

SCOTTISH HEROES.

IN THE DAYS

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WALLACE AND BRUCE.

BY

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IN SCOTLAND.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
HURST AND BLACKETT, PUBLISHERS,
SUCCESSORS TO HENRY COLBURN,
13, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.
1856.

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SCOTTISH HEROES.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

INTERREGNUM—WALLACE.

WHEN Edward I. had acquired a footing in Scotland, such as no English king had ever yet possessed, he had not conquered the kingdom, and crushed liberty in that country. Although many had submitted, and acknowledged the rule of England, freedom was still found in the mountains of Caledonia, which never recognized a foreign rule, or entirely submitted to a conqueror. The Scots, indeed, shewed no resistance when Edward made his tour through a great part of Scotland, and approached him only to do him homage; although he planted his garrisons in many castles and fortresses, to awe them into subjection, and many of their grandees and principal noblemen had yielded to the power of the

English, and even enlisted themselves in his service, the spirit of the great body of the people, and of the lesser barons, was not yet broken.* The feudal system had sprang up in Scotland as in England, yet the small proprietors and free yeomanry were not at first called upon to swear fealty to Edward, being still animated with somewhat of that ancient tone of independence, for which Scotland had usually been distinguished, and they infused this spirit into the great body of the people.

The officers of Edward did not display that moderation and political wisdom, by which their great master had held in control the fierce and warlike spirit of the nation, and he himself was too busily engaged in a war with France, in order to recover Guienne, the ancient patrimony of his family, and with his warlike barons and ambitious clergy, among whom alarming depredations had broke out, to devote to Scotland that vigilance and attention which his interest in that country now demanded.† The temper of the nation at this period required to be soothed by conciliatory and moderate, rather than violent and arbitrary

* Fordun, lib. xi.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 72, 74, 107, 138; Trivetii, p. 296; Chron. Dunel. vol. ii. p. 652; Walsingham, 72—74.

measures ; but the Earl of Surrey, the Governor-general, had retired, on account of bad health, into the north of England,* and Cressingham, the treasurer, a proud, selfish, and ignorant ecclesiastic, and Ormesby, the justiciary, who drove into exile those who refused to take the oath of fealty,† rather excited by arbitrary and iniquitous exactions the rancour and spirit of the times, and became every day more odious both to the aristocracy and the people.

Numbers of outlawed Scots wandered over the country, subject to no laws, and acknowledging no superior. Wherever they came in contact with the English, tumults and affrays took place, and they were not slow in intercepting and appropriating to their own use the convoys of provision which were intended for the English, and of cutting off any slender band which fell into their hands.‡ The spirit of dejection even reached those whose names were contained in the fatal ragman's roll, a monument of Scotland's shame, which was drawn up by Andrew, a public notary, and included all the names of those who had sworn fealty to the English king at Berwick, and now preserved

* Trivetii, 299 ; Hemingford, vol. i. p. 118, 123 ; Fordun, lib. xi: c. 21.

† Ibid.

‡ Trivetii, 229. Hemingford, lib. i. 118.

§ Trivetii, Hemingford, Fordun.

in the Tower of London.* Such were the dissensions and troubles by which the country was agitated, when a hero arose to vindicate the liberty of his country, whose honest indignation was roused at the oppressive measures of the English, and who was animated with a patriotism, and excited such a spirit in the breasts of his countrymen, as required but this to kindle it into a flame. Sir William Wallace was the second son of a baron, or land-holder of no considerable property, Sir Malcolm Wallace, of Ellerslie, near Paisley, in the county of Renfrew, who married the daughter of Sir Raynold Crawford, Sheriff of Ayr. His elder brother was Andrew, who succeeded to his father. † He was a man of gigantic strength dauntless courage, unmatched skill in all the knightly exercises of chivalry and war, a descendant of an ancient though not an opulent family, who had felt the rigour of English servitude, and bore a strong dislike to that nation; and appears himself to have been outlawed for some early manifestation of that ardent spirit of patriotism, which prompted him to undertake, and finally to accomplish, the delivery of

* Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 118, 119, 123. Triveti, 299. Fordun, lib. xi. c. 21.

† Cujus frater senior miles Andreas nomine, et militias cingulo succinctus. Fordun, Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 91.

his country from the dominion of England. The native boldness and gallantry of his spirit, and the overwhelming superiority of his genius and ready eloquence, soon gained the hearts of his fellow-men, who attached themselves to his fortunes, when he fled to the woods for shelter from the oppressors of his country; and the lofty consciousness of his own powers, and love of glory, led him to surmount every obstacle, to lead them on to victory, and never deserted him through his brilliant but short career.

The early life and adventures of this renowned patriot are somewhat involved in fable and mystery; but there are some circumstances in his early history, on which, as the fate of this warrior depended, and his magnanimous resolution was formed, we shall consider ourselves especially called upon to notice. His youthful years appear to have been spent at the house of his uncle, a wealthy ecclesiastic, at Dunipace, in Stirlingshire, who directed the rudiments of his education, and instilled into his tender mind those noble sentiments of freedom and independence, which glow so brightly in the classical pages of the ancients, and were no less illustriously displayed in his eventful life.* He finished his education at Dundee, in the seminary attached to the cathe-

* *Scotichronicon*.

dral church, where he contracted a friendship with several young men, and among others, with John Blair, a Benedictine monk, who afterwards officiated as his chaplain, and has left some particulars of the life and history of his heroic friend.*

Even then, he displayed a prudence and foresight, a dauntless heart, and an imagination teeming with stratagem and enterprise beyond his years; and he entertained a deadly hatred of the English, excited by beholding the oppression of his relations and the degrading servitude of his countrymen. Having slain the son of the governor of Dundee Castle, Selby, and excited the jealousy of the English garrison at Ayr, by striking an English buffoon to the ground with his pole, who allowed the Scots to avenge any injury they might have received by this dangerous experiment, for the small gratuity of fourpence, they instantly raised their deadly instruments of war and surrounded him; but trusting to his good sword, which had been concealed under his cloak, after he had shivered the pole over the steel basinet of a powerful trooper, and plying it

* Vid: relationes quædam Arnaldi Blair Monachi de Dunfermlini et Capellani de Willielmi Wallas militis 1327. Perhaps he is the same as John Blair.

† Fordun, vol. ii, p. 169.

with his wonted vigour, he cut his way through his adversaries, who were thronging around him from the garrison, five having already fallen under his powerful arm, and made his escape to his horse, which he had left in a small copse of wood in the neighbourhood of the town. He was now outlawed by the English, as his father, Sir Malcolm, had been, who was slain at the head of a few retainers in the district of Kyle, in Ayrshire, by the party of English under Fenwick, an officer; and the dexterity, spirit, and talents of the bold outlaw, who preferred the solitude of the forest to the degrading protection of the English, soon drew around him many who, like himself, scorned to submit to a foreign and imperious master.* He was now placed without the pale of the laws, and with his slender band of followers, who had stole imperceptibly into the town of Ayr, to witness a prize fighter, who at length challenged Wallace, but soon paid the forfeiture of his life for his arrogance; he was attacked by the English soldiers, who poured around him from the garrison; but fearlessly winding his horn, and collecting his handful of followers in a body, amounting, it is said, to no more than fifteen in number, he advanced

* Wyntown Chronicle.

into the centre of the enemy, appeared himself in the front of the skirmish, and diminishing their number with every stroke of their broadswords, by almost incredible exertions, they reached the outskirts of the town, although a reinforcement of troops had been sent from the castle, mounted their horses and soon disappeared in the neighbouring forests of Laglans, leaving twice their own number dead on the streets, together with three Northumbrian knights.

From this period it may be said that the history of his life is identified with the deliverance of his country from foreign servitude; and by these and similar exploits, which are handed down by tradition and some of his early Scottish biographers, he distinguished himself in the eyes of his fellow-men, and shewed himself worthy of that high honour and command, which his country afterwards bestowed upon him.* The prowess and deeds of arms for which this patriot was distinguished, and his perfect knowledge of all the passes and defiles of the mountains, and the singular art which he possessed, of commanding the most restless and daring spirits, pointed him out to the weirds as the deliverer of his country;

* Wyntown Chronicle, Major, and other ancient Scottish writers.

and the seer of Ercildowne, the far-famed Thomas the Rhymer, and other prophetic visionaries, distinguished him as the person destined to deliver Scotland from the slavery of the English, and the only man who could restore the race of their ancient kings.* At first the leader of a lawless band, such as had sprung up out of the disorganised state of society, who had been placed without the pale of the law, for no other reason than that they would not bend to the yoke of England, he soon drew to his standard many noble patriots, among whom was Sir William Douglas, whose passions he moulded to his purpose by his native eloquence and affability; and continued, by his example and wisdom, to preserve his authority over them.† But it is the misfortune of those who at the present day enjoy some of the blessings which this hero procured for his country, that his early deeds of valour and magnanimity are but imperfectly

* Sanctissimum apostolum Andream, regni Scotiæ protectorem et patronum, dicto Willielmo Wallace gladium cruentatum manu aliter commisisse, stricte sibi præcipiendo eo utrobique uti ad defensionem regni, Anglicos propulsando;—Custos itaque effectus, misit manum suam adfortia Anglicos prosternens, Anglicatos reconcilians, oppressos relevans, et quotidianis incrementis proficiens. MS. Cuprensis vid. Fordun. Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 170. Blind Harry also notices this vision, Buke Sewynd, p. 57.

† Hemingford, i. 118, 119. Trivet, 299.

commemorated in the traditions of the nation, records which authentic history cannot with any confidence receive, though corroborative of events. He long carried on a guerilla system of warfare with the English who had taken up their quarters in the country. The woods were the natural fortresses of these parties; and accustomed, when any danger appeared, or a straggling party was discovered, to wind his horn, the well-known sounds brought together his dispersed followers, who knew, and readily answered, this rural signal of their chief.

Sir William Wallace was a person of gigantic stature and great personal strength; when in full warlike costume, he wore a steel capleyn, or helmet, upon his head, over the bonnet with, his face uncovered; an habergeon to protect the neck and shoulders, covered with a gown, surcoat, or, according to the Scottish fashion, a Tabard,* with a close collar of steel round his doublet, and gloves of plate covered with cloth. In his hand he wielded a ponderous broadsword, and sometimes the mace, with a kind of dagger, which folded under the armplate, and was sometimes concealed with the cloth gloves.† The castles of Dundee and Forfar had been.

* Speaking of Baliol, Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 88, says—

“The pelure thai tuk off hys Tabart,

Twine tabart he was callyt eftyrwart.”

† See Henry Buke Thryd, p. 31, who lived in 1470.

commanded by Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus; who had in good faith surrendered them to Edward as Lord Paramount; and when he evidently shewed that he had accepted this office with the view of reducing the country to slavery, he was not again entrusted with these fortresses, which fell into the hands of Selby, from the county of Northumberland. The son of the governor having insulted Wallace in the town, they drew their swords, and he was by the dagger of the latter laid dead at his feet. A scuffle immediately took place between the English attendants of Selby and Wallace, when several of them were wounded or killed; and making his escape to the house of a female dependant, he was by this means enabled to leave the town; but an act of outlawry was passed against him by the constable, who endeavoured in vain to secure him, and for some time he betook himself to the woods.*

When Baliol, by the advice of his nobles, renounced all connection with England; an edict was issued for the purpose of expelling from the country all the English clergy, who had been guilty of deep political intrigues and interferences with the independence both of church and state,† particu-

* Fordun. Buchanan. † Fordun, lib. xi. c. 21.

larly with the records of the country, which they had placed in the hands of the English King, thus enabling him more easily to pursue his own views, and to trample on the national liberty.* Sir William Wallace, though believed by many of the renegade nobility to be aiming at the regal power, appears to have acted under the sovereign authority of Baliol; and being resolved to strike at the root of the evil, joined with Sir William Douglas in enforcing this edict for the expulsion of the English ecclesiastics from Scottish benefices.† At the head of three hundred cavalry, he made a rapid advance upon Glasgow with this view, where Bec, Bishop of Durham, had usurped the see of the Scottish Bishop, Wisheart, which he garisoned with a thousand men; and dividing his followers into two bands, he assumed the command of one party, and asked the leader of the other, the Laird of Auchinleck, his uncle, “whether he was inclined to bear up the bishop’s tail, or go forward and receive

* Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 248. Fordun, lib. xi. p. 21.

† Sir William Douglas, who was a baron of great valour and power, and, on account of his personal qualities, was surnamed the “hardy,” had sworn allegiance to Edward after the siege of Berwick; but dreading the tyrannical power of the English King, he joined the patriot Wallace, who had drawn his sword in the cause of freedom and national independence.

his blessing?" This chief willingly gave up the post of honour to Wallace, observing, "that his nephew had not yet been confirmed."

Sir William had not proceeded far into the principal street leading to the castle, Auchinleck having made a compass round the town, when the alarm reached the English; and in the narrow streets of Glasgow, the bravery of the Scots, and especially of their leader, made great havoc among the feudal array of the warlike prelate, whose standard-bearer of St. Cuthbert, Henry of Hornecester, a powerful monk, was unhorsed by him. The English being at the same time attacked in the rear, by the body of reserve, they now fell back before the Scots: the greatest confusion prevailed, Beck escaped with precipitation, at the head of a considerable troop of horse, his ordinary personal suit consisting usually of one hundred and forty knights. The English writers of this period, for whose exaggeration some allowance must frequently be made,* lament in pathetic strains, the fate of many of their unhappy priests.† Wallace endeavoured to put in force the edict issued by the

* As a specimen, Hemingford says, that fifty thousand Scots were slain, and three hundred thousand taken prisoners at the battle of Falkirk.

† Knighton, p. 2514; apud Twysden, vol. i.

Scottish estates, between the siege of Berwick and Dunbar, in 1296, for expelling the English ecclesiastics from Scottish benefices, and was supported in this by Sir William Douglas in the south, who had been thrown into prison at Berwick for refusing to swear fealty to Edward; and they are accused by one English author of acting with great severity, and cruelty too dreadful to be credited. He observes, "that the priests had their hands tied behind their backs, and, in this helpless state, were thrown from high bridges into rivers, their dying agonies affording sport to their merciless captors."*

1297. May. In the joyful month of May, Wallace left his solitary retreat in the green woods, the seat of liberty, with his followers, and in conjunction with Sir William Douglas the Hardy, made a bold attempt to surprise Ormesby, the English Justiciary, while he held his court at Scone. He was a man who had rendered himself odious to the country, and who could only save himself by flight.† While the natural guardians of the independence of the kingdom had again yielded to a foreign yoke, this magnanimous and heroic man was aiding

* Knighton, p. 254; apud Twysden, vol. i. and Raynaldi Cont. Baronii, vol. iv. p. 66.

† Hemingford, i. 118, 119. Triveti Annales, 299.

those who had suffered from their oppression—the few patriots who had the hardihood and virtue to assert the principles of our national liberty. Amongst these, Bradfute of Lamington, who had espoused the unpopular cause, had fallen the victim of his patriotic feelings, and was cut off by the governór of Lanark, had his peel burnt, and his followers put to the sword. The orphan of Lamington was now held in gentle confinement by the English governor, and having youth, beauty, besides those softer graces and accomplishments which find their way to the heart, and which excited feelings of sympathy for her forlorn condition; the patriot, who saw her by chance, pitied her hapless situation, and, it is said, had even a deeper interest in rescuing her from the hands of her persecutor and saving her life.* He is believed to have been united to her privately in marriage, but being called away in his perilous undertakings and patriotic attempts to rescue his country, he allowed her to remain, believing that she was safe under the protection of the English governor, Hesilrig, whom Fordun calls Haslope.†

Soon afterwards, he left his woodland re-

* The Prior of St. Serf. Wyntown Chronicle.

† Fordun. Hearne's Edit, p. 978, not Hislop, as Mr. Tytler calls him.

treats, where he had many perilous escapes and deadly encounters with the enemies of his country, for Lanark, dressed in a green mantle, which he had thrown over his armour, which was fastened with a belt, from which hung his sword. His dress, appearance, and the unusual length of his sword, soon drew the attention of the inhabitants, and particularly that of the English soldiery, and he quickly found himself engaged with the enemy, and cut off the right hand of one who in the crowd insulted him, dealing destruction with his ponderous weapon; but as the governor, Hasilrig, now appeared with some troops to ascertain the nature of the contest, and aid in the capture of a man whom the English had good reason to dread, he was obliged to advance with caution and stand more upon the defensive. Being now surrounded by his enemies, several of whom had fallen under his sword, he observed a neighbouring door suddenly opened, and a fair form beckoning him to approach. Through this door he bolted, and made his escape.* This angel of his deliverance appears to have been no other than the orphan of Lamington, who was called before the sheriff, and from her connection

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 92, 95. Fordun. Scotichronicon.

with Sir William Wallace, and the part which she had in the escape of one who appeared to have risked her life and his own in paying her this visit, was condemned and ordered for instant execution.* The chivalrous patriot was thus enabled to make his escape to the rugged fastnesses of the Cartlane rocks, where Sir John Graham, and the patriots lay concealed. When he learnt that the orphan had been condemned by William de Heselrig, he vowed revenge upon her murderer, and is even said to have witnessed the heart-rending spectacle of her death from his place of concealment.† Graham, and the brave companions of his arms, who had resolved to free their country from the tyranny of a foreign power, now followed the chieftain to Lanark during the shades of night, which was defenceless, and dividing their forces into two bands, Wallace, by means of a large stone, burst open the door of the apartment where William de Heselrig, the sheriff, slept, and before he had time to recover from the sudden surprise, he was slain.‡ The place was now set on fire

* Wyntown calls him the sheriff. It appears that Blind Henry in his account of Wallace is perfectly authentic, and that Heselrig was the name of the governor, as is evident from *Scala Chronica*, p. 123.

† Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 92—95.

‡ *En quel temps; hu moys de Maii*, William

by Sir John Graham; and the alarm which this created having reached the garrison, a skirmish ensued between them and Wallace, when they were driven from the town by the enraged populace, who embraced the cause of the patriot and his little band. The inhabitants of the town of Lanark had by this transaction identified themselves with the cause of the independents, no alternative was now left them but to abide the enmity of the English, or join in vindicating the wrongs and injured laws of their country; and his little troop now increased so rapidly, that he could openly raise the standard of freedom, and once more appear as her avowed champion.

