IV.—UTHRED OF BOLDON.

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Both the general and the local history of the English nation has been very appreciably affected by the actions and personal influence of men whose lives and special contributions to our national development in the spheres of politics, literature, religion and art have been passed over by the writers of recognized text books of history. The importance of the biographies of such men does not depend so much upon the personal characteristics of the individual whose life is portrayed as upon those events of history in which they played a part, and the intimate knowledge to be obtained of the factors which made up the daily life of the time and country. The subject of this paper, Uthred of Boldon, was a fourteenth century ecclesiastic, scholar, statesman and author. He was born in the bishopric in the year 1315 (as nearly as can be ascertained), at the village from which his name is derived. Of the social position of his parents and family nothing definite is known. In estimating the general make-up of his character it will be useful to consider the formative influences by which in his early boyhood he was surrounded. A great deal of important character-producing material is frequently lost by neglect to enquire into the early environment and other educational influences which must have played a part in determining the mental and physical characteristics of the subject of a biographical sketch. Personality depends upon two factors—nature and nurture—and of these the latter is the dominant one. It includes the impressions produced by the

home, the feeding, the school, the persons with whom the youth is brought into contact, proximity to influential institutions, the general configuration of the country in which the impression-receiving years of life were spent, everything, in short, which environment contributes. If we know these things we shall find the explanation of subsequent conduct and fortunes so much the more easily elucidated.

Uthred's boyhood seems to have been spent at his native place. The parish was inhabited at that time by about 50 families, purely agricultural, holding their lands for the most part as bond-tenants, many however having portions of the demesne lands of the bishop.[1] Few, if any, of these holdings exceeded 50 acres, together with the customary rights of common. The poverty-stricken element was not evident at all. At the time of Uthred's birth the bishopric was governed by Richard de Kellawe. His rule was one of justice and strict impartiality. The church of Boldon was then held by John de Insula, D.C.L.,[2] a pluralist who also held the living of Bolam, in Northumberland, and other preferments. He was an able man, and acted as official to the bishop of Durham. What influence he had upon the youth of his Durham parish we can hardly conjecture but I cannot help thinking that it may have been to him that Uthred owed the preliminary impressions which showed themselves throughout his adult career.

About this time the Scots, encouraged by their recent successes against the English, made an incursion into the bishopric and plundered the town of Hartlepool, whose inhabitants took to the sea in order to escape from the barbarities of the marauders. After pillaging the town and district they returned to their own country. In all probability Boldon would suffer from the

[1] Bishop Hatfield's survey—Boldon. (32 Surt. Soc. publ.)
[2] *Registrum Pal. Dunelmen.* (Rolls Series).

horrors of that invasion. These raids appear to have continued at close intervals throughout Uthred's early boyhood. In 1317 bishop Kellawe died, and through the influence of the king and queen, Lewis de Beaumont,[3] a foreigner, was imposed on the unwilling diocese by the alien power of Rome. He held the see until 1333.

Thus Uthred's first eighteen years were spent amid the constant apprehension of danger from Scottish raids, for after Bannockburn the border raiders had waxed bold and the new bishop was criminally negligent in his care for the defence of his territory. Such surroundings would be likely to produce in the boy a certain degree of alertness. On every side the youth was brought into intimate recognition of the paramount power of the church. The great church of Durham, with its dependent houses of Wearmouth and Jarrow in his own immediate vicinity, and the magnificent priory of Our Lady and St. Oswin at Tynemouth, upon which he probably often gazed, could not fail to produce a permanent impression of the outstanding greatness of the church. Turn where he would he was confronted with evidences of the ecclesiastical power. The sight of the monks who constantly traversed the county between the mother house at Durham and the daughter cells of Jarrow and Wearmouth would be to him a common occurrence. He may also have been brought into close touch with the Benedictine who served the oratory or cell at Boldon. From every consideration we are led to the conclusion that young Uthred grew up permeated with the spirit of ecclesiasticism.

