two ventures to give any idea of the number of the clergy who battered on poor Scotland and its meagre population. That would have been much more relevant to the subject of the work than the number slain at Pinkie. If more than a thousand were slain in the battle the number in the country before that must have been truly enormous. Patten says that it was rumoured among the English that some three or four thousand priests had been present, but that they were afterwards informed that "it was not altogither so." Dr Joseph Robertson, no mean authority, calculated that,

although the population of Aberdeen in those days did not exceed four thousand, the endowed clergy of one kind or another numbered certainly not less than a hundred and ten, and probably approached nearer to one hundred and fifty.

In the list of graduates, the references are not made more helpful by citing the same book under different titles, such as—

- Antiquities of Aberdeen.
- Antiquities of Aberdeenshire.
- J. Robertson, Illustrations.
- J. Robertson, Antiquities of Aberdeen.
- Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff.

These all refer to one work. In the same way another work is cited as—

- Officers and Graduates of Aberdeen University.
- Officials of Aberdeen University.
- Officials and Graduates of Aber. Univ.

This work is not one of the six referred to on p. 14 as new editions; but it was not cited by Father Forbes Leith for any error pointed out in my review. Keith's *Catalogue* and his *History*, two totally different books, are occasionally cited simply as *Keith*. When a work is by two authors, Father Forbes Leith generally, indeed almost invariably, names only one of them. Several times he gives as his authority—"MS., Register House, Edinburgh." This is vagueness with a vengeance, and quite on a par with the proverbial needle in a hay-stack. I confess to being quite unable to identify one of the authorities he cites, viz., the *Chartulary of Balmerino*. That Chartulary was printed for the Abbotsford Club in 1841, and extends to 87 pages; but Father Forbes Leith refers to pages 160, 310, 334, and 504.

Father Forbes Leith gives no approximation of the value of a pre-Reformation M.A. degree.

D. H. F.

EDINBURGH, 13th April, 1916.

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