The sagacious Edward, who believed that Scotland had now yielded submissively to his ambitious purposes, and that the spirit of the nation was entirely broken, was little aware

Walays estoit choise de la comune Descoce destre cheuetain a mouoir gere as Engles qi au comencement tua William de Heselrig a Lanark;—Scala Chronica, p. 123. It thus appears that the popular production of Blind Harry, "the Whole Buke of William Wallace," who lived and recited his poems in 1470, is corroborated by the Scala Chronica, which was written about fifty years after the death of Wallace (Sir Thomas Gray was taken prisoner in 1355, and carried to Edinburgh Castle, where he compiled the Scala Chronica); and this almost cotemporary writer confirms the statement of Henry the Minstrel, who differs from Fordun in stating that Heselrig, and not Hasloipe, was the governor or sheriff of Lanark whom Wallace slew. In this he is confirmed by the Scala Chronica, pp. 123, 124.

of that fire which was burning in secret, and which was yet to break forth with a fury, and a brilliancy, before which even the powerful King of England would be obliged to retire. In order for ever to extinguish the power of insurrection, a justiciary was held in Galloway, where Sir Raynold Crawford, sheriff, and uncle of the patriot, Sir Bryce Blair, and Sir Hugh Montgomerie, with many other noble families, were summoned to attend, as was usual on such occasions, whilst the eldest sons of these nobles who had been taken at Dunbar, were compelled to remain in England as hostages for their fidelity;* and being suspected by the English of favouring the cause of the patriots, they were unceremoniously seized, and hanged, without the formalities of a trial. The patriot, when he heard of these barbarous proceedings of the English, which were impolitic, not to say cruel in a high degree, selected a chosen body of his confederates, † and being joined by the vas-

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 144, 145. *Triveti*, p. 301.

† We see sufficient evidence of this transaction, which has been denied by an eminent historian, in the ancient writers of the period, both Scots and English, an event which is confirmed by the universal tradition, which, whatever allowance may be made for exaggeration, can scarcely in this case be disregarded. But as Hemingford, t. i. p. 123, does not say where the slaughter of the English took place, may not the barns or storehouses of

sals of the murdered gentlemen, surrounded the place where the justice Air was held, when the English, after a deep carousal on the triumphs of the day, had betaken themselves to rest; and setting fire to the building, with a cruelty which we cannot pretend to justify, but which was highly reprehensible, Sir William Wallace left his followers to complete their destruction, and five hundred of the English, besides women and children,* who vainly attempted to escape, either perished in the flames, or were received on the points of their swords.† This severe measure of retaliation, though common both to the English and Scots in these days of lawless barbarity, can scarcely even be palliated by the fury and despair to which the Scots had been goaded on, by the cruelty of their oppressors, and the unjustifiable measures of the tyrannical Edward. The pages of English history present some scenes equally relentless and cruel; but neither of these can be justified, on the principles of national honour, equity, or policy.

The success attending the efforts of this

Ayr mean the place where the justice Ayr or Air was held, and not the town of Ayr?

* Hemingford, t. i. p. 123, who does not mention where it took place.

† Barbour's Bruce, iii. 260, v. &c. Complaynt of Scotland, A.D. 1548.

private chieftain, and the cause of his injured countrymen, emboldened him to proceed, and having attacked the Viscount of Clydesdale, he surprised him, and Thomas Gray, who accompanied him, was stripped and left dead in the *mêlée*, as they had both espoused the cause of the English; but Gray being left during the night between two burning houses, which the Scots had set on fire, and the heat of which preserved his life, he was in the morning recognised, and carried to William de Loundy, who made him prisoner.*

The firmest friends of freedom in Scotland at this time were the clergy; and when many of the powerful nobles acknowledged the claims of Edward, who was grasping at the dominion of the country, and desirous of directing its government, the clergy, who were more enlightened than the uneducated nobles and barons, were desirous of saving their country from falling under a foreign power, and anxious to uphold the independence of the crown. The Scottish prelates, several of them eminent for their abilities, especially stood forward in the cause of liberty, and encouraged Sir William Wallace in the patriotic career which he seemed desirous to pursue.†

* Scala Chronica, pp. 123, 124.

† Rymer, i. p. 990.

The people of Scotland, by the efforts of the prelates and clergy, having rebelled against Edward, under the guidance of their leader and chieftain, Sir William Wallace, he found a strenuous supporter in Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, who, although he had confirmed his fealty to Edward, while chancellor of Glasgow, in the parliament of Berwick, by instruments under his seal,* and by oath upon the gospels, the consecrated host, the cross of St. Neot, and the black rod of Scotland, now joined with Sir William Wallace in emancipating his country.† Wallace had, by his bravery, placed himself at the head of the only opposing force in Scotland to the usurped authority of Edward; and began to assume that influence, which this event was naturally calculated to give him. The chapter of St. Andrews had elected Master William Comyn, an adherent of the English, to be Bishop of St. Andrews; but Sir William Wallace and his followers, dreading the power which he

* August 28, 1296.

† *Articuli p'ponendi cont. Ep'm Sct. Andr., N. 149, §. 2, p. 331.* This document consists of articles of accusation by Edward I., before the Pope against William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, who had rebelled against him, and is now published for the first time, among the valuable original documents, taken from the treasury by authority of government, under the editorship of Sir Francis Palgrave.

might wield against the common good of his country, and that he might aid the King of England in his despotic and unconstitutional measures, induced the chapter to revoke their decree, and elect Lamberton, who thus entered on the temporalities of the Scottish see.* William Comyn, the brother of the Earl of Buchan, had indeed been the nominee of Edward of England to the chapter, as Geoffrey de Mowbray had been to the see of Glasgow; and unless the chieftain of the people had agreed, like the greater part of the nobles, tamely to submit to a foreign usurper, he had no other recourse than to protect the church in the exercise of her just rights.† The disturbances which arose at this period, compelled Bishop Lamberton and several others to seek refuge in the court of France, where they did not forget the interests of their country, but laboured with the ancient ally of Scotland, until the peace was finally concluded between France and England. A correspondence was carried on between the bishop and Wallace by special letters sealed with his own seal, in which he prayed, for the love which he bore to him, that he would not cease his glorious

* Artic'li p'ponendi cont. Ep'm. Sct. Andr., N. 149, postea §. 2. p. 331.

† Ibid, N. 149, postea §. 3, p. 331.

efforts, until he had broken the power of the English in Scotland, and delivered his country from foreign servitude. As the means of the patriot were not great, he directed his officers to employ a portion of his revenue for supporting him,* and urged, by letters patent,† the prelates, earls, barons, and common people of Scotland to carry on the war, and protect their country from foreign aggression.‡

The attack and signal overthrow of the English at Glasgow, gained Wallace the esteem and support of Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow; and while Edward, believing that he had established the kingdom of Scotland in peace, left England for Flanders, this prelate, who had been one of the guardians of the land, appointed by the Lord Paramount, joined Wallace in resisting the unprincipled attack of Edward upon the constitution and liberty of the kingdom.§

The first successful effort of the Scottish patriot to redeem his country from slavery, was crowned by a series of attempts equally for-

* N. 149, Artic'li p'ponendi cont. Ep'm Sct. Andr. p. 334, postea, § 8.

† Articuli p'ponendi cont. Ep'm Glasguensis, addressed to Pope Clement V., N. 150, p. 340.

‡ Artic'li, p. 332, postea, § 4. 5.

§ Artic'li p'ponendi cont. Ep'm Glasguensis addressed to Pope Clement V., N. 150, p. 340.

tunate. Whilst Wallace marched into Lennox, the castles of Disdeir and Sanquhar fell into the hands of Douglas and Wallace; he harassed or cut off the English who were not safe from his valour in their impregnable fortresses, and when he passed into the western parts of the country, he was held in high estimation by many noble families, and became the idol of the people.* The popularity of the cause in which he was engaged, and the terror of his name, added to his party many noble adherents; although young Robert the Bruce, the heir of the Scottish crown, in the absence of Baliol, who had been sent to France, had renewed an oath of allegiance to England, on the consecrated host and sword of St. Becket,† and even carried the wife and children of Sir William Douglas into Annandale. He afterwards repented of his infidelity—trusted that the Pope would absolve him from an extorted oath, and joined the cause of the patriots.‡

Wallace could now number in his train Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, the Steward of Scotland, Sir Richard Lundin, Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, and several other brave knights, who added consideration and strength to the cause of liberty. The bravery shown

* Hemingford, t. i. pp. 118, 119. Trivetii, 299.

† W. Hemingford, t. i. p. 119.

‡ Ibid. 119, 120.

by Wallace, the prudence, magnanimity, personal qualifications of the patriot, and, above all, his success in withstanding the attacks of the haughty oppressors of their country, and in inspiring his followers with sentiments of liberty and courage, marked him out as the deliverer of Scotland, and the guardian of her laws. A meeting of the estates appears now to have been held, where he was chosen by the voice of the community to be their chieftain, and to raise the standard of war against England; thus appears to have been appointed commander-in-chief in Scotland, over the army of the patriots, a commission which was issued to him in the month of May, 1279;* and yet his modesty, and perhaps the petty envy with which he was looked upon by those nobles who had joined him, induced him to associate with him afterwards in this command his trusty friend Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, who had early joined him in the struggle for liberty.†

* En quel temps hu moys de Maii William Wallays estoit choise de la comme Descoce destre chenetai n monoir gere as Engles. . . . Scala Chronica, p. 123.

† On the 11th October, 1297, Sir Andrew de Moray appears to have been associated with him in the command. 'Andreas de Moravia et Willelmus Wallensis, duces exercitus regni Scotiæ et communitas ejusdem regni.' Letter from Sir William Wallace and Sir Andrew Moray to the Hanseatic city of Hamburg. See Appendix A.

CHAPTER II.

It appears from the accusations brought against Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, before Pope Clement V., that Robert de Bruce, Earl of Carrick, who has hitherto been believed to have acted a dubious part in the great national struggle which was being carried on by Wallace, was from the time that Edward dismissed him with contempt, and put him in mind of his promise regarding the kingdom, firmly attached to the cause of his country, and moreover the friend of Wallace; the bishop is accused of having abetted Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and William Wallace, and the rest of the Scots who rose against the English, and declared war upon Edward; arrayed in armour as a man of war, he joined the patriots, with all his forces, and appeared in the field with Bruce and Wallace against the king of England.* The Earl of Surrey and Henry Percy

* Le dit evesq de Glasgu abbetta Robt. de Brus Counte de Carik T. William Waleys T. sant fut q. eux

had received from Edward an account of the defection of the Bishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Carrick, and the Steward of Scotland some months before ;* but being prevented from advancing towards Scotland by the absence of the warlike bishop of Durham, who had failed to appear at the appointed place and time, with six-score "Chevans Coverr," he wrote Edward to that effect. In the meantime, Cressingham, who was also an ecclesiastic, had assembled a large body of troops,† with which he hastily proceeded from Berwick to Roxburgh, in the expectation of surprising the Bishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Carrick, and the Steward of Scotland ; but having had an interview with Henry Percy and Robert Clifford, they are said to have submitted, and were received into the alliance of England, and all the rebels beyond the Forth, as they informed the Treasurer Cressingham, who, as the reward of his services, was recommended to Edward for the vacant church of Douglas.

William Douglas had in these troublesome times entered into a bond of agreement with

ensemblement evesqs. autres d'Escose se leverent contre la foy t. la par l'Roys t' meurent guerre contre le Roys. Articuli Ibid. § 6, p. 343.

* Letter from the Earl of Warene a son Seigneur Le Roys Dengleterre, No. 28. Illustrative documents, Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 493, Maii or Junii.

† 24th of July.

Percy; failing, however, to keep his agreement, and send his hostages at the proper time to Henry Percy, he embraced the opportunity to throw him into the dungeon of the Castle of Berwick, where he continued, in the words of a letter to the King of England, to be "most savage."* Henry Lechen, the Bishop of Aberdeen, John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, and Constable of Scotland, and Gartenech, son of the Earl of Mar, were in close correspondence with Edward; but the people of Moray, headed by their chiefs, Andrew de Moray, and his son, were dissatisfied with the treachery of those who betrayed their country into the hands of a foreign enemy, took up arms in defence of their liberty and ancient constitution, and raised a very formidable insurrection, which created great alarm in the mind of Edward. This effort to shake off a foreign yoke spread over the neighbouring counties, and the Constable Buchan, with the English party, sent all the troops which they could muster against the patriots, while the Countess of Ross, met them at Inverness, and aided them with her advice and power.†

* N. 29. *Escrites a Berewik e'. sur Twede l. xxii j. jour de Julii, Ibid, pp. 494, 495.*

† Letter of the bishop of Aberdeen, Comyn Earl of Buchan and Gartenech son of the Earl of Mar to Edward, No. 30, Palgrave's Documents & p. d. In denys die MS. cu'r in vigilia Seti Jacobi a pli anno D'ni.

The English were awakened from their fatal security by the formidable army which followed the banner of the renowned patriot. The insurrectionary movement of the Scots had hitherto been regarded by Edward, more as the isolated attempts of various unconnected and dissatisfied parties, than the regular efforts of an organised and determined body of men; most of the great barons had sworn allegiance to Edward—paid homage to his power, and were as frequently to be found in England, where many of them had acquired properties, as in their own country; and he believed that nothing was to be feared from their vassals, so long, as he retained in his service the principal barons and heads of clans. He was engaged in a fruitless war with France; but Warrene, the governor of Scotland, dispatched an army amounting to forty thousand men, and three hundred horse, against the Scottish insurgents in the western districts, under the command of Sir Henry Percy and Sir Robert Clifford.* The troops of Percy and Clifford were on their march through Annandale to Lochmaben, when Wallace and Douglas, whose kindred and noble spirits prompted them to deeds of the most romantic

M^o CC^o nonagessimo Sept. N. 33, dated 25 July, to Edward.

* Hemingford, i 122, 123.

character, attacked with their little band the English army during the night, introduced the greatest disorder in their camp, during which many were slain, and retired after this effectual surprise, when they had again formed their ranks, by the light of the burning tents and wooden houses, which they were under the necessity of setting on fire for this purpose.* On the 9th of July the patriot forces were advantageously drawn up on a hill near the town of Irvin, on the margin of a small lake, and presented rather a formidable appearance, had they been better armed and more zealous in the cause. But the spirit of dissension had crept into this band; it was composed of discordant and irresolute troops, who had been little accustomed to discipline or subordination, and its leaders, who had many mutual causes of jealousy and discontent, allowed these unworthy motives to interfere with the general interest and the safety of the country. Several of them wavered in their choice between the love of their national independence, and their private feuds; and Sir Richard Lundin, a baron of great courage, who was disgusted with a party at variance with itself, openly left it and joined the English army.† The effects of

* Henry of Huntingdon. Knighton, p. 251.

† Hemingford, i. 112, 123. Fœdera, t. ii. p. 774.

this defection were fatal to the Scots and the cause of independence, and Bruce the younger—the elder Bruce being with Edward—the Steward, Lindsay, and Douglas, basely made their submission with their adherents to the officers of Edward at Irvin,* and received the pardon of the English government.†

While the Scottish troops were at Irvin, the first overtures of defection were made to Wisheart, the Bishop of Glasgow, by Sir Henry Percy and Sir Robert Clifford, two officers in the English army, and having gained him over to their views, he became the chief negotiator in this unconstitutional and disgraceful transaction. He acknowledged, by letters patent under his own seal, that he had outraged the peace of England, and submitted, together with those who joined him, to Edward as their liege lord.‡ In this remarkable instrument, which does little honour to the bishop or those nobles who joined him, they make the most abject submission. “Whereas we, with the commons of

* “Escrit a Irewin le nouime jour de mois de Iuyl en lean del regne Le Reys Edward vintime quint,” *Les Lettres de Counte de Carrick, &c.*, Documents, p. 198. In the *Fœdera*, by wrong reading, it is “A Sire Willaume Sirewin” instead of Irwin. Upon this false copying, Irwin was transformed into Sir William Wallace.

† W. Hemingford, T. i. p. 123.

‡ *Articuli p. ponendi cont. Ep'm Glasguensis*, N. 150, §. 6. Documents, p. 343

our country, did rise in arms against our Lord Edward, and against his peace, in his territories of Scotland and Galloway, did burn, slay, and commit divers robberies; we, therefore, in our own name, and in the name of all our adherents, agree to make every reparation and atonement that shall be required of our sovereign lord, reserving always what is contained in a writing, which we have procured from Sir Henry Percy and Sir Robert Clifford, commanders of the English forces at Irvin."* The bishop was not, however, sincere in these professions, for in a few weeks he rejoined Wallace.†

The King of England, alarmed at this rebellion, as he viewed it, directed Cressingham, the treasurer, to expend all the rents arising from Scotland in subduing it;‡ but little had been paid into the treasury, before the Earl of Warenne arrived to distrain it.§ Mac Dof and his two sons raised the standard of revolt

* *Fœdera*, t. ii. p. 774. They had not performed their engagements on the 1st August, *Illustrated Documents*, N. 34. *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 502. A Letter to Edward I.

† Et ia tardois deinz un mois ap'ss le dit Evesq. abbetta autre foiz les ditz Counte t. William t. tant fut qu il lev'ont contra le Roy tant qu il vist le peair le Roy Crestres. *Articuli*, *Ibid.* §. 6, p. 344.

‡ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, i. 42.

§ N. 31, *Escrites a Berewyk*, 24th July, to Edward I., *Ibid.* pp. 497, 498.

in Fife, but were taken prisoners, and sent to Berwick, where they, although native Scots, were treated as traitors and rebels. The Earl of Carrick and the Stewart of Scotland were believed to be connected with all these movements, although they were expected daily at Berwick, to perform the engagements into which they had entered with Henry Percy, who proposed, upon their arrival, to make an incursion into Scotland with Warenne. The castle of Aberdeen was at this time occupied by Henry de Lazorn, who was suspected by the seven earls of favouring the patriots, and was about to be apprehended; and it thus appears, that the organization of the friends of liberty was general throughout the country, and that only two of the sheriffs, who had been appointed by the council in Scottish affairs to the different counties of the nation, those of Berwick and Roxburgh, were able to keep their ground, though with the greatest difficulty, against the simultaneous efforts of the Scots.*

10th July. The English council, resident at Berwick, had directed that a meeting of the troops should be held at Boltonmoor, in Northumberland, where the flower of the county,

* N. 32—34. *Chronicon de Lanercost*, pp. 498—503.

and Earl Warenne's best horsemen, appeared, and agreed to make "chivanchee" upon Roxburgh with three hundred horse and ten thousand foot; but Sir Henry Percy and Clifford had already treated with them, and all south of the Firth. Wallace, who had been most active in the cause of his injured country, at this time lay in the forest of Selkirk; but they were afraid to attack him, or march beyond the Firth, before the arrival of the Earl of Warenne.* The Bishop of Glasgow had not yet submitted to the English, but endeavoured to justify himself in a letter to Hugh de Cressingham.†

The English leaders naturally calculated, that the defection of so many of the Scottish nobles and aristocracy would utterly destroy the power of Wallace, and induce him to join his countrymen. But undaunted in courage, undismayed by the pusillanimity of the barons, this brave man continued faithful to his principles, and was joined by the tenants of the church and crown lands; and also by many of the vassals of those who had submitted to Edward. The whole of the followers of the nobility had attached themselves to him; and although the persons of their lords were with

* N. 32. *Chronicon de Lanercost*, pp. 499, 500, July 24.