At the age of seventeen he was admitted into the Benedictine

[3] Lewis de Beaumont. For capture of, and his brother Henry, by Gilbert de Middleton and Walter de Selby, see *Durham and Northumberland*, vol. II, p. 91, by Parson and White: Also an account and defence of his ancestor by Sir Arthur Middleton in *Sir Gilbert de Middleton*; also Chronicle of Lanercost *anno* 1316.

order and in the following year he is said to have been attached to the oratory or cell at Boldon. It seems probable that his entry on this office was simultaneous with his admission to the sub-diaconate—then frequently conferred at the age of eighteen. If this conjecture be true the question by whom and where was he trained presents itself. In 1334 he was sent to Stamford, where the Benedictines had a cell to which brethren from the priory of Durham frequently journeyed. There is an interesting point in connexion with this transference of the young monk to Stamford. In that same year the northern students at Oxford —a quarrelsome set—worsted in their battles with the southerners, migrated in a body to Stamford, where there were already flourishing claustral schools of the Carmelites and a great house of studies of the Gilbertines, and there for some years they maintained themselves as a third English university.[4] I do not think that Uthred's transference to Stamford was due to this student migration to that place. He did not commence his university career there. But there is no reason for denying that he might attend lectures at Stamford.

Although it was by no means unusual for secular students to be present in medieval universities at a very early and immature age, it does not appear that monks were sent by their mother houses until they were considerably older, and moreover the monkish undergraduates were hardly likely to take part in any open rebellion against their superiors, on account of their financial dependence, and therefore we may assume that there was no migration of either masters or scholars from Durham College or from any other monastic house of studies. In 1337 Uthred was sent to London, but whether he became an inmate of the great house of his order—Westminster abbey—is uncertain. At this

[4] Dr. Hastings Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, vol. II, part 2. At a later period Durham priory appears to have maintained a number of its students at Stamford.

time Edward III was collecting materials, borrowing money and attempting to gain allies for his intended war with France. The preparations and the part played in them by the militant ecclesiastics and the citizens of London were uppermost in the minds of most men. It was probably at this time that Uthred was introduced to the world of public affairs. Here perhaps patriotism was added to ecclesiasticism. From London in 1340 he was removed to Oxford, where in 1295 the monks of Durham had established a college for their own students. It is not possible to state with certainty when he was admitted to priest's orders, but being then 25 years of age it may have been at this time. It was in that year that Queen's College—so called in honour of Philippa of Hainault—was founded by her confessor, Thomas de Egglesfield. Its students were drawn from the northern counties. In these early days the manners and language of these northern lads at Queen's is reported to have been certainly more forcible than polite. By some it is held that John Wiclif was at first a student at Queen's, afterwards migrating to Balliol—another college with distinctly northern associations. The connexion of Wiclif with these two colleges is of some little significance in relation to his alleged later acquaintance with Uthred of Boldon, and the charge of being infected with Wiclifism levelled against the latter by some of his mendicant opponents. There is nothing however to indicate any knowledge or acquaintance at that time between the monkish student of Durham and the secular of Balliol. Twelve years after going into residence at Oxford, Uthred took his degree of licentiate in theology. How were these years spent? The course of studies required for a degree in the fourteenth century was much longer than at present. His first six or seven years would be devoted to arts, after that, five or six years, at least, of theological studies would elapse before he could graduate as a licentiate in theology. Uthred's

course then was simply the normal one, indeed shorter, if anything, than the usual.[5] It is probable that he became warden of Durham College in 1347 or 8, that is, about the time he obtained his M.A. degree. For five years more Uthred remained at Oxford before he proceeded to the doctorate. These were stirring and eventful years in the history of the university.[6] According to Anthony Wood, Oxford's gossipy historian, 'On Tuesday the 10th of February (being the feast of S. Scholastica the Virgin) came Walter de Springhouse, Roger de Chesterfield and other clerks (students) to the tavern called 'Swyndlestock' (being now the Mermaid Tavern at Quatervois) and there calling for wine, John de Croydon, the vintner, brought them some, but they disliking it, as it should seem, and he vouching it to be good, several snappish words passed between them. At length the vintner giving them stubborn and saucy language, they threw the wine and vessel at his head. The vintner therefore receding with great passion, and aggravating the abuse to those of his family and neighbourhood, several came in and encouraged him not to put up with such abuse, and withal told him they would faithfully stand by him.' The sequel was serious. The vintner's friends rang the bell of St. Martin's church, an armed mob of townsmen was soon on the spot and the scholars were roughly handled. The chancellor appeared and was treated in like manner. The bell of St. Mary's, the university church, was rung and in a very short time the chancellor was at the head of a numerous band of archers, and fighting went on vigorously until a late hour; no one, strange to relate, being killed or mortally wounded on either side. So much for St. Scholastica's day, but all was not over yet. On the following day the chancellor

[5] For courses of studies at Oxford for degrees see Rashdall's *Universities*, vol. II, part ii, page 452.

