and Aodh. It was the custom to appoint the successor to the king, his “Tanist,” at the same time as the king himself. Malcolm II. succeeded his own cousin, and, in accordance with the native system of royal inheritance, should have been followed by the unnamed grandson of his own predecessor, Kenneth III. But Malcolm is accused of putting his legitimate successor out of the way, and thus securing the succession of his own grandson, Duncan, a son of his daughter, Bethoc, and her husband Crinan, protector of the abbey (or lay abbot) of Dunkeld. Malcolm thus set the example of advance to the western system of royal successions, while in Crinan’s lay tenure of the abbacy of Dunkeld we see the habit of appropriating ecclesiastical revenues which again became so common about a century before the Reformation.

The innovation of Malcolm II. brought no peace but a sword. Boedhe, son of Kenneth III., left a daughter, Gruach, who inherited the claims of the unnamed son of Boedhe slain by order of Malcolm. Gruach married Gilcomgain, and had issue male, Lulach. After the death of Gilcomgain, Gruach wedded Macbeth, Mormaor (or earl in later style) of the province or sub- kingdom of Moray; Macbeth slew Duncan, and ruled as pro­tector of the legitimate claims of Lulach. From Lulach descended a line of Celtic *prétendants,* and for a century the dynasty violently founded by Malcolm II. was opposed by claimants of the blood of Lulach, representing the Celtic customs adverse to the English and Norman ideas of the family in possession of the throne. Thus Celtic principles, as opposed to the western principles of chartered feudalism, did not perish in Scotland without a long and severe struggle.

Meanwhile the dynasty of Malcolm II. was brought into close connexion with the English crown, and relied on English support, both before and after the Norman Conquest. The genius of Shakespeare, in his *Macbeth,* based on legendary materials borrowed by Hollinshed from

Hector Boece, and on the dynastic myth of the descent of the Stuart kings from Banquo, has clouded the actual facts of history. To the Celts of Scotland, or at least to those of the great sub- kingship or province of Moray, Duncan, not Macbeth, was the usurper. Duncan left sons, Malcolm, called Canmore (great head), and Donald Ban; and in 1054 Siward, earl of North- umbria, defeated Macbeth, whether acting under the order of Edward the Confessor in favour of the claims of Malcolm Canmore, or merely to punish Macbeth for sheltering Norman fugitives from the Confessor’s court. The latter *casus belli* is the more probable, though the chronicler, Florence of Worcester, asserts the protection of the sons of Duncan by England. Siward did not dethrone Macbeth, who was defeated and slain by Malcolm in 1057; Lulach fell obscurely in 1058, leaving claimants to his rights, though these did not trouble much the crowned king, Malcolm Canmore. His long reign (1058-1093), and his second marriage (1068) with Margaret, sister of Edgar Ætheling, of the ancient English royal blood—dispossessed by the Norman Conqueror—intensified the sway of English ideas in Scotland, and increased the prepotency of the English element in political, social and ecclesiastical affairs. The anarchic state of North­umberland and Cumberland after the Norman Conquest, which did not soon assimilate them, was Malcolm’s opportunity. He held Cumberland (1070), and supported the claims of his brother- in-law, the Ætheling, while his relationship with Gospatric, earl of Northumbria, who retired into Scotland, gave him pre- texts for invading the north-east of England. William the Conqueror’s earl of Northumberland, Robert de Comines, was slain at Durham in 1069, and the houses of Gospatric (earls of Dunbar and March) and of de Comines (the Cornyns of Badenoch) were long puissant in Scottish history.