† N. 36. *Ibid.* p. 504.

the King of England, their hearts were with Wallace, who found his army reinforced by so immense a multitude of the Scots, that the community of the land obeyed him as their leader and prince.* This was the secret of his success—that many noble persons who dissembled, and feigned submission to Edward, in order to save their lands from deprecation and forfeiture, privately favoured the cause of the patriots; while the vassals of others, animated with principles more noble than those of their titled lords, openly joined Wallace, and swelled his ranks. Many of the nobles and barons taken at the battle of Dunbar, had, in consequence, their forfeited lands restored to them, and were themselves carried by Edward to Flanders; but the eldest sons were retained in England as hostages for their fidelity, while some were permitted to return to Scotland, on condition of assisting in its reduction, and co-operating with Surrey and Fitz-Alan.

The success of the Scottish movements seems to have damped the ardour of Warene, Earl of Surrey, who appears to have made offer of the governorship of Scotland to Sir Henry Percy, and afterwards to Brian Fitz-Alan, at

* Knighton apud Twysden, p. 2516, an old English writer.

Berwick ; but both seem to have declined this dangerous post of honour, on account of the difficulty of satisfactorily performing its duties, and Fitz-Alan, as he says, in consequence of being allowed only one thousand pounds for the maintenance of fifty armed horsemen, and for other reasons. The council of England was anxious to terminate hostilities with their warlike neighbours ; and the Bishop of Glasgow, Earl of Carrick, and Stewart of Scotland, had in their treaty with Percy proposed terms of peace in the name of Scotland, and were expected at Berwick for the purpose of confirming them.*

As Edward was desirous to prosecute his continental projects, he conciliated the Scots, and thus endeavoured to gain them over to his rule. At this period the nobility of Scotland were greatly divided between their allegiance to their native prince, and the influence of the King of England, Edward I. ; who endeavoured as much by private influence, as by the terror of his arms, to divide the councils of the Scottish nation. John, Earl of "Catteynes," entered at this time into a league with Edward I., to sup-

* N. 35. Escrites a Berwick sur Twede, L. iv. Jour. de Aust. Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 503, and N. 37.

port his interest, in a deed dated Murcle, under the Earl's hand and seal, which is still extant.*

While Alexander Comyn and other powerful noblemen had their lands restored to them, on doing homage to England; † Bruce, who had wavered between the two nations, required some additional pledges of his fidelity, and Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, James the Stewart of Scotland, and Sir Alexander Lindsay, became "main perners," or sureties for his constancy and good behaviour, until he should deliver up as a hostage his daughter Marjory. ‡ During these struggles for power, with a well-dissembled policy, he appeared sometimes to give up his own pretensions to the throne, and the independence of his country; and at other times to yield submissively to the superior power of the English King, whom he wished to gain to his side, until a favourable opportunity should offer of openly asserting his rights. But he seems secretly to have cherished the hope of being one day able to become the deliverer of his unhappy country, which he regarded as the patrimony of his house, and of restoring it to its primeval in-

* 5th August, 1397, 24 Edward I., apud Murcle. The coat of arms on the seal was a ship, with a tressour of fleur de luces.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, 26th Edw. I., 16th August, 1297.

‡ Fœdera, ii. 774, 775.

dependence, which he looked upon as the highest object of his ambition. The French King, Philip, who had entered into an alliance with the Scots, in concluding a peace with England, was willing to restore Guienne to that country, provided his allies, the Scots, and King Baliol, were included in the treaty; but as Edward agreed to abandon his ally, the Earl of Flanders, Philip basely deserted the Scots; a specimen of French fidelity, and their adherence to their several engagements, which the Scots frequently experienced afterwards.*

In this manner the interest of the North Britons was betrayed at home and abroad, and without a battle the strength of the Scottish confederacy was dissolved, and most of the powerful families submitted to the authority of the English, although they delayed to deliver up their hostages to Percy, until they should first receive some security for their liberty and independence. Sir William Douglas and the Bishop of Glasgow considered themselves bound to abide by the capitulation entered into at Irvin; and finding themselves unable to perform their solemn engagements, agreed to surrender themselves to the English.† Some little success on the part

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 823.

† Tyrrel, Hist. of Eng. vol. iii. p. 112. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 124.

of the English, seems to have had its effect on the wavering disposition of the bishop, who, despairing of the cause of Wallace, or rather desirous to do the Scots some service by diplomacy, repaired to Roxburgh, and surrendered himself as a hostage. The King of England had little reason to trust Wisheart, who had more than once renewed his fealty to him, upon the consecrated host, the gospels, the cross of St. Neot, and the black rod of Scotland; and he afterwards alleged, on the authority of intercepted letters and deeds, that he repaired to the castle of Roxburgh, not for the purpose of yielding to the English, but of betraying them to Wallace. The banner of Scotland appeared before this fortress, highly fortified both by nature and art, which the patriots in vain endeavoured to reduce, for the King of England sent additional forces to raise the siege.* Wallace alone, to whom the recreant nobles had sent a copy of their base submission, drawn up in Norman French, remained true to the cause of liberty.† He had never sworn allegiance to the enemy of his country's independence, he had taken no part in the infamous proceedings of the Bishop of Glasgow and his wavering associates, and

* Articuli, Ibid. § 6, p. 344.

† Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 774.

when deserted by the powerful and wealthy barons, who treated with the conquerors for their liberty, unbending, unconquered, and incorruptible, he retired with Sir Andrew Moray beyond the Clyde and Forth, and proceeded to the north.*

The large properties which many of the Scottish barons had acquired in England by intermarriages, since the treaty entered into between the two countries in the time of the Black Prince Richard, which they were unwilling to sacrifice, is perhaps the chief cause of the defection, and wavering disposition of the Scottish chieftains. It was not among these that Wallace could look for support, but from the *liberi firmarii* or free yeomanry of Scotland, who were generally the descendants of the clergy, the younger sons of gentlemen, or burgesses possessed of small capital;† a large body of whom retired with the indignant patriot to the north, when the nobility and chief barons, who had joined him, again sold the independence of their country. The clergy who were at this period the chief promoters of improvements in the kingdom, and who were unwilling to allow the fruits and produce of their lands, which were more

* Hemingford, i. 124.

† Vid. Charta, Chamberlain's Accounts.

highly cultivated than those of the barons, to be devoured by idle serfs, held out encouragement to those substantial yeomen by letting them at an easy valuation. They formed a striking contrast to the *adscripti glebæ*, or villeyns, who were in a state of perfect servitude,* and were at the absolute disposal of the landholders; and holding principally of the crown or the church, these "*firmarii*," could remove at pleasure, and owed no military service, save to their king and country. During the minority of the Maid of Norway, many privileges and immunities were held out to them, as an inducement to remain on the crown lands, and among these Wallace found the most zealous supporters of their country's liberty; and although the persons of the Scottish vassals were with their lords, their hearts were with Wallace,† when her recreant nobles turned their back upon her.‡ This spirit manifested itself particularly in Aberdeenshire and the north, which was infested with bands of patriots, who sometimes made severe reprisals on those who favoured the English interests; and the authorities were especially charged by Edward to be watchful of a meditated attack on the Castle

* Charta, In Chaf. 36.

† Blair, Excerpta, &c.

‡ Knighton apud Twysden, p. 2516.

of Urquhart, at that time under the command of William de Warrene.*

The submission of the aristocracy of Scotland, however indefensible, was not without some good consequences. Those who had been made prisoners by Edward, were now set at liberty, on account of serving him in the wars with France, † together with the nobles who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Dunbar. ‡ But when the Bishop of Glasgow and Sir William Douglas, who had honourably included Wallace and his patriots in the treaty of Irvin, found that this hero scorned submission, and that the wavering nobility delayed the delivery of their hostages to Edward, until they should receive some security for the peace and independence of their distracted country, they voluntarily surrendered themselves as prisoners to the English. || This might be the means of rivetting their own slavery, but not certainly the best way of preserving the independence of the kingdom. In the meantime, Brian, the son of Alan, was appointed by Edward, Keeper or Constable of Scotland, who adopted every means for perpetu-

* Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. pp. 41, 42.

† W. Hemingsford, i. 124. Fœdera, ii. 772, 782.
30th July.

‡ Rotuli Scotiæ, 25th Edward I., 30th July.

|| Vide supra, and Ancient Records at London.

ating his authority in this unhappy country ;* and his appointment to supersede the Earl of Surrey, and the rivalry which subsisted between them, proved favourable to the Scots. The haughty spirit of Surrey could ill brook the appointment of a rival to the supreme command ; but to be ordered to remain with the army was more than his pride could endure, and it induced him to adopt precipitate measures. Wallace, who had looked with contempt upon Wisheart and his party for yielding without a struggle to the enemy, and betraying his country, in a moment of despair, pillaged his house and took his family captive ;† while the English King accused him of a conspiracy to betray the castle of Roxburgh into the hands of the Scots. His situation was one certainly of great difficulty ; but stern and decisive in his measures, this salutary check had a powerful effect upon the wavering barons, when they saw that the sacred character of a priest could not atone for the heinous offence of betraying the liberty of his country. ‡

The army of the patriots still increased with the success and renown of its leaders. It was even joined by the vassals and dependants of

* *Custos Scotiæ. Rotuli Scotiæ, 25th Edward I.*

† *Hemingford i. 124. Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 774.*

‡ *Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 96.*

Douglas, when he for a time had deserted the cause, among whose partisans the spirit of liberty and perilous enterprise had spread like wildfire. The English King, who now believed that he had nothing to fear from the Scots, pursued his war in France, and wishing to make a diversion in Flanders, he ordered the Earl of Hereford, the Constable, who resolutely refused, to proceed to Gascony. "I swear by the everlasting God, Sir Earl, you shall either go or hang!" said the irritated sovereign upon hearing of this refusal; "And by the everlasting God, Sir King, I shall neither go nor hang!"* The opportunity was favourable to the Scots, who, shaking off their fetters, prepared themselves to defend their liberties, or perish in the attempt. The patriot leader reduced the town of Dundee, and charging the citizens to carry on the siege of the castle on pain of death, he hastened at the head of forty thousand men, and one hundred and eighty horsemen, to guard the more important passage of the Forth, and the passes between the Ochil hills and the Grampian mountains; after he had reduced Montrose, Brechin, and Forfar, and nearly all the country to the north of the Forth.† The hopes of the patriots were

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 112.

† Fordun, xi. 29. Wynthown, vol. ii. p. 97.

not, however, at this time supported by the aid of their countrymen, or their courage inflamed by a brave and independent aristocracy. Most of the nobility had already deserted the cause of their country, if they did not yield to a foreign yoke; and of those in whom England's King had great confidence, and who were become Anglicised Scots, and hostile to their liberties, were Malise, Earl of Strathern; James, Seneschal of Scotland; John Comyn, Earl of Buchan; Malcolm, Comes of Levenaux; William, Earl of Sutherland; Nicholas de la Haye, Ingram de Umfraville, Rico Freseli, and Alexander de Lindesey.*

8th September. Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, and James the Seneschal, or Stewart of Scotland, had joined the English, but were looked upon rather with an evil eye by them. About the Nativity of the Virgin, the Seneschal of Scotland said to the commander, "It is not necessary to send so great a multitude against one rebel; dispatch a few chosen and brave men with me, and I will bring him to you dead or alive."† The Stewart of Scotland and Earl of Lennox had attempted in vain to shake the fidelity of the invincible

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 25, 26 Edward I., p. 50. Mem. i. 26th Sept., 1297.

† *Chronicon de Lanercost*. 8th Sept. 1297.

patriot, whose noble bearing, and patriotic firmness, had made a strong impression on the minds of these two noblemen. In leaving or returning to the English commander, who at their intercession had delayed the attack, they met with a foraging party of the English commander, and by accident, apparently, a skirmish took place between the two parties, when the Earl of Lennox, who was known to favour his countrymen, stabbed an English soldier in the throat. The English troops, highly exasperated at this act, carried their wounded companion before the general, whom they accused of trusting faithless men, who would betray them—"Stay this night," said Surrey, "and if to-morrow they do not stand to their promise, you shall be amply revenged." This rash act might have led to serious consequences, had not the English commander, who expected that they would effect a pacification between the English and their countrymen, promised his soldiers ample revenge, should these Scottish noblemen fail in their promise to return with sixty armed horsemen whom they engaged to bring over.

Early in the morning, five thousand foot, and a large detachment of Welsh, passed the bridge by sunrise, but being unsupported by the Earl of Surrey, who was still asleep in the

camp, they returned ; and an hour after, when he had risen, and created many knights, the English army, to the amount of fifty thousand infantry, and one thousand cavalry, were drawn up on the banks of the Forth ; when the two Scottish noblemen made their appearance, but without Wallace either alive or dead. The English, under the command of Warrene, drew near to Stirling, and found the Scottish army advantageously posted on a rising ground, near the Abbey of Cambuskenneth. Wallace had been engaged in the siege of Cowpar, but proceeded to Stirling, when he heard of the approach of the English. By the arts of negotiation, Edward's Lieutenancy had lately succeeded in dissolving a more powerful confederacy ; and willing again to try his skill, he dispatched two friars to the Scottish camp, with favourable terms to those who were willing to lay down their arms, and return home in peace. But Wallace was not now surrounded by wavering barons, who were more inclined to sacrifice their country than their personal aggrandizement. "Return," said the intrepid leader to the two friars, "return, and tell your masters, that we came not here to treat, but to assert our native rights, and set Scotland free ; let them advance to the charge, they will find us prepared to

pluck their beards.”* “He defies us,” said the English, who were impatient to be led against the enemy.† Warrene, the Earl of Surrey, their commander, was every day expecting a new governor, Brian Fitz-Allan, to supersede him in the administration.‡ Cressingham, the treasurer, who preferred the turmoil of war to his peaceful mission, the cuirass to the cassock,§ passionately called upon the governor to answer the challenge of defiance, as was his bounden duty; “for,” said he, “why do we thus protract the war, and waste the King’s treasure?” A council of war was immediately called by Warrene. Were the English army to attempt to pass a narrow wooden bridge in a single file, they must inevitably lose the superiority of their numbers; should they remain inactive at Stirling, until Wallace and his little band were compelled by hunger and insubordination to leave their advantageous post, he would break into the southern counties, carry fire and sword over the north of England, attack them in the rear, and cut them off piecemeal, in the unknown

* Nos paratos invenient, etiam in barbas eorum. W. Hemingford, t. i. p. 126.

† Hemingford, i. 127. Trivet, 307.

‡ Hemingford, i. 127. Fœdera, ii. 787. Rotuli Scotiæ, Edward I.

§ Hemingford, i. 130.

mountains and morasses of the north. The only rational plan of attacking the Scots was proposed by Sir Richard de Lundin, to ford the Forth with five hundred horse, together with a select body of infantry, and make a diversion by charging them in the rear. But he belonged to Scotland, and though faithful to the English, could not be trusted.*

At length, they adopted the suggestion of the impetuous and ignorant Cressingham; and detesting an enemy whom they had so often conquered, resolved to defile over the long, narrow bridge, in face of the Scots, on the 11th September, and boldly dislodge them from their hold. Cressingham was a churchman, who, though partial to the profession of arms, was influenced by a narrow-minded parsimony; and while the English army was on its way towards Stirling, refused to permit Henry Percy, who left Newcastle at the head of eight thousand foot, and three hundred horse, to join it; and deeming it an unnecessary waste of the King's treasure, ordered these troops to be disbanded. The English, amounting to fifty thousand foot and one thousand horse in field array, had no sooner commenced this impolitic and tedious operation, led on by Cressingham and a brave and experienced knight, Sir Marmaduke

* Trivet, 307. Hemingford, i. 127.

Twenge, than Wallace deliberately put his troops in motion, and attacked them with great bravery in the rear, with one division of the army, before one half of the English army could pass the bridge and form upon the plain, while the main body threw themselves on the half-formed ranks of the English.* The English now charged the Scots, vainly endeavouring to dislodge them from their vantage ground, under the renowned Sir Marmaduke Twenge; and Cressingham, who had been eager to discharge his knightly duty to his sovereign, fought with bravery; but the communication being cut off between the bridge and the van of the English army, by a masterly movement of a body of Scots, who kept up an incessant discharge of arrows, darts, and gavelocks, Wallace, to secure the advantage, rushed on to the attack, on the north bank of the river.† The impetuous though irregular charge of the Scots, soon introduced disorder into the ranks of the enemy, who struggled to escape from their difficulties;—they endeavoured by bravery to retrieve their error, but exposed themselves more and more to unresisted slaughter.

The standard-bearers of the King and Earl, with the second division of the army, were then

* Trivet, 307. Hemingford. Fordun, xi. 29.

† Hemingford, 128. Walsingham, p. 73.

ordered by Warrene to cross the bridge; but this part of the army shared the same fate. It was in vain that the royal standard of England advanced "for God and St. George!" attended by its knightly guards, with their triangular shields; that the banner of Warrene, who was on the other side of the river, chequered with gold and azure, was borne onwards by his vassals; they both paid obeisance to the bravery of Wallace and his companions, and were trampled in the dust before the pennon of the invincible patriot. Many thousands of them were put to the sword, and amongst others the brave though self-confident Cressingham, the adviser of this ill-planned attack, and the author of all their misfortunes.* While the patriots were resisting and drying back the English torrent which was issuing from the wooden bridge, it suddenly gave way, and the Earl of Surrey and the rest of his army beheld, with unavailing rage and dismay, those who had escaped from a watery grave fall before the swords of the Scots in thousands. The bridge, according to an English writer, was broken down by order of Surrey, in order to prevent pursuit;† but, in this case, the one half of the English army which had passed the bridge must have

* Fordun, xi. 29.

† Wallace Papers, p. 35.

been cut off to a man ; and after all, this effort of despair did not hinder the Scots from crossing the river to pursue the flying troops of England. The fate of the day was no longer doubtful. The Scottish leader crossed the ford where the English ought to have defiled, and following up the victory, by pursuing these panic-struck masses, twenty thousand of them fell before those who suffered so lately from their tyranny and oppression, if not the greater part of the whole army.*

Some of the English fought with distinguished bravery, and especially Sir Marmaduke Twenge, who, being cut off with his soldiers from the rest of the army, despising the counsel of a knight, who advised that they should throw themselves into the river, and swim to the other side, put his lance into the rest, and cut a passage for himself with his sword, through the thick squadrons of the enemy around the bridge, and, with his nephew and armour-bearer, joined the Earl of Surrey, who commanded him to throw himself into the castle of Stirling, which he promised to relieve in ten days. The two Scottish noblemen,

* According to some English historians, Hemingford and Knighton, they lost only five thousand foot and one hundred heavy armed horse ; but before the time that the half of the English army had passed, the Scots had put them almost all to the sword. Trivet, 307. Walsingham, p. 73.

Lennox and Stewart, who would have betrayed Scotland, joined the victors, and were more active in the plunder than they had been in the battle.