[6] Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, II, ii, and Anthony Wood.

made a proclamation exhorting all men to keep the peace. Wood says that 'the obedient scholars meekly betook themselves to their schools,' but with the townsmen it was otherwise, peasants from the surrounding country had been hired by the bailiffs to come in to reinforce them. Eighty townsmen armed with bows and arrows waited in St. Giles's church until the scholars came out for their accustomed recreation in Beaumont fields, soon a pitched battle was in full swing. About 2000 rustics succeeded in entering the town, displaying a black flag. Such an opportunity of paying off old scores against the scholars and parsons was not to be lost. Halls and inns were pillaged, the good things found therein devoured, books destroyed and the buildings set on fire. All scholars found were killed or wounded. Next day the chancellor appealed to the king (then at Woodstock) and in the meantime ordered all scholars to remain indoors. The townsmen, however, were not yet satiated, the halls were again raided, more scholars killed and their bodies horribly mutilated, others were carried off and lodged in the town prison, 'the crowns of some chaplains (that is, the skin so far as the tonsure went) these diabolical imps flayed off in scorn of their clergy.' Then after more violence and bloodshed the friars appeared in solemn procession bearing the host and chanting a litany. This had no effect on the infuriated townsmen, and one poor scholar was killed even while clinging to the friar who carried the Host. It was then over, the majority of the scholars left the town, those of Merton, safe within their massive walls, with a few others, only remained. The day of vengeance was inevitable, the town was laid under an interdict for a year. A royal commission was appointed, and the mayor and bailiffs were sent to the Marshalsea, the sheriff was removed from office. Both university and town were required to surrender their charters into the king's hands. The university authorities declared a *cessation*. It was not till

after June, 1355 that lectures were again resumed and only then after an urgent request to the masters from the king himself. Out of this affair the university reaped enormous benefits and the town suffered great indignities and humiliation. It may be to some a matter of doubt whether the scholars were such dove-like and obedient creatures as their historian makes them out to have been. It is not possible to say what part the divinity students of Durham College played in this affair. Uthred was probably warden of the college both before and after the event, but there is nothing to connect him or his students with the fighting. The Durham Account rolls contain no entries of payment for expenses of 'Dominus Uthredus and the scholars studying at Oxford' for the years 1354 or 1355. The occurrence was one—probably on a somewhat larger scale than usual—of many such which marked characteristically the life of a medieval university town.

In 1357 Uthred made his inception [7] as Professor of Sacred Theology, or as we should say took his D.D. This was the crown and triumph of a long course of study and was a red-letter day in the medieval student's life. The ceremonies and requirements of inception were such as to impress alike both inceptor and all beside him with the importance of the event. The new doctor, master or professor had a *biretta* placed upon his head and received a ring together with an open book from his former master, whose presence seems to have been indispensable and from whom he received a kiss and his blessing. Then seated in a chair he gave his inaugural lecture or disputation. But he must also 'pay his footing.' This took the form of a banquet. He must also give presents of gloves or gowns and moreover

[7] Durham Account Rolls (100 Surt. Soc. publ.) II, page 559, 'et eidem d'no Uthredo incipienti in Theologia apud Oxon 13li. 6s. 8d.' also in Jarrow and Wearmouth accounts (29 Surt. Soc. publ.) we find record of the master of Jarrow giving 20 shillings towards the same event.

payments to the funds of the university must be made; this latter was of course, quite indispensable. The amount given to Uthred by Durham monastery on this occasion was 32*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, that is just a little under 500*l.* of our normal pre-war money-value. Of this, 100 shillings were voted by the hostillar [8] and from that fact we may perhaps infer that that payment was to be devoted to the banquet. For that sum a right royal feast, worthy of the dignity of the inceptor could be provided.

During the next nine years Uthred resided principally at Oxford, apparently still acting as warden of Durham College, at that time an exclusively theological school; but we have notices of his presence in 1358 and in 1360 at the Chapter General of the order at Northampton. In 1362 he was deputed to represent Durham priory at the funeral of lady Percy at Alnwick,[9] in 1363 he was present again at the General Chapter of the order. In 1364 he was sent to Alverton (Northallerton) accompanied by the bursar of the abbey to confer with the bishop. In 1367 he was prior of Finchale. In 1371 he was sub-prior of Durham and during that year attended the convocation of the northern province at York, remaining there six days. In 1373 a messenger arrived at Durham bearing a letter from the king for Uthred whose reputation for diplomatic acumen had evidently reached the court. While at Oxford he had distinguished himself in disputation with the mendicant friars and with the Wiclifites. He was at this time one of the foremost men in his order. This royal letter, unfortunately, has not been preserved, but almost

[8] Durham Account Rolls, I, page 125 (99 Surt. Soc. publ.). In the bursar's rolls of the year 1357 we have reference to negotiations with the abbots of York, Selby and Whitby 'tangentibus inceptionem d'ni Uthredi in Theologia.'