In 1072 William marched north and took a disputed homage of Malcolm at Abernethy, receiving as hostage the king’s eldest son (by his first wife, Ingebiorge), named Duncan. As to the nature of Malcolm’s homage, whether for Scotland (Freeman), or for manors and a subsidy in England(Robertson), historians disagree. Malcolm subdued “ the King of Moray,” son of Lulach, who died in far Lochaber, though his family’s claims to the

crown of Scotland did not lapse. In 1091 William Rufus renewed the treaty of Abernethy with Malcolm and fortified Carlisle, thereby cutting Malcolm off from Cumberland; Malcolm was summoned to meet Rufus at Gloucester; he went, but declined to accept the jurisdiction of the Anglo-Norman peers, or to “do right” to Rufus, except on the frontier of the two realms, wherever he may have supposed that frontier to be. He was an independent king, no vassal of England; as such (1093) he invaded Northumberland, and was slain at Alnwick. His wife, St Margaret, did not survive her sorrow; she died in the castle of Edinburgh. Her reforms in church matters had apparently made her unpopular with the Celts, but under cover of a mist her body was conveyed to and buried at Dunfermline.

Margaret, in fact, completed the reduction of the Celtic church in Scotland to conformity with western Christendom, and some recent presbyterian writers have not forgiven her. Beautiful, charitable and pious, she mollified the fierce manners of her husband, who, according to her director and biographer, Turgot, acted as interpreter between her and the Gaelic-speaking ecclesi­astics at their conferences. Certain obscure religious usages, as regards Lent, the Communion, the non-observance of Sunday, non-communicating at Easter, and the Forbidden Degrees in marriage, were brought into conformity with western Christendom. The last Celtic “ bishop of Alban ” died at this time; and when the dynasty of Malcolm Canmore was established after an interval of turmoil, English ecclesiastics began to oust the Celtic Culdees from St Andrews.

Malcolm would have been succeeded by his eldest son by Margaret, Edward, but he fell beside his father at Alnwick, and the succession was disputed between Duncan, son of Malcolm by his first wife; Edmund, eldest surviving son of Malcolm and Margaret; and Donald Ban, brother of Malcolm. The Celts (apart from the claimant of the blood of Lulach and the house of Moray) placed Donald Ban on the throne; England supported Duncan (by primogeniture Malcolm’s heir, and a hostage in England); there was division of the kingdom till Duncan was slain, and Edgar, son of Malcolm and Margaret, was restored by Edgar Ætheling. He put out the eyes of his uncle, Donald Ban, and in unsaintly ways established the dynasty of the English St Margaret and of the Celtic Malcolm. In 1103 Edgar’s sister, Eadgyth (Matilda), married Henry I.; the dynasty of Scotland now shows, by the names of its members,· that the English element in it was predominant. After Donald Ban no Scottish sovereign bears a Gaelic Christian name save Malcolm the Maiden; and perhaps no later king knew Gaelic.

Edgar, before his death, established his brother, Alexander L, as king of Scotland, north of Forth and Clyde, with Edinburgh, which looks as if he considered Forth and Clyde the frontier of what was legally Scotland; while his younger brother, David, as earl, ruled Lothian and Cumbria. The reign of Alexander I. is marked by war with the northern Celts, and by the introduction of English bishops of St Andrews, while the claims of the see of York to superiority over the Scottish church were cleverly evaded at Glasgow (David’s bishopric), as well as at St Andrews, where English Augustinian canons were now established, to the prejudice of the Celtic Culdees. We observe that the chief peers of Alexander, who signed the charter of his monastery at Scone, are Celts—Heth, earl of Moray (husband of the daughter of Lulach), Malise of Strathearn, Dufagan of Fife, and Rory. After the death of Alexander I. (1124) his successor, David I., is attended by men of Norman names, Moreville, Umfraville, Somerville, Bruce, FitzAlan (the ancestor of the Stewards of Scotland, and himself of an ancient Breton house), and so on.

David, educated in England by Normans, was the maker of a Scotland whereof the anglicized part at least was now ruled by Anglo-Norman feudalism and Anglo-Norman municipal laws in the burghs. Marrying Matilda, widow of Simon de St Liz and heiress of Waltheof, David received the earldom of Huntingdon and supposed himself to have claims over Northumberland, a cause of war for three generations. With Anglo-Norman aid he repelled a Celtic rising—the right of