The brave Wallace, though thwarted by the Scottish nobility, with an inferior force had gained a great victory over fifty thousand infantry and a thousand horse,* and broken the iron chains of Edward. Surrey, their commander, fled with such speed to Berwick, that when his horse was drawn into the stable of the Franciscan Friars, he could neither eat nor drink;† and the English, in terror, retreated with great slaughter, burnt their tents in despair, abandoned their baggage, and, evacuating the kingdom, retired precipitately to England.‡ The Scots achieved this glorious victory with trifling loss compared with that of the vanquished; but amongst those whose fate they had to lament, was the brave Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, the faithful companion of Sir William Wallace, who received a mortal wound, of which he died.§ Such was the frantic rage of the Scots against their oppressors; that when they found the dead body of the treasurer, Cressingham, among the slain,

* W. Hemingford, t. i. p. 127, 128.

† Hemingford, T. i. p. 131.

‡ Walsingham, p. 74. Hemingford, T. i. 127, 129. Trivet, 307. Fordun, xi. 29.

§ Fordun, xi. 29.

the followers of Wallace are said to have ordered as much of his skin to be taken off as would make a sword-belt;* and, in defiance, the rest appears to have been divided amongst them, and converted into girths and other domestic purposes, not in commemoration of his noble deeds, but of his tyranny and oppression.†

Thus, the heroic example of this brave chieftain awakened the latent sparks of patriotism and liberty; the regenerating influence spread from bosom to bosom, till there was a simultaneous movement throughout the kingdom in favour of the injured rights of man; and when we contrast his feeble beginning with the infinite resources of a king commanding England, Ireland, and Wales, we must be struck with admiration at the greatness and magnanimity of that mind which, amid a desponding and divided people, could continue to advance the emancipation of his country and race. The tyranny of England, no doubt, contributed to this end, and the numerous presentations of Englishmen to church livings, by the governor

* *Chronicon de Lanercost.*

† Et Hugh de Cressingham, le tresorer le roy, et fust dit que le Escotez ly firent depeller, et de soun pele en desquite, lour firent layniers. *Scala Chronica*, p. 124. *Quem excoriantes Scoti sati, dividerunt inter se pellem ipsius in modicas partes non quidem ad reliquias, sed in contumelias.* Hemingford, T. i. p. 137.

Brian, aided by the Comyns, disgusted the church, and tended to raise the latent spirit of the people of Scotland.* Deserted by the nobility, the natural guardians of their country's liberty, at a time when he believed that he had united them in the sacred cause, he surely displayed more than mortal fortitude, not only in bearing up against the general defection, but in reviving and moulding such discordant elements to his purpose. The banners of England, which had lately been borne triumphantly over this conquered kingdom, and planted in the grave of virtue and liberty, were now trampled under the feet of an indignant but free people, and that gigantic power overthrown, before which almost a whole nation had crouched. The place chosen by Wallace, although sufficiently advantageous, was rendered more so by the imprudence and inexperience of the English generals, than by any natural means of protection; yet it is observed by the English historian, who gives an account of the victory of Stirling, from the accounts which he had received from eye-witnesses; that no place was better fitted for the overthrow of a powerful army by a small body of men.†

* Rotuli Scotiæ, 25 Edw. I.

† Hemingford, i. 128.

CHAPTER III.

IN the commencement of the war, the Bishop of Glasgow and William Seigneur de Douglas, upon the first arrival of the Earl of Surrey, had waited upon him, and stated, as we have seen, that they did not approve of the insurrection raised by Sir William Wallace, or consent to it, but were treated with so little respect by the English Lieutenant, that they had been committed to prison—the Bishop to the castle of Roxburgh, and William de Douglas into Berwick Castle, where the latter languished for a considerable period, and is said to have died from the rigorous treatment which he received.* Wallace proceeded to Berwick, from which Surrey had precipitately fled on hearing of his approach; and Henry de Haliburton was dispatched to take possession of this important town, while a considerable array was sent to besiege Robert de Hastings in the

* Scala Chronica, p. 124.

castle of Roxburgh.* The English government, in dread not only of losing their conquests in Scotland, but alarmed for the safety of their country in absence of the King and in the face of a victorious enemy, lost no time in sending letters to such of the Scottish nobility as they thought they could yet confide in, earnestly requesting them to join, without delay, Brian Fitz-Alan, the Governor of Scotland, as he was called, with all their disposable strength against the rebel Scots, as they termed Wallace and his patriotic army, since the Earl of Surrey had returned to England, that is, fled precipitately before the conqueror. This English manifesto was addressed to John Comyn, of Badenoch; Patrick, Earl of Dunbar; Umfraville, Earl of Angus; Alexander, Earl of Menteith; Malise, Earl of Strathern; James, the Stewart of Scotland; John Comyn, Earl of Buchan; Malcolm, Earl of Lennox; William, Earl of Sutherland; Nicholas de la Haye, Ingelram de Umfraville, Richard Fraser, and Alexander de Lindsay.† The rest of the nobility and aristocracy were yet true to their country, and had, either before

* *Enuoya Henri de Haliburtoun cheualer, pur seiser Berewyk, et ordeina autres degraunt aray de asseyer Robert de Hastings en le chastel de Roxburgh.* *Scala Chronica*, published in 1826.

† *Rotuli Scotiæ.*

or since the battle of Stirling, joined the royal standard.

The news of this signal victory of Stirling over the English, soon spread through the mountains and glens of Caledonia. Dundee surrendered, with a rich provision of arms and money; and those who had been indifferent in the cause of independence, now joined the standard of Scotland.* The English, who held the various fortresses and castles in Scotland, did not long withstand the valour of the irresistible liberator. Brichain and Montrose soon yielded; the strong fortress of Dunnoter, in the Mearns, which was being strengthened with the view of defence, was suddenly surprised by storm, and the garrison put to the sword, with the exception of the governor and chief persons found there. Thence he proceeded to Aberdeen, which he found nearly deserted of inhabitants; but the castle being strongly garrisoned and ably defended, he retired without attempting to reduce it, deeming it too insignificant to divert him from affairs of more general consequence and interest.† The effects of incessant war and disturbances which the country had suffered, and some unfavourable seasons, occasioned a great

* Scala Chronica, p. 124. Fordun, xi. 29.

† Fordun.

famine and pestilence in Scotland, which was severely felt by all ranks.

The Earl of Surrey, after his signal defeat at Stirling, had fled, with a great body of his troops, to Berwick, where he encamped at Hotown Moor and in the park of Duns in battle order, but, upon the approach of William Wallace, fled from Berwick, and went to join the Prince of Wales.*

The gallant patriot who had triumphed at Stirling over the oppressors of his country, in order to relieve it from the horrors of this domestic enemy, retired with his victorious followers; and with their weapons, red with the blood of the English; reduced the castle of Roxburgh, and entered the town and castle of Berwick, which was evacuated by the English, and committed to the care of Henry de Haliburton.†

The castle of Edinburgh had, in the previous year, surrendered to Edward, after the battle of Dunbar, when the sultry nature of the season had dried up their wells, and compelled them to yield to the English King, who ruthlessly put the garrison to the sword, and carried away the scanty remnant of the national records. The Abbots of Holyrood and Dunfermline, together with three Englishmen, were

* *Scala Chronica*, p. 124.

† *Ibid.*

appointed by Edward to examine all writings and records within Scotland, and amongst those which were found in the castle were the *Chronicon de Sanctæ Crucis*, the accounts of the sheriffs and receivers of the revenue from 1218 to 1275, the two great rolls *De Computis Burgorum Scotiæ*, the roll of the wool customs of Berwick, and a schedule of the ornaments found in the *Thesaurus Castre de Edinburgh*, among which was the Black Rood of Scotland, on which so many oaths had been taken, and which was held in superstitious reverence.* These were afterwards removed from Edinburgh Castle, and, with other muniments, placed under the control of Sir Radulph Basset, and afterwards delivered to Hugh Cressingham, the treasurer, at Berwick-upon-Tweed. The governor of this all-but-impregnable fortress, Edinburgh, was Walter de Huntercombe, a baron of Northumberland, who received abundant supplies of corn and cattle from the lands of Carse;† but the castle was again placed under siege, when he was compelled to surrender, and the banner of Scotland was seen to float from its towers, and that of Roxburgh, which were dismantled.‡

Scotland was once more delivered from the tyranny of a foreign master, freedom was again

* Ayloffe's Calendar.

† Rotuli Scotiæ.

‡ Scala Chronica, p. 124.

restored to the sons of the mountain and the plain, by Sir William Wallace, who now lived in the hearts of his fellow-subjects, and was universally revered as the saviour of his country. Attended by the Earls of Lennox, Douglas, Ross, Mar, Athole, Caithness, Carrick, and Fife, and the principal nobility,* he accepted from them the dignity of Guardian or Regent of Scotland, in the forest of Selkirk, in one of those glades congenial to liberty and freedom of action, where they held a convention,† an honour which he had nobly earned with much fortitude and valour, but which he was not permitted to enjoy without envy.‡ But though invested with this high dignity—for he had from the commencement been recognized as commander-in-chief—he still professed allegiance to the exiled Baliol, his lawful sovereign; and showed a magnanimity in preserving the privileges of legitimate sovereignty, as well as the rights and liberties of the people. This temporary appointment of Wallace as Guardian, seems to have been afterwards confirmed by Baliol; for, in the subsequent year, if not earlier, he issued charters in

* Vide *Rotuli Scotiæ*. p. 49.

† MS. quoted in *Sikurd's Relationes Arnaldi Blair Knight*, 2516—2522. *Walsingham*, 73.

‡ *Custos regni Scotiæ, ductor exercituum ejusdem*. *Anderson, Diplomata Scotiæ*, No. 44.

the name of King Baliol, and attached thereto his seal.* The champion of liberty lived in the hearts of the common people, who rejoiced in his elevation to the post of Governor, and who believed, agreeably to their superstitious rites, that this appointment was confirmed by St. Andrew, who presented to Wallace a sacred sword, to be used in the wars against the English, and the enemies of his country.†

When thus invested with the high dignity, which he merited so justly at the hands of his countrymen, whom he had redeemed from slavery and cruel oppression, he set his ingenuity to discover some plan by which the feudal system, which had proved the chief obstacle to the revival of liberty and independence in the late sacred struggle, might be amended, without awakening the jealousy of a proud aristocracy, or endangering the safety of the country. The numerous serfs, which were attached to the soil, and could be restrained by their feudal lords from taking up arms in a cause however just, unless it met with their sanction, were productive of the most pregnant evils in such

* "*Domini Gulielmi Wallace, Custodis Scotiæ nomine Johannis Balliol regis, cum sigillo ejusdem Johannis.*" *Charta of Alexander Scrymgeour, Anderson's Diplomata et Numismata Scotiæ.* Edinburgh, 1739. "In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum commune prædicti regni scociæ presentî scripto est oppositum." *Charta ibid.*

† *Fordun a Goodal, p. 170.*

a revolution as had lately taken place in Scotland. To have restored the *adscripti glebæ*, or villeyms, to the just level in society to which they were entitled, and to have emancipated them from the feudal servitude under which they were held, would have been an innovation on the constitution of civil society in Europe, which, however laudable and beneficial, it was scarcely in a condition to bear. He wisely interfered not with the political institutions of the country, which had the sanction of ages and of Europe, but ordering a muster-roll to be made of those between the ages of sixteen and sixty, containing the names of every one capable of bearing arms, and taking the ancient laws of the Anglo-Saxons or Welsh* in some measure for his model, over every four men he appointed a fifth; over every ninth, a tenth; carrying up the graduation till he reached the chiliarch, the commander of a thousand,† a plan which may have answered the temporary purpose which he had in view, but which was neither calculated to give stability to the laws, nor sufficient scope for improvement, unless regarded merely in a military point of view.

The barons, jealous of the power claimed by Wallace of summoning their followers with-

* Inchaffray. Vide *Leges Wallicæ*, 324, 453, &c.

† Fordun, edit. Goodal, ii. 170.

out their consent, to take up arms, resist, and this mode of recruiting by means of gibbets answered his expectations.

Gibbets were ordered to be erected in many parishes, as warning beacons to those who refused to take up arms in defence of their country, on which two burgesses of Aberdeen, who had disobeyed the summons, were hanged;* and these haughty barons, who interposed their authority between their vassals and the guardian of Scotland, paid the penalty by imprisonment, or confiscation of property.† The Flemings had behaved with such gallantry and heroism at the siege of Berwick, and proved themselves so worthy of the trust reposed in them, that the guardian, as a mark of gratitude and admiration, despatched accredited persons with letters to the free town of Hamburgh and the Hanseatic city, Lübec, in order to restore confidence between the two countries, and revive that commercial intercourse which had been so beneficial to Scotland.‡

Sir Andrew Moray was now associated with him in the command, as a tribute of respect to the memory of his father, in the engagement of Stirling, as well as a means of quiet-

* Fordun, edit. Goodal, vol. ii. p. 170.

† Ibid.

‡ Fordun, xi. 29. See note A, Appendix.

ing the alarm of the haughty nobles.* The Scots, who had joined the standard of this hero, already amounted to a great army; and as there was a great scarcity of provisions, he resolved to pass into England, and forage there.

He wisely adopted this plan in order that he might make sure of the conquests which he had already achieved; that he might save his own country from the horrors of war, and the ravages of famine from which it had suffered so much already; and draw to his standard those nobles who delighted in war, as well as those who appreciated the security thus purchased for them, and looked upon him with a jealous eye. The feudal troops, who were disposed to take up arms in defence of the liberty of their country, were ordered to meet him from every county, barony, and town, on the moor of Roslin; and the army which answered the call of the patriot, although by no means numerous, was sufficiently formidable to warrant an invasion; and animated in some degree with the sentiments of their noble leader, if not by more sordid motives, they marched to the borders.

The military troops of the nation, who poured with furious and irresistible force into

* Letter of Sir William Wallace and Andrew Moray to the towns of Hamburg and Lübeck, 11th October, 1297.

its northern counties, did not merely overrun these parts, including the town of Berwick, which was without walls;* but took ample revenge, in the licence of that uncivilized age, for the miseries which they had so sensibly experienced; and compensated for the want which was felt in Scotland, and the injuries which they had received, by loading themselves with spoil, destroying with fire and sword, and sparing neither the female sex, helpless children, nor ecclesiastics.† Such was the terror which this invasion of the Scots had occasioned, that the canons regular and other priests had fled with the whole inhabitants, and not an Englishman was to be seen but a few who occasionally sallied forth against the stragglers of the Scottish army, whose head quarters was then in the forest of Rothebury. They overran the country, pillaging and destroying for the space of a month; and the services of religion were not performed, nor the voice of prayer heard from the festival of St. Luke, 18th October, to St. Martin's day, 11th of November.‡ The whole of Northumberland was pillaged, and

* Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 190.

† Letter of Sir William Wallace and Andrew Moray to the towns of Hamburgh and Lübec, 11th October, 1297:

‡ Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 132, 135-6.

submitted to the sword of the conquerors.* They spread themselves from Cockermouth and Carlisle to the gates of Newcastle, and laid waste the whole of Cumberland and Annandale, from Inglewood forest to Derwentwater and Cockermouth.†

England had never suffered so much since the conquest of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria, when several splendid towns, lofty castles, and beautiful pastures, between the Humber and the Tees, were destroyed by William the Conqueror; and the still more remote period when the Saxons yielded the northern province of England to the victorious Scots; and the extermination and conquest of these northern counties are bewailed by ancient chroniclers of England.

The monks, canons regular, and other priests, who were ministers of the Lord, fled with the whole people from the face of the enemy; nor was there any to oppose them, except that now and then, a few English who belonged to the castle of Alnwick, and other strengths, ventured from their safeholds, and slew some stragglers. But these were slight successes; and the Scots roved over the country from the feast of St. Luke to St.

* Et le prochain yuer ly dit William Walays ardytent Northumberland. *Scala Chronica*, p. 124.

† Fordun a Hearne, p. 980.

Martin's day—that is, from 18th of October to 11th November—inflicting upon it all the miseries of unrestricted rapine and bloodshed.* Wallace now called in his plundering bands, assembled the whole army, and proceeded to Carlisle, which was strongly fortified, and garrisoned, then one of the most important and wealthiest cities of the north of England. But he spent little time here, and next proceeded to invade the county of Durham, which had only been able to assemble three thousand infantry, and a hundred horse, for its defence. The severity of the winter, however, abated the ardour of his troops; the scarcity of provisions, and the intensity of the frost was so great, that numbers of the Scots perished on account of the cold and famine; and he was obliged to retreat northward, but not before he had overrun and burnt all Northumberland.†

The authority of Wallace, who shewed that humanity which is usually united with the highest species of heroism, was, however, unable to restrain the outrages and predatory habits of his Scottish followers, many of whom perished with cold and hunger. On reaching the monastery of Hexaldsham, which had already been plundered, and to which the

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 132.

† *Scala Chronica*, p. 124.

severity of the frost had obliged him to retreat; he requested one of the three monks who had returned again, and were engaged in repairing their dilapidated building, to perform mass, which he did with due reverence and solemnity; and when the elevation of the host was about to take place, the guardian retired for a little from the oratory, to lay aside his helmet and armour; but scarcely was the service begun and the patriot had disappeared, when the rude and sacrilegious soldiers robbed the high altar of the cup, carried away the ornaments and sacred vestments of the clergy, and even the holy book, and brandishing their armour over the heads of the terrified ecclesiastics, threatened that they would instantly put them to death with their long lances, if they did not disclose where the treasures of the monastery lay. It was in vain that the monks informed these savage warriors that they had been spoiled of their whole property by the rapacity of their countrymen; they threatened these ecclesiastics with instant death. They were, however, relieved by the appearance of the patriot, who punished these sacrilegious men by instantly condemning them to death.* “Abide with me,” said the guardian of Scotland to the canons of Hexaldsham, “there alone you

* W. Hemingford, T. i. p. 135.

can be safe, for my people are dissolute and insatiable, and I may not punish them."* This rich priory, which was dedicated to the patron saint of Scotland, and had obtained a perpetual protection from King David; received a charter of protection also for a year from Andrew Moray and William Wallace, 8th November, in the name of King John, their sovereign; † making an injury committed against the monks or monastery, death by the law, and the forfeiture of property.

They now marched from Hexham to Newcastle, but the inhabitants, who, during their protracted devastations, had ample time to fortify the town, had done it so effectually, that finding the garrison prepared for a lengthened siege, they contented themselves with stripping the neighbouring districts of what still remained; and bestowing upon the Galwegians their share of the spoil, they struck their tents, and returned to Scotland. ‡

The first act of the Keeper of Scotland was to reward some of those patriots who were exemplary in defence of its liberties; and amongst others, Alexander Skirmischur and his heirs were appointed constabulary of Dundee, for his faithful aid in bearing the

* W. Hemingford, T. i. p. 155.

† See note B, Appendix.