[9] Lady Mary Plantagenet, sister of the duke of Lancaster, and great grand-daughter of Henry III, was married to lord Henry Percy. They had two sons—Henry, who was created earl of Northumberland, and Thomas who was created earl of Worcester by Richard II.

immediately afterwards we find him setting out from England on a commission consisting of five members to Avignon,[10] where pope Gregory XI then held his court. In that year the whole realm of England had been roused to indignation at the intolerable demands of the Holy See in the matter of provisions to English benefices and irritating interference with the rights of patrons, hence the embassy to Avignon. Uthred as a skilled controversialist and a most learned ecclesiastic was decidedly an acquisition to such a commission. However, little good seems to have been derived therefrom. The chief of the mission, John Gilbert, bishop of Bangor, a dominican, afterwards preferred by the pope to Hereford, seems to have used the opportunity to ingratiate himself with the holy father. This question of papal provision had been a bone of contention in England for some centuries previous. Statutes of Praemunire had been passed making the importation of papal letters a punishable offence, but all had been of no avail, kings themselves had frequently violated their own statutes. Indeed the matter was not finally settled until the breach with Rome in the time of Henry VIII. In the following year another commission was sent to Bruges to confer on the same subject with the papal delegates. It is notable that in this second commission John Wiclif[11] was included.

[10] The embassy consisted of five persons, the bishop of Bangor, Uthred de Boldon, John de Loudham, William de Burton, and John de Schepey, D.C.L., chancellor of Lichfield and afterwards dean of Lincoln. The bishop does not appear to have made the journey with the other commissioners, or they were detained at Chambéry by the king of France, Charles V, and it was not until the pope himself requested their release that they were allowed to proceed on their journey to Avignon, and, in his letter of request to the king, the pope mentions each of the others by name, but no mention is made of the bishop. Again on their return journey it was necessary for the pope to write to Charles de Bouville requesting him to liberate some of the attendants of the bishop of Bangor and his party, who had been taken in the dauphiné of Vienne and had been despoiled of their horses and their goods. This is a striking example of the insecurity of life and property in France at that time.—*Cal. Pap. Letters*, vol. IV, p. 125.

[11] This second commission was composed of John Gilbert of Bangor, John Wiclif, John Guter (probably a prebendary of Segovia in Spain) Simon de Multon, William

No other result than illusory concessions followed, leaving the substance of the dispute untouched. Uthred was not a member of this second commission. He was, however, more profitably engaged in England.

It was in 1374 that Uthred reached the zenith of his fame. Immediately after the Whitsuntide of that year king Edward summoned a great council to meet at Westminster.[12] Gregory XI in his financial straits had again revived the old feudal claims to the suzerainty of England, which had been definitely denied in the May parliament of 1366. The sight of this council must have been an impressive one. The king himself was not present, but seated in the midst of the council were the Black Prince and the archbishop of Canterbury. On the side of the archbishop were seated all the prelates, while on the side of the prince were all the temporal lords, and immediately in front of the prince and the archbishop, were seated on one bench four doctors of theology, the most famous throughout the kingdom for their learning and forensic ability, while in the area were seated civilians and canonists of repute. The four learned doctors were the provincial of the Friars Preachers, Uthred de Boldon, John Mardisley, a Franciscan, and Thomas Ashburn, an Augustinian. The king's chancellor declared the purpose for which the council had been called and by order of the king required the prelates to deliver their opinion upon the subject of the papal tribute as derived from the pope's power as vicar of Christ, there on that day; the lords temporal would be required to give theirs on the morrow as to whether the charter of king John was binding on the king and realm as claimed by the pope. The lord

de Burton, Robert de Belknap (chief justice of the Common Pleas under Richard II exiled 1396; see Hardinge's *Chronicle*, cap. cxc, page 342, edition 1812), and John of Kenyngton. For notes on these see Lechler's *Wiclif*.