‡ Hemingford, p. 136.

royal banner of Scotland, with the consent and approbation of the Scottish nobility; an office which the family long retained.* His authority was indeed recognized by the States of Scotland; he summoned a parliament or national assembly, which was opened at Torphichen, where he presided, and rewarded those who had struggled bravely in defence of their country; but the malignity and envy of the aristocracy, who were unworthy the privileges which they enjoyed, was the only reward which the magnanimous patriot, who had emancipated them from slavery, received for his services.† The English smarted dreadfully under the general pillage of the Scottish army, and in order to divert their attention, and mitigate in some degree its cruelty, Lord Clifford crossed the Solway, and let loose by trumpet sound a body of twenty thousand men of Cumberland, on Annandale, who put to the sword upwards of three hundred of the inhabitants, burned ten villages, and having wasted their time in this frivolous manner, added to the strength of the patriot's cause, by driving the Bruce from an enemy's

* Pro fidele servitio sui Diplomata Scotiæ, No. 44. Rotuli Scotiæ, 26 and 27 Edw. I.

† Charta Domini Gulielmi Wallas, Custodis regni Scotiæ nomine Johannis Balliol regis, cum sigillo ejusdem Johannis.

country.* The English government had already written to all the Scottish nobility, with the exception of Mar, Caithness, Atholl, Ross, Fife, and Carrick, thanking them for their adherence, and holding out great promises, if they would join Brian Fitz-Allen, with their military array, against Wallace; but the firm conduct of the warrior had shaken their fidelity, and broken in pieces this mighty confederacy.†

November 22. Robert, the son of Roger; John, the son of Marmaduke, and other Barons of the counties of Northumberland and Carlisle, in the absence of their King on the continent, proceeded in this manner to the north, and remained for some time at Roxburgh, which they relieved and strengthened, and Berwick, which was not fortified when they took possession of this village, as it is called. The English engineers had in their hands "the cleeks" of the scaling ladders, to escalate the walls of the castle, but were discomfited, and many of them were slain: yet on the approach of the Northumbrians, Henry de Haliburton suddenly left Berwick, and the Scottish army having reached Roxburgh, burnt the town during the night, and the village of Hadyngtown, and almost all the considerable villages

* Knighton, p. 2522.

† *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 49.

on either side of the Scottish sea, shared the same fate, that the English might not find a safe retreat in Scotland, but were compelled to flee again into England, with the exception of a few who occupied Berwick.* Roxburgh and Stirling Castles were in the meantime besieged by the Scots, with various success.†

Intelligence had now reached Edward in Flanders, of the lamentable defeat which his army had sustained, and the terrors and misery which the inhabitants of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Durham were suffering from the rapacity and retaliation of the victorious Scots. In the Parliament summoned by the English regency, the power of the aristocracy was superior to the authority of the sovereign, and its proceedings overawed by the Earl of Norfolk, and the Earl of Hereford, the Marshal and Constable of England, who, as the representatives of their order, attended with their armed followers, ended in the King confirming all the charters of liberty and bills of right which were sent him into Flanders.† The whole array of the kingdom was now summoned to meet him at York, that he might

* Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 191. Scala Chronica, p. 125.

† Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 191, April 6, 1298.

‡ 10th October. Tyrrel, Hist. Eng. vol. iii. 124. Hemingford, i. 138. Triveti Annales, p. 309.

put down the formidable rebellion in Scotland, and the Scottish nobility were also required by letters, which he sent them, on the allegiance which they owed to the Lord Paramount, to attend the muster at York, on pain of his highest displeasure, which was appointed under the command of the Earl of Surrey, to proceed northward and restore tranquillity to the country.* The popularity which Edward had acquired in making the liberal concessions which he had done, and the favours which he had granted to the nobility, induced them to attend the enrolment at York.†

They assembled in great numbers at the call of their sovereign, who had rendered himself more popular with them, but waited for the Scottish barons for some time, who, more out of dread of the authority of the guardian, than a love of their country, had refused to attend.‡ The English nobles assembled in Parliament, by the writs of the sovereign, appointed another muster at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, eight days afterwards, in the vain hope that they would be joined by the Scottish grandees. Here the English assembled to the number of one hundred thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry, January, 1298, and with this powerful armament they marched

* Hemingford, i. 144. † Rymer, *Fœdera*, pp. 88, 89.

‡ Hemingford, i. 158.

to the north, and relieved the important fortress of Roxburgh. Wallace was in the meantime engaged in the siege of Roxburgh, which he was anxious to reduce, as the Bishop of Glasgow was kept a prisoner there; but deeming it unwise to hazard an engagement in the neighbourhood of so formidable a castle, which was suffering much from the length of the siege, and want of provision, and the number of the wounded, he retired from the place. The siege of Berwick had been carried on with great vigour by the Scots; they shewed great valour, and mounting the walls, had taken possession of the town; but learning that the English under Surrey were skirmishing with their countrymen near Kelso, and along the border, they prudently retired in the face of so great an army, to the joy and relief of the besieged, who had defended themselves with great bravery.* Being commanded by Edward not to enter Scotland until his arrival, which soon afterwards took place, at the ancient port of Sandwich, where he was joyfully received,† this immense array was immediately disbanded by the Earl of Surrey, before the arrival of the King, with the exception of twenty thousand foot, and

* *Trivetii Annales*, p. 311. *Knighton*, p. 2525.

† *Rymer's Fœdera*, new edit. vol. i. part ii. pp. 887—889.

fifteen hundred horse, which he retained without raising a pennon, or encountering an enemy.*

Edward, however, bent on the reduction of Scotland, appointed them again to meet him on the day of the Feast of Pentecost, together with the recreant Scots as he termed them, if they did not wish to throw down the gage of battle, and fall under the ban of the empire, † a writ being also issued to each chief or leader, together with writs to two knights from each shire, to the number of one hundred and fifty-four, to attend the Parliament at York. ‡ As an encouragement to his followers, and a terror to his enemies, Edward confiscated the property of some of the patriot Scots, and bestowed it upon his adherents, chiefly his own countrymen.

Among those who received grants of this nature, was Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who received by charter from the King of England, the lands in Scotland lately belonging to Geoffrey de Moubray, and others who had deserted the English cause. § Those who were summoned to serve against the Scots, and were pressed into the service, and

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 889. † Hemingford, i. 158.

‡ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 26th and 27th Edward I. Maii 28. Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 129. Rymer, vol. i. part ii. p. 890. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 158. Palgrave's *Parl. Writs*, Chron. Abstract, p. 38.

§ Charter 26th Edward I., N. 112, p. 200. Palgrave's Edition, vol. i.

who either deserted or absented themselves from the army after receiving their pay, were, by an ordinance, punishable if found,* and power for trying and punishing them as deserters, was afterwards issued.†

The intrepid guardian, little daunted by the jealousies of the aristocracy, hearing that the King was beyond the Firth, pushed forward into England, wasted by fire and pillaged Northumberland, so that the joy which animated the minds of the inhabitants on the arrival of their warlike sovereign, in whom the great body of the people had the highest confidence, was now converted into lamentation and misery.‡ Many a family mourned over the fate of those who fell before the swords of the rude invaders, their property carried away and their homes rendered desolate; and among the families who suffered most on this inroad, were those of Vescey, Morley, Summerville, and Bertram.§ The flames of their villages and granges, and the flight of the inhabitants,

* *Ordinacio puniendi*, N. 113. Palgrave's Documents, pp. 204, 205; 1298.

† Document 114. p. 206. *postea*. Palgrave, 1300.

‡ *Falsus dux Fallacia convocavit cœtum,*
(*Sciensque abierit rex convocavit Fretum,*)

Cremare Northumbriam statuit decretum.

Prioris Alnwicensis de bello Scotico apud Dumbarr, tempore regis Edwardi I., stanza 46.

§ *Prior Alnwicensis de bello Scotico, st. 47.* Donation Manuscripts, N. 4934. British Museum.

soon brought together a considerable force, which was poured into York and other towns: But the King appears to have had no desire to meet the guardian in battle, till his troops were concentrated, and the Scots burnt and laid waste town and castle, sparing always, according to their custom, the women and church lands, which frequently purchased their protection at a great price.* The detachments of which the Scottish army was composed, were at this time usually drawn up in the form of a wedge, the more easily to break the ranks of the enemy; and these triangular-shaped detachments, scoùred the country, laid waste the northern provinces of England,† and in a conflict slew more than twelve hundred of the English, who fled and retired to their fortresses, leaving the Scots unmolested in their predatory excursions.‡ They now retired northward with their booty, and having reduced Alnewyk to ashes, they galloped about

* Henry the Minstrel, Buke Aucht, pp. 187—199. Jameson's Edition, 1820.

† *In te cum sis vidua cunei Scotorum*

Redigunt in cinerea prædia proborum;

Willelmus de Wallia dux est indoctorum,

Gaudia stultorum cumulant augmenta dolorum.

~ Prior. Alnwicensis de bello Scotico apud Dumbarr. Donation Manuscripts, No. 4934. Francis Peck's Collections, vol. i. British Museum.

‡ Wallace, by Henry the Minstrel, Buke Aucht, p. 196.

like infuriated men, destroyed what they could not carry away, and returned with many trophies of their victorious arms.*

Eager to be revenged on the Scots, Edward appeased the murmurs of his subjects by seasonable concessions and promises, and confirmed the great bill of rights, and the forest charter; and agreed not to levy an aid or tallage, without the prelates, nobles,† and freemen of England. As he had in vain summoned the Scottish barons to attend a Parliament at York,‡ 16th May, and even those statesmen, who had accompanied him on the expedition into Flanders, had deserted him when he left the continent and joined the French King, he proceeded at the head of the collected forces of England, Wales, and Ireland, an army truly formidable and splendid, amounting to upwards of one hundred thousand, including the choicest warriors of Gascony, against Wallace and his undisciplined followers.

It was at Roxburgh, from the siege of which Wallace retired northward,§ and York,|| where

* *Alnawyk dant ignibus viri scelerati,
Circumquaque cursitant velut insensati.
Ibid, de bello Scotico.*

Note (C) Appendix.

† Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 124. Triveti Annal, 319. Heming. p. 189, vol. i.

‡ Heming. v. i. pp. 144, 145, 159. Rymer, vol. i. pt. ii.

§ Knighton, 2525. Triveti Annales, p. 311.

|| Rotuli Scotiæ, 2627. Edw. I.

this second muster took place ; and his cavalry, which we have included in the amount of disposable men, were completely equipped, and amounted to seven thousand,—three thousand heavy armed, and four thousand light cavalry,—besides five hundred horse of Gascony, of the most splendid and formidable appearance.*

The nobility of Scotland were summoned to attend him, but took no notice of the order, overawed by Wallace, and yet irreconcilable to his rule. To give his unprincipled aggression of a kingdom struggling for its just right, the sanction of religion, he made a pilgrimage, 24th June, to the shrine of St. John de Beverley, his favourite saint, whose sacred banner had in the last expedition been borne proudly through several parts of the kingdom ; but, meeting with an unlooked-for obstacle, in the refusal of the Marshal and Constable of England to raise their standard until he had personally confirmed their bill of rights, he empowered the Bishop of Durham and the Earls of Norfolk, Lincoln, and Surrey, solemnly to swear, on the soul of their lord the King, that he would yield to their requests, if he returned victorious from Scotland;† an expedient,

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 159.

† Quod in reditu suo, obtenta victoria, omnia per impleret ad votum, Hemingford, p. 159.

which had the desired effect of giving assurance to the disaffected, and of restoring tranquillity. The English army now consisted of the whole military array of England: the great Constable of England, the Earl Marshal, the Earl of Surrey, the King's Lieutenant of Scotland, the Earls of Gloucester and Arundel, Lord Henry Percy, and many other noblemen and powerful barons.*

Some idea of this powerful armament may be formed, when we find that of the noblemen and barons, to whom royal writs were addressed, amounting to one hundred and fifty-four; † the Bishop of Durham alone had, in this muster thirty-two banners, and three Counts, the Earls of Warwick, Oxenford, and Angus. ‡ Edward now despatched a haughty message to the guardian, remarking that he neither could have headed a revolt in Scotland, much less an invasion of England, had he not been absent; which was received with becoming gravity and dignity by Wallace, who replied, "that he had more reason to take the opportunity of King Edward's absence, to free his country from servitude, than King Edward, of the divisions of

* Hemingford, i. 144. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 26, 27. Edw. I. Palgrave's Parliamentary Writs.

† *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 26, 27. Edw. I.

‡ *Scala Chronica*, p. 125.

a free people to enslave them."* He shewed Edward, while he was approaching Berwick with a numerous and powerful army, that his were no empty professions. The Earl Pembroke, Aymer de Valloins, had been despatched into Scotland, with a considerable division of the army; and, in order to draw the guardian from the north of England, where his course was marked by fearful devastation and excess, he made a diversion into Fife, where he entrenched himself in the almost impervious forest of Black Ironside. The hardy Scots, with their renowned leader, whose personal exploits were of the most daring and romantic kind, soon penetrated this lodgement, dispersed and bore down the English; and in this engagement, in which the brave Sir Duncan Balfour, Sheriff of Fife, fell, fifteen hundred and eighty of the enemy were either slain or taken prisoners.†

The Bishop of Glasgow, who had surrendered himself to the English at Roxburgh, was released upon the arrival of Edward from Flanders, and at Holam Coltram, in England,

* Scoti chronicon.

† 12th June, 1298. A. Blair Relations. A monk of Durham received 1s. per day, for carrying St. Cuthbert's banner into Scotland, when the king went in person to raise the siege of Stirling castle for twenty days; one of the vicars of Beverley College had 8d. per day, for carrying St. John's banner, and 1d. per day to carry it back. Wardrobe account, 28 Edw. I.

renewed his oath of allegiance to Edward, upon the Black Rood of Scotland, before the Bishop of Carlisle, the Abbot of Holam Coltram, and many English noblemen, and executed letters patent to this effect.* And yet, when the Prince of Wales was despatched to Galloway, whither Wallace and Bruce had retired, to one of the seats of his power, with some troops to oppose them,† he issued his commands to William Lydel, his baillie, to assemble all the forces of the see, and march them against the prince and his army, in the campaign of John de Glen, as it is called, where the prince seems to have been obliged to retreat before Bruce and Wallace.‡

The great nobles of Scotland, and prelates, acted upon this occasion with a vacillation little becoming their character. Envy and faction began in the meantime to raise their heads in the Scottish camp. The fame of Wallace, which resounded throughout the island, excited the admiration of Europe, the jealousy of the nobility, and the terror of

* Sur le corps n're seigns sur seintes Evangeles sur la loix Neythf sur la Bakcrode.

† Part of Galloway belonged to Bruce. W. Hemingford, vol. i. p 119.

‡ Articuli, No. 150, § 8, p. 345. The instrument speaks of discomfiting the rebels, and Wisheart appearing before Edward at Cambuskenneth; but this was after peace had been proclaimed, and not before the battle of Falkirk.

England; his merit and eminent services, which had raised him to the highest dignity of the nation, were a stigma upon the inactivity and slavish fears of this titled order of men, who looked upon him as an ignoble person,* and reflected disgrace on their cowardice and perfidy; and animosities, factions, and distrust, prevailed to an alarming degree in an army, which union and the strictest discipline and cordiality among its leaders, alone could preserve.† Had the love of liberty been the ruling principle in the hearts of the Scottish nobles, they would have sacrificed their selfish jealousies, and united in acting with the only man who at this time appeared, and had proved himself, worthy of being their leader.

The English strengthened more and more the Scottish confederacy, especially by another inroad of a destructive nature upon Annandale, where they committed fearful devastation, and burnt Annan, the church of Gysborne, and many villages, the property of Bruce.‡ Roused to indignation at this daring outrage, shewn by fellow-subjects, his somewhat wavering disposition to renounce fealty to the English king, was confirmed, and he

* *Licet apud comites regni et proceres ignobilis putaretur.* Fordun Hearne, 978.

† Fordun, lib. xi. c. 32. ‡ Knighton, i. 2522.

immediately acceded to the triumphant cause of his country. Distrustful, however, of the Scottish leaders, whom he found in a state of mutual repulsion, and ever intent on the main object which he had in view, instead of joining them, he took possession of the castle of Ayr, which he guarded: a most important fortress, that enabled him to keep up the communication between Galloway and the western Highlands.*

Philip of France, urged by Comyn, Athole, and the Scottish barons at his court, insisted in the treaty of Paris, which had been concluded with Edward, that his ally, Baliol, King of Scotland, should be liberated from the Tower, that the kingdom of Scotland should be included in it,† and that as the Scots had only renounced the alliance of France, because they dreaded the power of England, they were not on this account to be deserted, and cast off by their ancient allies.‡ Although these demands were urged by special ambassadors at the English court, the crafty Edward replied, that they had voluntarily renounced the French alliance; that he should take it under his serious deliberation, and, in the mean time, answered them, by raising a pow-

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 137, 160.

† *Fœdera*, part ii. 861. Latest Edition.

‡ An important instrument lately published. Vide *Fœdera*, vol. i. part ii. p. 898.

erful army, to crush the independence of Scotland, and again reduce to obedience that proud nation.*

Edward Longshanks, as he was called in Scotland, the meanwhile moved onward with a mighty army, intending to proceed to the west, on the banks of the Clyde, where he had prudently directed his fleet to abide his approach, with provisions, and those necessaries which the campaign required ; † and the Scottish chiefs, divided as they were, endeavoured to muster all their feudal forces to oppose him. ‡ Dirleton castle alone appeared to offer a vigorous resistance to his progress. The Bishop was driven back, after a desperate assault ; and the King, sending a message by Sir John Marmaduke, a brave though stern knight, whom he charged not to see his face again, till he had razed to the ground these three castles, and recommended him to be as relentless as he pleased, observing, that now was not the time for Anthony to play the pacific bishop, or for Marmaduke to lay aside his ferocity or exultation over the death of his enemies ; “ Tell the good man that he ought to shew himself compassionate, when he is acting the bishop, but that, in his present profession, he must not practise deeds of clemency.” §

* Fœdera, vol. i. part ii. p. 898.

† Hemingford, i. 160, 161.

‡ Ibid. 161.

§ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 160.

The castle at length surrendered to Beck, the warlike prelate of Durham, after the governor had stipulated for the lives and freedom of its inmates, and carried on for two days with vigour the siege, in consequence of the arrival of provisions and battering artillery, with three ships from England.* He had no information in regard to the movements of the Scottish army, or where it was to be found, and in the hope of meeting with them, he advanced through Berwickshire to London, and from thence, without meeting with any opposition, to Kirkliston.† Soon after the surrender of the strong castle of Dirleton, on condition that the lives of the besieged should be spared,‡ the other two fortalices, which annoyed Edward in the rear, also yielded to the English, being set on fire by their defenders,§ so that Marmaduke and the Bishop faithfully executed the order of Edward. Edward awaited the arrival of his fleet, which had been detained by tempestuous weather, uncertain whether to proceed or remain, and encamped his army near Templeliston, between Edinburgh and Linlithgow.

Here that insubordination which had manifested itself in his kingdom, on his arrival

* Hemingford, p. 161. Walsingham, p. 75.

† Prynne, Edward I., p. 788.