[12] *Eulogium Historiarum* (Rolls Series), pages 337 *et seq.*

archbishop was called upon to deliver his opinion first. His reply was that it could not be denied that the pope is lord of all, and so said all the prelates one by one. The provincial of the Dominicans begged that they would excuse him from answering so difficult a question, and advised that the custom which his order usually followed when any specially difficult business was to be deliberated upon should be followed, viz. :—that they should sing the ' Veni Creator Spiritus ' or the ' Missa de Spiritu Sancto,' that the Holy Ghost would lead them into truth. Next to speak was Uthred who delivered what was practically an address on the text ' Ecce, duo gladii hic,' striving to show that St. Peter had both the spiritual and the temporal powers. Immediately after, the Franciscan doctor Mardisley replied to Uthred with a discourse upon the words ' Mitte gladium tuum in vaginam,' showing that those swords did not represent such powers as Uthred had claimed, and that Christ himself did not exercise temporal power nor did he give it to his apostles but rather taught them to reject it, and moreover he showed that such a doctrine was inconsistent with the Sacred Scriptures, the early teachers, and the examples of religious men of the past, and also declared that the pope himself had admitted that he had not universal dominion. He likewise reminded his audience how Boniface VIII had claimed that temporal domination over all kingdoms and had been vigorously withstood by the kings of France and England, and that the vicariate which Christ had delivered to Peter was a spiritual and not an earthly dominion, that the pope's earthly power was inherited from Constantine and not from Peter, with much more to the same effect. The Augustinian next spoke and declared that in the church Peter was distinguished by the keys and Paul by the sword and that Peter's power was for exercise in the sphere of conscience, then turning to the prince he said ' you my lord prince, were accus-

tomed to be Paul carrying the sword, but because you have laid aside the sword Peter does not recognize Paul, therefore take up again the sword and Peter will know Paul.' Such were the pronouncements of the theological assessors that day. The archbishop remarked that there had formerly been good counsel in the land without the friars, to which the prince replied that it was through his (the archbishop's) folly that there was need to call them and that had his advice been taken the kingdom would have been lost. And so for that day the assembly broke up. On the next day the council met again and the archbishop when asked for his decision said that he knew not what to say on the matter, then the prince turning furiously towards him said 'Answer, you ass, it is your business to instruct us all,' to which the archbishop replied 'I am of opinion that the pope is not lord here' and thereupon so said all the prelates and also each of the four learned doctors. The prince, upon Uthred's declaration said to him 'where then are the two swords?' to which Uthred replied 'my lord, I am now better informed than I was yesterday.' The answer of the temporal lords was likewise against the papal claims, and the pope was duly notified of the decision.

We have here in this sudden change of front on the part of the monk of Durham an interesting psychological problem. What motives swayed him in the interval between the first and second day's sitting of the council? It seems to me that his discourse upon the two swords was merely an academic disputation calculated to initiate the debate. The onus of opening the argument had been placed upon him by the refusal or withdrawal of the Dominican provincial. A consideration of the full consequences of a formal admission of the papal claims to what amounted to an absolute vassalage of his country to a foreign authority together with the knowledge that that feudal relationship would be chiefly exercised for the purpose of extorting money for purely Italian or French enterprises must have shocked that fierce

spirit of personal independence by which the men of our north country have ever been characterized.

In the following year Uthred was again chosen prior of Finchale —an ideal home for a scholar. He seems to have held this office continuously till his death, except for a few years, probably from the Pentecost of 1382 to the Pentecost of 1386, and during this period he was engaged on important business connected with Durham abbey.[13] It is certain, however, that he was prior of Finchale at Michaelmas 1386 for at that time he was summoned to York Convocation in respect of the church of Giggleswick, in the York diocese, which was appropriated to the priory of Finchale.[14] Uthred's interest in and care for learning is shown by the fact that in 1381 he procured for his church of Finchale the services of a transcriber William du Stiphel, from Brittany, and employed him copying two historical works—Bede's Ecclesiastical History and Jerome's Eusebius. These copies are now in the British Museum. After writing at Finchale this scribe was employed at Durham on similar work. A beautiful specimen of his handwork is preserved in the 'Lyra' in the cathedral library at Durham.[15] We know nothing of the extent or quality of the library at Finchale monastery, or of any other literary work done in its scriptorium; but it is evident that the ecclesiastical historians were there, and the fact that they were reproduced by an expert scribe (probably professional) points to an active appreciation of their value. It is not possible to decide, owing to the absence of the account rolls of Finchale for that period, whether this work was done for Uthred personally, or as prior procuring extra copies for his monastery library.