‡ Hemingford, p. 161. Walsingham, p. 75.

§ Hemingford, p. 161.

from Flanders, again broke out; and the Welsh, who had never been fully reconciled to the English dominion, inflamed by tumult, jealousy, and intoxication, rose against the English, and slew no fewer than eighteen ecclesiastics.* The king, in order to appease their mutinous spirit, had made a present of some wine to them; so that they aggravated the evil, by committing this crime in a night attack, during their intoxication.

This outrage was retaliated with more fatal consequences by their countrymen, the English cavalry, who rode up to the rebellious Welsh, and slew eighty of their number; and the Welsh, amounting to forty thousand, irritated to a high degree, renounced their allegiance, and threatened even to join the enemy.† “They may retire,” said the intrepid monarch: “but I trust I shall soon see the day when I shall be able to chastise them both.” The knights whom Edward had lately raised to that honour, were sent against two other fortalices, which had already been abandoned, and were now destroyed.‡ The English king, in the present posture of affairs, was obliged to give up every prospect of ambition and revenge—to abandon his Scottish

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 161, 162.

† Trivet, p. 312. Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 161, 162.

‡ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 161.

invasion without striking a blow ; and orders were reluctantly issued for a retreat, to the eastern borders of Scotland.* The curse of this country was, however, the mean jealousy and dissension of its nobles.

Wallace had introduced a new system in the military tactics of the middle ages, which was afterwards improved and acted upon with the most complete success. He stripped that part of the country of all that was valuable, which was most exposed, presented to them a desert, instead of a richly-peopled land ; considered the mountains, morasses, and woods, the great bulwark of the national liberty ; and when famine, disorder, and fatigue, had humbled them as effectually as the sword, he kept upon the defensive, avoiding a general engagement,—placing under garrison important fortresses, and usually broke down upon the enemy when Famine had acted her part, and fortune presented an opportunity. He had, with his usual skill, nearly completed his masterly plan, which has been successfully introduced into the military tactics of modern times, and had even resolved upon a night attack on the rear of the retreating army, when the treacherous Patrick Earl of Dunbar, and Angus, mainly to ingratiate themselves with England, under dread of his

* Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 162, 163.

resentment, in consequence of renouncing their allegiance to him, went over to the camp of Edward, and through a page informed him of the position of the Scottish army in the forest of Falkirk, and the plans of Wallace, to hang upon their rear, and surprise them by a night attack.* Edward buckled on his armour, and called to horse,—“God be thanked!—they shall not need to follow me!”†

The glory of his arms was preserved by the treachery of these Scottish noblemen; and the murmurings, discontents, and regrets of the troops at this necessary step, hushed by the disclosure of the Scots at Falkirk, who, to the number of thirty thousand, hanging upon the rear of the enemy, and expert in pursuits and light skirmishing, had removed all possibility of a safe, or advantageous retreat.‡ The English army now halted for the night on the heath, near Linlithgow, and with the dawn of the morning, they beheld the Scottish troops drawn up on a stony field at Falkirk, waiting their approach. A tent was pitched; and it being the feast of St. Mary Magdalene,§ Edward and the warlike bishop of Durham heard mass. And while they were engaged in their religious duties, the day brightening up, the English could easily distinguish the Scot-

* Hemingford, i. p. 165. † Ibid. i. pp. 163, &c.

‡ Ibid. i. pp. 162, 163. § Scala Chronica, p. 125.

tish leaders arranging their columns, the lancers, who had appeared in advance, covering the crest of the hill.*

22nd July.—At first, the patriot leader, sensible that, by protracting the war, the mighty host of Edward would soon be compelled, for want, to retreat, thought of retrograding; but the treacherous Dunbar and Angus, who had betrayed them, put this out of their power with safety, and they patiently waited the approach of the enemy. The Caledonian army, which amounted to about thirty thousand men, was separated into four divisions, under their respective leaders, Wallace, Sir John Stewart, the brother of the Lord Stewart of Scotland, and Comyn of Badenoch, who were jealous of each other, and acted not with that unanimity and design, which the present exigency of affairs demanded.† Each was desirous of taking the chief command; Sir John Stewart believed himself to be entitled to this honour, as the representative of his brother, the Lord High Steward of Scotland; Comyn sought it as being nearly connected with the royal family: yet Wallace, as guardian of the kingdom, appointed by the choice of his countrymen and confirmed by his sovereign, refused to yield up the chief command to either. The

* Fordun, l. xi. c. 32. † Hemingford, i. 163—166.

envy of these powerful chiefs, as might be supposed, was fatal to the cause of freedom, and most disastrous on the eve of a great battle.

The Scottish pikemen were ranged in the front;* in the intervals between the columns, the archers were drawn up, under the direction of Sir John Stewart; and the division of the infantry commanded by the guardian of Scotland was divided into schiltrons of a circular form, those in the middle holding their long spears perpendicular, the front rank kneeling,—and were protected in the front by a morass, and palisadoes tied together with ropes, in order to defend the charge of the English cavaliers; and in the flanks and rear by their horsemen, who amounted to no more than a thousand.†

The schiltrons or circles formed with the shields and lances, which bristled with the long Caledonian spears on all sides—the front rank kneeling, with their lances turned obliquely outward, and presenting the appearance of tremendous porcupines with their sharp prickles, were enclosed usually with archers, who could aim their deadly shafts at the enemy; and were admirably calculated, if properly defended

* Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 191.

† Walsingham, p. 75. Hemingford, i. 163.

by cavalry, to sustain the shock of battle.* Their serried masses looked, in the words of the Chronicle, like a castle walled with stone.† “I have brought you to the ring, dance as you can,”‡ was the short but expressive address of Wallace to his troops, who heroically called upon them to receive the enemy with firmness, to bear in mind their ancient freedom, and dispute the victory with valour.§ He was mounted upon his war horse, as the other commanders,|| and with his tremendous broadsword, coat of mail, and warlike mien, was well calculated to lead a national army, and inspire them with confidence. The English army, amounting to one hundred thousand infantry and seven thousand horse, most of

* Langtoft, ii. 304, 305. Schiltron, derived from the Pictish or Saxon “scheld” and “roun,” implies more than a compact body of men, and had its rise in the manner in which they formed with their concave shields, *qui quidem circuli schiltronis vocabantur*. Hemingford, i. 168. “William Walays leur auoit amene au Karole dauncent sils uolount.” *Scala Chronica*, p. 125.

† Langtoft’s Chronicle, b. ii. i. 304, 305.

‡ A happy allusion to the rapidity of the circular or vibratory dance round the fire, then common. “Hii haue pult ou into a gamen, hoppet yif ye kunnet.” *Cottonian MSS.*, Wallace Papers, p. 10, published by Maitland Club. “I haif brocht you to the ring, hop gif you can.” Walsingham.

§ *M. Westminst.* p. 451. *Ecce adduxi vos ad annulum, charolate (choralate) sive, tripudiate vos, sicut melius scitis.* Walsingham, 75.

|| *Scala Chronica*, p. 125.

them veteran troops, was arranged in three columns or divisions ; one of them under the command of the chivalrous Edward, and the other two led on by Bigot, Earl Marshal, and Beck, the warlike Bishop of Durham.

There was but little preparation necessary for the coming struggle with the Scottish patriots, "for each soldier slept on the ground, using his shield for a pillow, and his arms for a couch ; each horse stood beside its master, and the horses themselves tasted nothing but cold iron."*

The page who held the King's horse had been careless, and the animal put his foot on the side of his royal master during the slumbers of the night ; and while some cried that the King was wounded, and an alarm was given that the enemy had made a night attack upon the royal pavilion, the soldiers, who had slept in their arms, sprung to their feet and prepared for the battle. But in order to dispel the panic which this occasioned, being but slightly injured, he heroically mounted his horse, and led on his army† through the village of Linlithgow ; and with the first dawn of the morning sun they beheld the hill glittering with lances whither they bent their march ; but it was but the advanced guard of the enemy. The King, who had

* Hemingford, i. 165.

† Ibid. 162, 163.

discerned at a distance the Scots marshalling their troops, was inclined to pitch his tents, and allow the horses and men some refreshment, yet finding that his officers wished an immediate attack to be made, as a small rivulet only separated the two armies, he ordered the standards to be raised, and said, "In God's name let us advance; may the field and the victory be ours!"*

The Earl Marshal was suddenly stopped with the first column of forty thousand, which he led to the charge by the morass in front of the Scottish line, of which they were not aware; while the Bishop of Durham, with his division of thirty-two banners, which floated in the breeze; and three Counts—the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Oxenford, and the Earl of Angus†—turning the left flank of the Scottish infantry, intended to wait for the reserve, knowing the danger of too precipitate an advance; but Sir Ralph Basset Drayton, who served under him, calling out, "To mass! Bishop, to mass!" he answered by furiously attacking the left flank—a charge which was gallantly received and sustained by the Scottish infantry, while the other flank was attacked by the Earl Marshal of England.‡ The troops of spearmen kept their ground against

* Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 191.

† Scala Chronica, p. 125. ‡ Hemingford, i. 265.

the violent shocks of the English cavalry. In vain did they attempt to penetrate into that circular wood of spears, obliquely turning every way;* but the English archers, who began by this time to shew their superiority to those of other nations, made dreadful havoc in the ranks, which, instead of being supported by the Scottish men-at-arms, who were worse mounted, and far inferior to those of England, were basely deserted by them, as they withdrew from the field without striking a blow, †— an act of treachery which was one great cause of the disasters of the day ‡

Sir John Stewart of Boukhill, directing his archers of the Forest of Selkirk to the attack, was thrown from his horse and slain; but his death was amply revenged by this intrepid body of men, who crowded around his body, and, tall and athletic as they were, fought to the last, § and called forth the admiration of their enemies by their bravery. || Charge after charge was made in vain against this firm body of men, by the powerful cavalry of England, for the Brandanes and Scottish spearmen re-

* Hemingford, i. 165. v

† Fordun a Hearne, p. 981. Wyntown, b. viii. c. xv. 47.

‡ Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 191. Cum suis complicitibus campum deserentes, illasi evaserunt, Fordun, p. 981, Herne edit. Fugerunt Scottorum equestres absque ullo gladii ictu. Hemingford, p. 164

§ Hemingford, i. 265.

|| Ibid. i. 165.

pulsed them with stubborn resolution and bravery, after the archers had given way, on the death of Stewart, their commander; and Edward, sensible of their inability to break their ranks, withdrew them, and ordered his archers and slingers to advance, who thinned them miserably by showers of missiles and arrows which they sent among them.'

The Scottish schiltrons, with their long spears point over point, "so serried, and thick, and fast together joined, like a castle walled with stone,"* were admirably calculated for defence; and had they been properly supported by cavalry, to protect them from the attacks made by the archers, no ordinary strength could have displaced them; but deserted by their own cavalry, which was not numerous, their natural protectors, and exposed to the showers of missiles, which poured in upon them on every side, although they filled up the chasms made by these deadly arrows, the work of death went rapidly on, and the English cavalry sat with their horses on the rein, ready to spring upon them through the first opening which was made in their ranks.†

The reserve of the English army was now brought to the attack; the infantry of Wallace, who had never been properly supported

* Langtoft, ii. 304, 305.

† Ibid.

by the other leaders of the Scottish army, and particularly Comyn of Badenoch, who deserted the cause, and retired with his followers; and almost all the men-at-arms, whether from cowardice or design cannot well be ascertained,* were overpowered, not by superior bravery, but superior numbers, and the outermost ranks brought to the ground. Macduff and Sir John Graham fell in endeavouring to retrieve the fortune of the day; and great was the carnage of those men from Fife, who strove in the cause of humanity to protect the wounded bodies of their chiefs, and avenge Macduff.†

Sir John Graham of Dundaff, the bosom friend of Wallace, who was both "wight and wise," was one of the chiefs who had thrice relieved Scotland, and whose descendant, the Duke of Montrose, is still proprietor of Dundaff, where the ruins of his castle stand, who has preserved the sword of his great ancestor, which was never drawn but in freedom's cause, for Scotland's glory, by a Graham of his family.‡

* Fordun, xi. 31, 34. Wyntown Chron. B. viii. c. xv. line 47.

† Wyntown, B. viii. c. xv. i. 45.

‡ "Sir Jone ye Grame, verry vicht and wyse,
One of ye chiefes relievit Scotland thryse,
Favght vith ys sword, and ner thout schame,
Commandit nane to beir it bot his name."

—Inscription on his sword, in possession of the Duke

Wallace rallied the scattered remains of his followers, retired from a scene where, by his single arm, he could not uphold the tide of battle against an army of a hundred thousand strong, including seven thousand cavalry—the half of which were armed at all points, both men and horses*—when deserted by his own horsemen, of which the Scottish armies had hitherto, for the most part, been usually composed. He himself seems to have been mounted on horseback, although he commanded the infantry,† and shewed the decided superiority of his talents in retreating with perfect order beyond the Forth; and marching his troops by the banks of the small river Carron, where he burnt the town and castle of Stirling. In his retreat with his intrepid band in the face of an enemy so powerful and superior in numbers, he shewed how much he kept at bay the lion of England; and being much galled by of Montrose. He was buried in the churchyard of Falkirk; the following inscription was placed upon his tomb.—

“ Heir lyes Sir John the Grame, baith wight and wyse,
 Ane of the chiefs rescewit Scotland thrise;
 Ane better knight not to the world was lent,
 Nor was gude Grame, of truth and hardiment.
 Mente manaque potens et valla fidus Achates,
 Conditur hic Gramus, bello interfectus ab Anglis.
 xxii Iulii, Anno 1298.”

* W. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 159.

† William Walys, qy acheual estoit. Scala Chronica,
 p. 125.

the veteran troops of Edward, he stepped from his ranks and brought to the ground, at one blow, Sir Brian de Jaye, the Master Templar of the Scots, in Callendar wood, a knight of high military renown,—an heroic act, which had the desired effect of checking the too-forward advance of the English.* The loss of the Scottish army, which was great,—amounting, according to an ancient writer, to more than ten thousand,†—some say fifteen,‡—is so exaggerated by the English writers, and slightly noticed by those of Scotland, that it is impossible now to arrive at the truth;§ but on the English side, where it was also considerable, the only persons of rank who fell were the Master of the Scottish Templars and the Prior of Torphichen, in Scotland.||

In this battle of Falkirk, in hazarding of which the Scotch shewed an imprudent precipitation, they lost all that they had gained by the hard-earned battles and glorious achievements

* Vide Langtoft, vol. ii. 305, 306, compared with the Scottish writers. Brian de Jaye, præceptor militie templi in Scotia. Rotuli Scotiæ, 29 Edw. I. m. m. 12. 11.

† Scala Chron. p. 125. Ad plus de x mille dez Comuns.

‡ Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 130, who quotes the Norwich Chronicle, and the Chronicle of John Eversden.

§ Chronicon de Lanercost states various reports, of which sixty thousand is the least, more than twice the number in the field, but does not agree upon any stated number.

|| W. Hemingford, i. 164, 165. Trivet, 313. M. Westminster, 431.

of their guardian, Wallace. Envy and jealousy at the success of Wallace formed one motive why the chief nobles of Scotland had not joined the patriots, in their noble attempt to redeem their country from a foreign servitude; but this does not altogether account for their extraordinary conduct. In 1297, negotiations were entered into, on the part of these nobles with France, to include Scotland under the truce, and a pacification agreed upon at Tournay; and under the hope that Philip would include this kingdom in the amnesty, and that they might give success to these negotiations, by doing nothing to prejudice the King of England against them, they abstained from taking up arms against England.

Edward had given a doubtful answer to the application of Philip; that Baliol, the Scottish King, should be released from prison, taking the subject, in the meantime, under his consideration; although the large army which he had raised in the next year, and the subsequent battle of Falkirk, showed pretty distinctly, that they would not be recognized by Edward as allies of Philip, although included in the truce of January last,* the Scottish nobles were not without hope that Edward would have retired without a battle, and were

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i: part ii. p. 893, new edit.

privately using their influence with him for this purpose. As he did not give his final answer to Philip till the 19th of August, 1298, as will appear, when he was in the camp at Edinburgh, after the battle of Falkirk;* this may account for the abrupt manner in which John Comyn, who had vast properties in Scotland, withdrew, and deserted him in the commencement of the engagement. Nothing, however, can extenuate the treachery and guilt of such conduct.

Various opinions have been hazarded about the battle of Falkirk, but the principal disasters of the day evidently had their origin in the private feuds and dissensions amongst the Scottish leaders; for, had the Scots been even unanimous, they must have displayed singular bravery indeed, before they could have been victorious over a powerful and fully-equipped veteran army, of more than three times their own number, including all the knighthood and chivalry of England. But it is surely no small praise to the talented leader of the Scots, that the principal division of their army, deserted by the cavalry, resisted the tide of English valour so long, and could effect a regular retreat in the face of so overwhelming a force, headed by the first general of the age, and

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, new edition, where the document in regard to the negotiations is contained.

surrounded by so many formidable bodies of cavalry.

The superiority of the English in archery may account for the great loss of men which the Scots sustained in this engagement, if not for the defeat of the day, for it occasioned afterwards the loss of several battles to the Scots. And yet the disaster at Falkirk is chiefly to be traced to the discordant elements of which the Scottish army was then composed; for although the numerical strength of the English, and their equipments, were vastly superior to those of the Scots, this people wiped away the defeat of this day by numbers no less disproportionate and inferiorly armed than those of England, soon afterwards, in the field of Bannockburn.

This brave man was almost the only Scottish chief who preserved order to the last, and retired in a becoming manner from the field of battle; but by some he is accused of deserting his post, rather unseasonably, stung with indignation at the capricious and envious conduct of the nobility.*

* Fordun. A few verses in Latin have been made on this occasion, of which we quote that on Wallace:

“Postquam Willelmus Wallensis nobilitavit,
Nobilitas prorsus Scottorum degeneravit.
Proditio, cædes, incendia, frausque rapinæ
Finire nequeunt infelice sine fine.”

Lanercost, p. 193.

While this brave knight was leading off his trusty followers, whom he had frequently led on to glory and to victory, Robert the Bruce made his appearance on the opposite bank of a narrow but inaccessible glen, where nature interposed her barrier between the champion of Scottish liberty, who had acted hitherto as Regent, in the name of the captive King, John, and her future monarch. Distinguishing the majestic chief, the guardian of his country's independence, by his princely and noble appearance among his followers, the Bruce sent a messenger to desire a conference. Anxious to discover more correctly his views as to the regency which he had administered, and how far he intended to support Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch, who inherited the claims of the Baliol party, he artfully represented to Wallace the hopelessness of the enterprise in which he was engaged; the superior power and resources of the English King; the feeble efforts of a country deprived of its head, weakened by the jarring discord of the nobility, and torn by intestine division and civil broils, with nothing left but the wreck of a once independent kingdom opposed to a mighty nation, governed by one of the most powerful and warlike monarchs of his age, on whose footsteps fortune ever at-

tended, and chivalry smiled. That if he aimed at regal dignity, and looked forward to the crown, he had to contend with a jealous aristocracy, proud of their honours and influence, who would never suffer a private gentleman, however eminent as a leader or successful in his enterprises; however meritorious in the eyes of his followers, to wrest from them their birth-right, in defence of which these nobles would waste the entire strength of their resources, and spill their blood.

To these insinuations, which made no impressions on the inflexible spirit of Wallace, which could never bend to slavery, or be brought to submission by any power while his country acknowledged a foreign yoke; he nobly replied, that ambition was not the ruling passion of his breast,—that a crown had no attractions for him who only stood forth in defence of Scotland's rights and independence, when her nobility, whom nature and fortune had pointed out as her guardians, had deserted her in the hour of need; that it was because no leader had hitherto appeared to take the command, that he acted alone as the champion of his country; that as her interest and protection, more than that of private individuals, required his aid, and the aid of every good man, whose cause could never be advanced by

a sacrifice of liberty and independence, he was resolved, while he could wield his trusty broadsword, to oppose the haughty invader, who would forge shackles for his country, to remain the guardian of her independence, till one more entitled to his high post should appear; and that he should only submit to the victor, when his life-blood ceased to flow, and he was laid in his grave. He concluded his magnanimous reply by calling upon Bruce, who possessed great feudal authority, and was descended from a line of kings, to relinquish his hitherto doubtful measures, and lay hold of the falling sceptre of his country; to embark his fortune and great resources in an enterprise worthy of his name and character, and not desert the post which nature had assigned him as his own: and that heaven, which held out this distinction, worthy of every good as well as every ambitious man, and had for some time committed the rule of this distracted nation to his feeble hands, would favour an undertaking which required the highest patriotism, and which would at last redound with honour to his country.

The young Earl of Carrick retired pondering upon these things, which he saw to be connected with his fate, full of admiration at the magnanimous and chivalrous conduct of

this hero, from whom he imbibed these kindred and generous feelings, now confirmed in his somewhat wavering disposition, of connecting his own destiny with the liberty of his country, and making an attempt in behalf of its independence.*

The guardian of Scotland is said to have retired to the forest of Torwood, where he spent the night under a large oak tree, which, even to the commencement of the present century, when it came to decay, was regarded as the tree of Wallace, the champion of Scottish liberty.

* Fordun, lib. xi.

CHAPTER IV.

THE dispersion and overthrow of the Scottish troops did not bring relief to the army of Edward. He entered Falkirk, which he found in ashes, on the fourth day after the engagement, and took up his quarters in the convent of the Dominicans, which had escaped the flames, where he remained till recovered from the stroke of his horse.* The expected succours had not yet arrived with the fleet; and proceeding to the west, after having destroyed Clackmannanshire, Menteith, and Fife, the county of Macduff,† Edward had sent one division of his army across the Forth into Menteith, where many villages were destroyed; and the other division took ample retaliation in the county of Fife for the resistance made by Macduff, which, under the guidance of the King, was delivered up to military vengeance, and completely destroyed with fire.‡

* Prynne, *Edward I.* p. 791.

† Hemingford, vol. i. 166.

‡ "And into Fiffe's he went, and brent it clene." Hardyng's Chronicle, 8vo. Lond. 1543, fol. clxv.

He then laid siege to the castle of Cupar, plundered the monastery of eighteen silver cups, and one silk girdle richly ornamented.* St. Andrew's was next surrendered to the indiscriminate pillage and rapacity of his feudal warriors who consumed it to ashes, but its inhabitants had fled.† The enemy were compelled by hunger to shift for themselves; but when they proceeded to Perth, they found that it had been burnt with fire by the Scots, while Ralph de Kyrkoy, the messenger, brought to the King the conditions and surrender of Stirling;‡ this castle having been repaired, Edward returned to Abercorn, near Queensferry, expecting, in vain, to meet with his fleet and provisions,§ where he presented John Boush of Linden to the vacant church of Kinkellin, Aberdeenshire.||

Having advanced in the direction of Glasgow with his mighty host, he crossed the ford at Tippour, proceeded from Glasgow through the district of Clydesdale, by Bothwell to Lanark, and burnt the abbey church of

* Stowe, and Inventory of Edward's Jewels, taken in 1300. Wardrobe Acct. p. 353.

† Scala Chronica, p. 125. Hardyng, fol. 165.

‡ For this he received 6s. 8d. Wardrobe Account, 28 Edw. I.

§ Trivet, p. 313. Abourtown, juxta Queenesferrie

|| Prynne, Edward I. p. 791, by letter dated Abercorn, 15th August, 1298.

Lesmahago, where a number of people had sought an asylum, Wallace being at that time concealed in a cave, about four miles distant from Lesmahago. Edward afterwards directed his course to the strong castle of Ayr, on the west coast, then held by Bruce, Earl of Carrick, who, upon his approach, set fire to the fortress and fled.

The English King, who wished to punish him as a refractory subject, proceeded into Galloway, that he might lay waste his lands in that district.* But famine compelling him to return, after a vain attempt to find provisions for fifteen days, he passed through the middle of Annandale, secured the castle of Lochmaben, belonging to Bruce, and proceeded to England, † by Tynemouth, Coldingham, and Carlisle, after he had left a garrison in Stirling; ‡ and as an encouragement to those who had distinguished themselves, and a reward for their bravery, conferred upon many the estates of the Scottish nobility, before he had yet taken possession of them by the sword. §

The retreat of Edward to England, at the head of an army one hundred thousand strong, who had just defeated their adversaries, with-

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 166.

† Ibid. Hardyng's Chronicle.

‡ Hardyng's Chronicle, 8vo. Lond. 1543, fol. clxv.

§ Hemingford, p. 166. Trivet, 314.

out taking a single step to secure the fruits of their victory, or subjugate this people to the rule of England, shows how complete had been the plan of the guardian, had it not been traversed by the treachery of these two noblemen, who, in the first place, disclosed their movements to the enemy, and then the treachery of John Comyn of Badenoch, who deserted with the cavalry, at the commencement of the engagement. It appears that the English suffered greater loss at Falkirk than their historians are inclined to admit, in consequence of the sudden retreat of Edward; and that the desert which he found, in consequence of the tactics of Wallace, fought more successfully for Scotland than some of her feudal lords and their troops.

In the meantime, the castles of Stirling, Lochmaben, and Dumfries were amply provided with stores and necessaries of every kind, by order of Edward, and particularly Stirling, which was then supplied by John, the son of Walter, master of the ship named Godale, of Beverley, with stockfish, ling, herring, cheese, onions, tallow, honey, pitch, wax, cummin, crocus, round pepper, steel, iron, large plates with handles, dishes, cups, salt-cellers, balistæ, bowstrings and bows, furnaces, hemp, goose-wings for darts and arrows,

horsehides untanned, and those of bullocks for the bottom of the engines, parchment and ink, powder, canvas, blue cloth, linen, shoes, furskins for great-coats to the servants of the King's household who were stationed there, and lambskins, which were converted into hoods for the use of the constable and chaplain.* Such were the ample provisions which were then made for an English garrison.

The English army had no sooner reached Carlisle upon its retreat from Scotland, than the Scottish districts through which it had passed were ready to raise their banners again, and assert the independence of their country; and the English, dissatisfied with the partiality which he shewed to some favourites, refused many of them longer to protract the campaign. The Earls of Hereford and Norfolk, stung with jealousy, because Thomas Bisset, a Scottish adventurer, who, taking advantage of these loose times, while the English and Scottish armies were engaged at Falkirk, had seized upon the island of Arran in the name of Edward, who, without consulting his nobles, had bestowed it upon him, at Lochmaben,† separated from the army, and retired home, with their cavalry and foot bat-

* Wardrobe Accounts, Edward I., 1298.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 166.

talions, worn out with the fatigues of the campaign. In order to satisfy his nobles, to whom he violated his pledge, not to act without the advice of his council, he summoned a parliament at Carlisle, in which was confirmed these imaginary grants of the estates belonging to the Scottish nobles, which they possessed by the tenure of hope, not in reality. The English army had not reached Durham in their retreat, when the Scots were up in arms, and again pursuing them. Thus the King of England gained little by his victory at Falkirk, and found himself under the necessity to return home without having subdued the country north of the Firths; and even the inhabitants of that part of Scotland which he had ravaged, pursued his army while retreating, and if ever they acknowledged his government, immediately renounced it.

Philip, King of France, had been probably induced by John Comyn the younger, the Earl of Athole, and other Scottish barons, who had quitted the service of Edward, when he embarked at Hardenburgh, in Flanders, and passed into France, to include Scotland in the pacification with England, which was afterwards made at Montreuil.* By this truce the differences of Edward and Philip were referred

* On 19th June, 1299. Rymer, p. 906.

to the arbitration of the Pope, and he, accordingly, afterwards demanded the liberation of Baliol, who had been kept a prisoner in the Tower since 1296. The answer of Edward was, that this proposition would require serious consideration; that he did not consider the Scots as his allies, nor was there any allusion to Baliol and his subjects in the treaty.* Philip immediately despatched the following answer; but, in the meantime, the battle of Falkirk had been fought:—

“In as far as the King of the Scots, and the other Scottish nobles who were Edward’s prisoners were concerned, the renunciation of the French alliance had been made through the influence of force and fear, on which account it ought to be considered of no avail; that it was they alone who ought to be considered as included in the truce; and if any Scottish nobles had afterwards of their own free will submitted to Edward, and sworn homage to him, as had been done by Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, Gilbert, Earl of Angus, and their sons, the King of France would not interfere in that matter.”†

To the application of the Scottish regency,

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, Part II. April, 1298, p. 898, new edition.

† The instrument is contained in Rymer’s *Fœdera*, vol. i. part ii. p. 898, new edition.

which dreaded the overwhelming forces of England, that they were willing to agree to the articles of the truce which Philip of France had drawn up, and which he sent to Edward by special messengers,* if the King of England would desist from hostilities, he refused even to reply, otherwise than at the head of his army in Scotland. †

Comyn, who sought every opportunity of justifying his treacherous conduct at the battle of Falkirk, accused the noble guardian of aiming at the sovereignty,—a charge which he might with truth have retorted upon the baron. He was the chief of a powerful family, who was daily adding to his party; and Sir William Wallace saw that, without involving his country in the horrors of a civil war, it would be in vain for him to exercise the functions of government, or struggle against the hydra of faction which he was unable to control. The wisdom and military skill of Wallace would probably have saved the country even from the overwhelming host of England, had he been seconded by a willing, emulous, and united nobility; but, as it was, his schemes were nearly matured, and he plucked the laurels from the brows of Edward, who,

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, part ii. 861, new edition. See Du Chesne, *Hist.* p. 600.

† He replied on 19th August, 1298. Rymer, i. 898, new edition.

exposed to famine and distress, reaped not the fruits of the battle of Falkirk, at least for the present, but retired with a victorious army without subduing the country beyond the Forth.*

The lamentable effects of the disaffection of the Scottish nobility at the battle of Falkirk, had now been severely felt in their defeat by Edward, in the dispersion of the Scottish army, and the subjugation of several towns in the southern parts of the kingdom of Scotland. It was the jealousy of Comyn, who threatened him with impeachment, for his treasonable conduct, during these struggles for liberty, and the suspicion of Bruce, who united against him with his enemies, which induced the patriot to resign the governorship, and to yield that resistance, which had alone been successful against the tyranny, and the power of England. Wallace, for the safety of his country, in these intestine jealousies and disorders, had resigned a command, which he was the only person worthy of holding, at this time in the kingdom, and which had called forth the aristocratical pride and animosities of an order of men who had hitherto appeared incapable of defending their high privileges, and the liberties of their country.†

Many of the brave companions of his splen-

* Fordun, v. 985. Hearne edit.

† Fordun. Hearne, p. 982. Wyntown.

did career refused, however, to serve under any other leader, and still continued to attach themselves to his fortunes,* while he wasted the country through which the English had to pass, prudently leaving garrisons in the most important fortresses and castles. The Scottish aristocracy had never willingly submitted to Edward; and John Comyn of Badenoch, the younger, one of the claimants for the Scottish crown, now established himself at the head of a party, who sought the independence of Scotland, and acknowledged no foreign power.† John de Soulis was joint governor of Scotland along with John Comyn the younger.‡ The principal command of the army now devolved on Comyn of Badenoch, and Bruce, who had again deserted the English, who, together with Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrew's, were afterwards associated with Comyn, as guardians.§ Robert Bruce, however, availed not himself of this honour, or, at least, retired apart from the other guardians; while Wallace, who had probably organized the party, or at least gave place to them, seems to have indignantly retired, and to have taken little or no part in public affairs from this period.

* Fordun, lib. xi. c. 31. † Scala Chronica, p. 126.

‡ Fordun & Hearne, p. 982. Wyntown, b. vii. c. xv. vol. ii. p. 103.

§ Rymer, Fœdera, new edit. p. 915, part ii. November 13th, 1299.

Some of the inferior chiefs who had espoused the cause of their country, were Macduff, the grand-uncle of the young Earl of Fife, a family of considerable influence in the kingdom, and Sir John Graham of Abercorn.* The Scots again rallied round the standard of freedom, and Lambert, Bishop of St. Andrew's, Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, John de Soulis, and Comyn, the chosen guardians of Scotland, in the name of Baliol,† did what they could to uphold her rights; and he, the Knight of Ellerslie, who had set Scotland free, and who, had he been properly supported, might have still defended her liberties, was excluded from the councils of the nation, deeming it necessary to retire altogether from a position which excited the envy of the nobles, and ceased, on account of the mean, unworthy jealousy of the aristocracy, to direct the popular movements.

He who had at first called forth the slumbering spirit of the Scots, and had emancipated these very nobles from slavery, who now refused to act in concert with him; and had, in the fatal engagement of Falkirk, secured an honourable retreat to the Scottish infantry, was compelled to betake himself to those wilds and fastnesses where liberty is ever found. He

* Hemingford, vol. i. 166. Trivet, 314.

† Fœdera, ii. 859. Fordun, lib. xi. c. 34.

resigned of his own free choice the command of the army, and is said, upon good authority, to have passed over into France, where he was honourably received by Philip, and distinguished himself against the pirates.*

This distinguished general, who had been so ill treated by the mean jealousy of the Scottish nobles, who felt indignant at their treatment of him, after he had, by his valour and wisdom, emancipated them from foreign slavery, quitted a country which was unworthy of him, and left them to enjoy the slavery which, by their dissension, if not cowardice, they had brought upon themselves. He himself wished to breathe a freer air than that which was tainted by the cruelties of the tyrant, the cries of captive wives and families, and the miseries of the bondsmen. His destination was France, where he was formerly believed to have gone, and where, upon the authority of the blind minstrel, he sojourned for some time, and encountered great dangers; and many of those incidents, so interesting to the historian, have been preserved by documents recently brought before the public, which confirms in these instances, as we have shewn in others, the narrative of Henry the Minstrel.†

His object in sailing for France was to solicit

* Ancient manuscript of Fordun a Goodal, ii. 176.

† Wallace Papers, published by the Maitland Club.

the aid of Philip, King of France, who had included Scotland in the treaty of peace with England, a treaty which, as far as Scotland was concerned, had not been observed by Edward, who had invaded Scotland. He embarked in a small vessel, and was making for the port of Dieppe, when a ship appeared in the distance, known by the name of the "Red Rover," from the blood-red flag which hung from the top of its mast, and instantly gave chase to the vessel in which Wallace sailed, and bore down upon it. This happened to be the terrible sea-pirate Sir Thomas Charteris, commonly called Sir Thomas de Longueville, a sea-pirate, who, like the Norse sea-kings of Scandinavia, was the terror of the ocean, and plundered every vessel which came in his way.

The Scottish warrior soon learned, from the alarm among the sailors, the character of the rovers who bore down upon them, and ordering them below, lest by their fear they should intimidate the others, he sounded his bugle for his veteran companions, ordered them to lie down upon the deck in their armour till the arrival of the enemy. The "Red Rover" was alongside his barge in a short time, and confident that his superior crew would soon master the Scottish mariners, he already threw his grappling-irons on board the ship which car-

ried Wallace and his followers, and the Frenchmen jumped on deck in order to secure the prize. But the Scotsmen, fifty in number, sprung from their places of concealment, drew their swords, and Wallace, calling aloud, "Strike, dogs, ye shall die!" a sanguinary contest succeeded; Wallace himself having encountered the Red Rover, whom, after a great struggle, he vanquished and disarmed, the pirates surrendered.* The gallant bearing of the Rover during the contest gained him the esteem of the Scottish chief, from whom he learned that de Longueville was a Frenchman of rank, who had once stood high in favour at court, and incurred the displeasure of his sovereign by killing a nobleman in his presence, for which crime he forfeited his great estates, and was banished from the kingdom;† Wallace carried his prisoner with him to Amiens, where Philip held his court,

* Wallace Papers, published by the Maitland Club.

† The account of the blind minstrel, Henry, B. ix. p. 224—232, Bruce and Wallace, 4to. edition, 1820. According to this authority, he had a small fleet of sixteen craft, and that being alongside the ship of Wallace, his vessel alone having pursued the barge of Wallace, he grappled the Red Rover by the gorget, who craved his mercy for the sake of Him who died on the rude, confessing that he had spilt much blood, and for his trespass would make some repentance. His ships followed their master, whose life was spared, and created great alarm to the town where they landed, when they appeared in the Rochelle road. Wallace and Bruce, b. ix. p. 226—230.

and then the guardian was presented to the French King, who, in the songs of the troubadours, had frequently heard the praises of the Scottish hero sung, and his exploits narrated. Wallace obtained the pardon of de Longueville from the French King, who received him again into favour, offered him service, and also conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. But the manly courage and generosity of Wallace had made a deep impression upon his heart, and he preferred to return with him to Scotland than remain in France, and ever after continued his faithful friend. When his distinguished protector died, he joined Robert the Bruce, did good service to Scotland in the war of independence, who bestowed upon him, as the reward of his services, some lands in the neighbourhood of Perth, which seem to be those of Kinfauns, where a broadsword, with the name of "Charteris" engraved upon it, has been preserved, probably the large sword of Sir Thomas Charteris, commonly called Thomas de Longueville, which long remained in possession of his descendants, who bore the name of Charteris.*

* The two-handed sword of Charteris is in the shape of a broadsword, five feet nine inches long, two and a half inches broad at the hilt, with a round knob at the upper end, nearly eight inches in circumference, and is still preserved at Kinfauns, by its present possessor, Lord Gray.