[13] See details in the Durham and Finchale Account Rolls for these years.

[14] *Records of Northern Convocation* (113 Surt. Soc. publ.).

[15] An edition of a portion of the Old Testament by Nicholas de Lyra S.T.D., Paris (See footnote, *The Priory of Pinchale* (6 Surt. Soc. publ.), page xxiii, and also an account with fac-simile of an illumination of this splendid work in *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Dunelm., etc.* (7 Surt. Soc. publ.), page 192.

His intimate acquaintance with the needs of Durham College and its students at Oxford, probably caused his selection to confer with the bishop at London on 1381 upon the affairs of that house of studies. In that year by the will of bishop Thomas de Hatfield the constitution of Durham College was altered so as to admit a certain number of arts students in addition to, but also subordinate to, the divinity scholars for whom the college was originally intended. During the years still remaining to him he was in all probability engaged in literary work. It is to this period that we must ascribe many, if not the majority, of his numerous writings. He appears to have preserved his vigour in his old age for we find him in his seventy-ninth year charged and exhorted by the prior of Durham to see that the bishop [16] (Walter Skirlaw) in his visitation at Pittington should be duly entertained but that he must not be allowed to infringe any rights of the prior and convent of Durham in that manor. Uthred died at Finchale in 1396 and was buried in his priory church at the entrance to the choir.

His great learning is testified both by his contemporaries and by writers of the succeeding century. During his residence at Oxford he made for himself enemies as well as friends. Besides charging him with a leaning towards Wyclifism [17] he came in for his share of abuse in the rimes of the time, he is referred to as a beast armed with two horns, as a Scot insulting the friars and annoying the English, and is charged with enticing other students from their own houses to his.[18]

[16] *Scriptores Tres* (9 Surt. Soc. publ.), page clxxiii.

[17] There does not seem to be even the slightest foundation in Uthred's conduct, so far as can be judged, for this accusation, indeed if, as seems probable, he is to be identified with the monk of Durham who at Oxford determined (argued) so excellently against the doctrines imputed to John Wyclif, we must put him down as a whole-hearted anti-Wiclifite. See *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, page 241.

[18] Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannica Hibernica*, page 743. 'Jam loco tertio procedit acrius | Armata bestia duobus cornibus: | Hanc Owtrede reputo qui totis viribus, | Verbis

Of his many works none has as yet been published. There are extant in Durham cathedral library MS. copies of his 'De Substantialibus Regulae Monachalis,' and his 'De Perfectione Vivendi' and in the British Museum a copy of his 'Contra Querelas Fratrum.' There is a quotation from Uthred's 'De Institutis Monachorum' in Tanner's *Monasticon*, vol. I, on the original divisions of the faithful in the primitive church, there he gives four distinct grades:—apostles, ecclesiastics, coenobites and laity. Tanner also in his *Bibliotheca* attributes the following works to him: 'De Eucharistia'; 'De divina praedestinatione'; 'Contra blasphemos in Christum'; 'De regia dignitate Christi'; 'Pro dotatione ecclesiae'; 'De usu et abstinentia carnium'; 'De variatione professionis monachorum et aliorum'; 'De regali et sacerdotali officio'; 'De non auferendis ecclesiae possessionibus ministris abutentibus.'[19] These works alone by their variety are sufficient to show the versatility of his genius.

That he made his mark as an authority is evident from the fact that in 1440 the prior of Durham writing to a refractory monk at Oxford orders him to call to mind the proverb of Master Uthred 'not to lose the substance on account of the accident.'[20] There is a fifteenth century life of Uthred now in the British Museum believed to have been written by prior John Wessington.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—The 'Vita' above referred to in B.M. no. 6162, fol 31*b*. additional MSS. Eulogium of Uthred in Tanner's *Bibliotheca*. Notice in Bales *Scriptores Illust. Majoris Britanniae*. Article by Professor Pollard in *Dictionary of National Biography*. Account Rolls of Durham and of Finchale. Hearne's *Reliquiae Hernianae*. Tanner's *Monasticon*, vol. I, page 220.

et opere insultat fratribus. | Hic Scotus genere perturbat Anglicos, | Auferre nititur viros extraneos, | Sic, sic, Oxonia, contra filios | Armas et promoves hostes et exteros,' etc.

[19] See Tanner, *loc. cit.* [20] *Hist. Dun. Scrip. Tres*, p. cclxiii (9 Surt. Soc. publ.).