He urged upon Philip the necessity of rescuing Scotland from the grasp of Edward, of restoring this kingdom to its original independence, and of preventing it from becoming a mere province of England, or falling under the sword of Edward.* His arrival at the court of France was at this time of the greatest consequence to Scotland, for, ever watchful over her interests, he was the means of saving her as much by his straightforward diplomatic skill as by his broadsword, which did good service to his country. The King of England, when he embarked from Flanders for England, had referred the differences between France and England to the arbitration of Pope Boniface, as a private person, judging between them, and the good offices of Philip for Scotland, instead of being procured by Cōmyn, as historians generally believe, † the Earl of Athol and other Scottish barons, who had left Edward in Flanders, ‡ where they appear to have been in hostilities against the King of France, were the result of Wallace's patriotic entreaties with Philip, and his negotiations for that kingdom, from which he was expatriated. The Pope, in the previous year, had ordered John Baliol to be delivered from prison, but Edward re-

* Wallace Papers.

† See Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 151.

‡ Walsingham, p. 75. Trivet, p. 311.

fused.* Wallace seems to have urged Philip to assist his allies of Scotland, to use his influence to have his sovereign, Baliol, liberated from the Tower, together with all other state prisoners connected with Scotland, and not only the prelates, barons, nobles, and knights, but the towns, communities, and inhabitants of Scotland, of what rank and condition soever.

The King of France appears to have listened to his representation, and sent into England special ambassadors making this demand; † and although Edward evaded the request, that Scotland should be included in the truce, he seems to have been ashamed for still retaining Baliol as a prisoner. In order to forward his views still more, Philip sent Wallace accredited to their father the Pope Boniface the Eighth, ‡ to whose decision the differences between England had been referred; and, whether influenced by the Scottish patriot or not, the Pope sent his nuncio, who charged him to deliver up to him, as lord arbiter, the Scottish King, Baliol, which, as

* 27th June, 1298.

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, new edition, part ii. 861. Trivet, p. 311.

‡ Wallace Papers, p. 163. The original document addressed by Philip to his agents at the court of Rome, has been discovered by Mr. Joseph Stephenson, in the Record Office in the Tower of London.

we have seen, he did. But Edward now concluded a treaty of peace with the King of France, and the more to confirm the alliance, was united in marriage to Margaret, the sister of Philip; and as Edward agreed to give up his ally, the Earl of Flanders, who had taken up arms against the King of France, on condition that the French King should, on his part, abandon the cause of his Scottish allies, the Scottish refugee, Wallace, was, in consequence, thrown into prison. Philip sent a message to Edward, offering to deliver the hero of Stirling to him, at which Edward, who had long wished to obtain possession of his enemy, greatly rejoiced.*

Yet, if ever Philip was serious in promising to betray Wallace, he was never guilty of this perfidious act. This selfish court for once enlisted itself in the cause of patriotism, or rather of humanity, but did not lay aside its selfishness for, in examining into the claims of Edward over Scotland, it preferred one for itself, and issued a bull next year, in which he laid claim to the sovereignty of Scotland, as we shall see, instigated, as Edward said, by certain "enemies of peace, and sons of rebellion," residing at his court,—alluding evidently to Wallace, then on a visit at Rome.†

* The Cottonian Manuscript, Wallace Papers, p. 11.

† Fordun & Hearne, p. 983. Wyntown, ii. 105.

In order to understand the present position of affairs, it will be necessary to recapitulate a little of the personal history of John Baliol. In the year 1296, Baliol, after the battle at Dunbar, and surrender of the castle to the English, and the downfall of Edinburgh, and the storming of its castle, was desirous of peace, and made offers of submission. Yet Edward affected to treat him as a conqueror, and commanded him to meet him some days afterwards at Brechin, where he would learn his fate, by the announcement of the Lord Superior. Destitute of councillors, deserted by his nobility, and without an army to defend himself, he met the English King at Brechin Castle, where, in the presence of the English barons and nobility, he was stripped of his royal apparel, and, standing as a criminal, with a white rod in his hand, surrendered his sceptre and his crown to Edward, and was compelled, as a feudal penance imposed upon him by him who affected to be his superior, to confess that he had offended his liege lord, who had justly invaded his dominions, that he erroneously entered into an alliance with France, and resigned, it is said, voluntarily his kingdom into the hands of Edward, under his own deed and seal.* This

* Pryne, Edward I., p. 647, 650, 651.

is circumstantially related by an English writer, and a deed is produced in subsequent history in evidence.*

But this instrument of resignation, which has been preserved, is a forgery; and although Baliol was thrown into prison at the time, and kept there for three years, in consequence of the discovery of the forgery, the whole account of the feudal penance said to be performed in the churchyard of Strathkathro,† is apparently a fiction, detailed by Fordun and other ancient writers, on the authority of the forged deed.

John Baliol had been put in possession of the kingdom of Scotland by virtue of the judgment of Edward of England, who claimed to be superior of the kingdom of Scotland,‡ and because he refused to listen to the grave complaints by Macduff, the son of the Earl of Fife, and Roger Bartholomew, burgess of Berwick, and the King of England having subjugated Scotland, which Baliol is said to have surrendered into his hands, he was, therefore, by judgment of Edward, deprived of the kingdom. The English King now acted with that want of probity and candour, which

* Prynne, Edward I., *ibid.*

† Mr. Tytler, *History of Scotland*, i. 103.

‡ Protocol of judgment. Documents edited by Sir Francis Palgrave, p. 141—151, § 6. See note D, Appendix.

certainly at first had not shewed itself. He alleged as a reason for depriving his vassal, Baliol, of his kingdom, that he had acknowledged his acts of treason and disloyalty, before the king and the prelates, the earls, barons, magnates, and heads of the realm, under a public instrument written by the hand of Master de Tang, the notary public.* That the unfortunate king performed the humiliating feudal resignation, holding a white wand in his hand, apparently the symbol of surrender, under the fear of death, may possibly be true;† but that he made no resignation as a king, with consent of the government or estates, now appears pretty clearly; and what was at the time asserted on the single evidence of Baldred Bisset, the Scottish envoy at Rome, that Edward forged the instrument of resignation by Baliol, is now proved from one of the Ragnian Rolls, or notarial protocols, which he deposited in duplicates, in the Chancery and Treasury.‡

This protocol, which may be held to be evidence that Edward was attempting to induce a surrender of the kingdom by King

* Notarial Protocol Documents, edited by Sir Francis Palgrave, 43, § 3, p. 150.

† *Regiis exutus ornamentis, et virgam albam in manu tenens vi et metu vitæ ductus.* Fordun, l. xi. c. 26.

‡ The Ragnian Rolls, published by the Bannatyne Club, p. 55, from a perfect copy in the Chancery. Also Protocol Documents, N. 43, p. 141—151.

Baliol, and the letters patent of resignation, said to be executed by him under the great seal of Scotland, are evidently inserted in the document, and that too in the middle of a word, and are, therefore, not genuine.* We have no evidence, therefore, beyond this forgery, either of his resignation of the sceptre and crown under his hand, or of a feudal penance done by him,—subsequent writers being deceived by Edward's procedure.†

The appearance of Wallace at the French court reminded the King of France of the deplorable condition of his ally, Baliol, whom Edward still kept a close prisoner in the Tower, notwithstanding the decision of the Pope; and being urged by the guardian of his kingdom, the faithful Wallace, at the intercession of the Pope Boniface, Edward delivered him to his legate, the Bishop of Vicenza, in presence of a notary, requesting him to "be sent to the Pope as a seducer of the people, and a perjured man;" allowing him, on condition of not interfering in Scottish affairs, to dispose of his large English estates, and retire

* Sicut ^{va} p. l'ras ip'ius. I. quonda. Reg. Scoc. patentes inde confectas t. sigillo quo du. manu Mag'ri Andr. de Tong. notarii publici evident. apparet. Protocol 24 Ed. I., written upon three membranes, fastened together at the bottom. Document 43, § 3, p. 150, inserted between the syllables of va cat.

† Fordun, Wyntown, Pryne, &c. a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 167; vol. ii. p. 88. Edw. I. pp. 650, 651.

from the kingdom.* He himself afterwards seized upon these properties,† which were spread over nine different counties, and bestowing them upon his nephew, John of Bretagne, rifled his coffers at Dover, where he found a gold crown, and the great seal of Scotland,‡ which was hung up by Edward at the shrine of St. Thomas the Martyr, and demanded, through Sir Robert Burghersh, the constable of Dover, his attendant, a receipt for his person,§ on the express condition and agreement, that his Holiness should never afterwards move the people of Scotland in his favour. He was conveyed to Whitsand, near Calais, and conducted to the castle of Baillof, in Picardy, in the kingdom of France, where he spent the remainder of his days in peace, if not in happiness, till 1314, when he died.||

Edward had rejected the truce granted to the Scots by the intervention of the King of France. A draft of this truce was presented to him by the regency of Scotland, and is now

* Prynne's Edward I. p. 797, 798. Trivet, p. 345. Walsingham, 76, 77. Feb. 18th, 1299.

† Edward bestowed them upon his nephew, John of Bretagne, Nov. 10th, 1306. Rymer, i. 1002.

‡ Walsingham, Hist. Angl. p. 76. See note E, Appendix.

§ Fœdera, ii. 840—846. Rymer, iii. 665. See the record in the Tower.

|| Scala Chronica, p. 125. Walsingham, p. 77. See note C, Appendix.

published; but as this draft makes special mention of John de Baliol, and the regency acted in his name, this may be the reason why he would not listen to the truce then, which he afterwards confirmed.*

At the close of the previous year, writs of military summons were issued to the prelates, earls, barons, and knights, requiring them to assemble, with horses and arms, on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 24th June; and at the same time the array of the northern counties, which did not readily obey the summons.† And this warlike king, interdicting all tournaments and martial play of arms, and every knight errant from going on adventure, that they might not interfere with the expedition, assembled his parliament at York, and ordering a new array to be raised, as the first levy seems either to have resisted his summons, or to have been adjourned; and the Earls of March, Angus, and other Scottish nobles, to attend him,‡ along with reinforcements from York, at Berwick-on-Tweed,§ and public prayers to be offered up

* *Ultima Suffencia Scottor. concessa apud Aniers (Amers)*, N. 21, p. 241—247.

† *Palgrave's Parl. Writs*, vol. i. Nos. 31, 40, p. 342—345.

‡ *Rymer*, part ii. 899. *Prynne*, *Edward I.* p. 789.

§ *Rymer*, *Fœdera*, i. 915, 916, new edition. *Mr. Tyler* and other historians only speak of one army, or levy of

for the success of his arms; was miserably disappointed, when his nobility and vassals, amounting to fifteen thousand infantry, and a large body of cavalry, peremptorily refused to proceed beyond Berwick-on-Tweed, and encounter again the fierce inhabitants and winter storms of this hyperborean region, much to the disappointment of Edward, who wished to raise the siege of Stirling.*

Galloway was yet unsubdued, and acknowledged not the power of Edward; and the whole of the kingdom north of the Forth yielded to no authority, but that of the guardian's.†

The first effort of the regency was directed against Stirling Castle, which had been again seized by the English. Its troops judiciously took their station in the Torwood, where the English cavalry could not act; and Edward, sensible of the importance of the fortress as a key to one of the principal passes to the Highlands, determined to raise the siege.

troops made in November, but they were summoned to meet at Carlisle, at Whitsuneve, adjourned to Lammas, and did not meet till the commencement of the winter.

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, i. 905—916, new edition—in the beginning of November. *Nequis miles, armiger, vel alius quicumque,—torneare bordeare, seu justas facere aventuras quærere, aut alias ad arma ire præsumat quoque modo sine. Nostra licentia speciali.* One of the new instruments added to the *Fœdera*.

† Hemingford, i. 160—166. Trivet, 313—320. Fordun a Hearne, p. 976—984.

The regency of Scotland memorialized Edward, claiming to be included in the treaty with France, stating that they were willing to cease from all warlike movements during the truce, to which he replied by the army which he raised :* but as his forces refused to march, in consequence of their dissatisfaction at his conduct, in regard to the great charter, he proceeded, with such forces as were willing, to the relief of the fortress. Yet his army, unwilling to join battle and endanger their safety at this dreary season in Scotland, knowing the enemies they had to encounter, he reluctantly capitulated, surrendered the castle to Sir John de Soulis, one of the regents, and retired in disgrace to the south,† after he had marched to the north no inconsiderable force ;‡ and this important fortress fell into the hands of the Scots, and was committed to the charge of Sir William Oliphant.§ Edward returned like a conqueror to England, met by different bands of minstrels on his route, and entered London in triumphal procession, amidst the gorgeous banners of the various craftsmen, parti-

* This letter is dated Foresta dell' Torre (Torwood), 13th Nov. 1299. Rymer, i. 915, new edition.

† Trivet, 316. Hemingford, i. 170. Matth. Westminster, p. 445. A. 1299.

‡ Langtoft, Chronicle, p. 308.

§ Matth. Westminster, p. 445.

cularly the fishmongers, who bore in the procession four gilded sturgeons, carried on four horses; four salmon of silver, on a like number of chargers, attended by forty-five knights in full armour, mounted on horses resembling luces of the sea, who were followed by St. Magnus and a thousand horsemen.*

May, 1300. The summer sun had not yet well begun to warm the snowy mountains of Scotland, when the English King again entered the western marches, at the head of a gallant army.† The Scots, who still struggled for liberty, were roused into action, no less from their former victories, than their recent defeat; but they had the prudence to carry on a defensive system of warfare, and, in their present weak state, to avoid a general engagement. Want of provision, the refractory state of his own subjects, prevented Edward from following up the advantages which he had gained by the battle of Falkirk, and receiving the submission of the men of Galloway.‡ His headquarters was at Dumfries, and having subdued again the castle of Lochmaben and the country around it, and conferred the island of Arran, contrary to his engagements with the Earl Marshal, on Thomas Bisset, who had landed

* Stowe.

† Trivet, 316.

‡ Rymer, i. 921, new edit. Walsingham, 78.

there before the battle of Falkirk, with a body of troops from Ireland, and taken possession of it, he rejected with contempt the proposals of the Scots to yield to him their feudal submission, on condition of receiving back their exiled King and confiscated properties.

The army of England was then sent against the stronghold of the Maxwells, on which a vigorous attack was directed. The castle of Caerlaverock, a strongly fortified place on the Solway, near Dumfries, belonging to Herbert Maxwell, was of a triangular form, resembling a shield, flanked by three towers, the middle tower, which was very high, being a double one, under which was the gate and drawbridge, and this castle was defended by strong walls, and ditches filled with water to the edge.*

1st July. This castle was beautifully situated, and there was seen at once the Irish sea stretching towards the west, and, to the north, a rich country, surrounded by an arm of the sea, which completely protected it on two sides. On the south side of this fortress there were numerous dangerous defiles of wood, and marshes, and ditches, which, with the river and the sea on two sides, rendered it almost unapproachable; and, therefore, the hosts of England could only advance to the attack on

* Walter de Exeter, an eye-witness.

the eastern side, where the hill slopes.* On the day appointed, according to one who accompanied the expedition, "the whole host was ready, and the good King with his household then set forward against the Scots, not in coats and surcoats, but on powerful and costly chargers, and, that they might not be taken by surprise, well and securely armed. There were many rich caparisons embroidered on silks and satins, many a beautiful pennon fixed to a lance, and many a banner displayed. And afar off was the noise heard of the neighing of horses, mountains and valleys were everywhere covered with sumpter horses, and waggons, with provisions and sacks, of tents and pavilions."† The whole English host encamped on the plain before this small but brave garrison.

The army of Edward had proceeded by easy journeys, divided into four squadrons. The first division was conducted by Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln; the second under John, Earl of Warrene and Surrey; the third was commanded by Prince Edward, a handsome and intelligent youth of seventeen, of a courteous disposition, who was mounted, and bore with a blue label the arms of his father, who was brave

* Walter de Exeter's Chronicle, written in Norman-French, and translated and published by Sir Harris Nicolas, i. 61.

† Chronicle of Walter de Exeter, a Franciscan friar.

and gay, and sought occasion to display his prowess, attended by John de St. John, an experienced warrior. Edward was followed by eighty-seven of the most illustrious vassals of the Crown of England, among whom are enumerated Alexander de Baliol, brother to the King of Scotland; Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, and his son Henry de Graham, and Sir Simon Fraser, renegades of Scotland; and the Knights of Bretagne and Lorraine. The king commanded the last squadron, in whose banner were three leopards courant of fine gold, set in red; fierce, haughty, and cruel, thus placed to signify that the king is dreadfully fierce and proud to his enemies, and brought up the rear on powerful and lively chargers, completely armed.* The Castle of Caerlaverock was well protected towards the south, by numerous dangerous defiles of wood, marshes, and ditches, and on two sides by the sea and river; so that Edward made his approaches by the east, where the hill slopes, on which the English army rested, having pitched their tents of white and coloured cloth, reared huts of wood, and strewed the floors with leaves, herbs, and flowers gathered in the forest. The navy had arrived with engines and pro-

* Walter of Exeter, who accompanied the expedition, preserved in a Norman French MS. in the British Museum, and published by Sir Harris Nicolas.-- *Antiquarian Repertory*, v. 469.

visions, and the first attack was made by the footmen, who were repulsed, and many of them wounded and killed, in the course of an hour, by the stones, arrows, and quarreaux which were discharged against them.

When the men-at-arms saw that the infantry had sustained such losses, Fitz-Marmaduke, at the head of a troop of select bachelors, advanced his banner against it, together with Bertram de Montbouchier, with his silver shield, and Gerard de Gondrouville, with a shield of vaire, with the two bodies composed of Bretons and men-at-arms from Lorraine, and discharged stones and other missiles against the besieged. The good Baron of Wighton fought resolutely, and received many stunning blows; and little less distinguished was Badlismere, and Cromwell the handsome and brave, who, with his white lion rampant, crowned with gold, glided between the stones. Thomas de Richmond, who had a second time collected some lances, now approached to the brink of the ditch and bridge, demanding entry, but was answered with ponderous stones and cornues, showered from the walls, which beat hats and helmets to pieces. Of those who advanced under Henry de Graham, not above two returned unhurt, or brought back their shields entire. Ralph de

Gorges, a newly-dubbed knight, who had all his harness and attire, muscally of gold and azure, was more than once brought to the ground, together with the Barons of Wighton and Kirkbride, who assailed the gate, while Adam de la Ford attempted to sink a mine under the walls, but were all forced to retreat under a shower of large stones, quarrels, and arrows. Robert de Willoughby was laid on the ground with a stone, which struck his breast, and many others shared the same fate, while the fragments of Hamsart's shield, who bore himself nobly, were seen to fly in the air.

The most vigorous attack seems to have been directed against the drawbridge, for Kirkbride had no sooner retired, than Clifford sent his banner against the castle; and as many as could escort it, who picked up the stones, and discharged and threw them back. In their turn they were replaced, first, by La Warde and John de Gray, then the Lord of Brittany, and his followers, the Lord of Hastings, Basset, and the good brothers of Berkeley; but Maxwell and his brave Scots had prepared their espringalds, bows, and crossbows, and were always ready both to throw and to hurl. It was surrounded on all sides by numerous bodies of the enemy, each

anxious to signalise its skill and bravery, and many a shining shield of silver, many a lance and pennon were alternately displayed before the walls; and as one baron and his followers were wounded, or forced to retire before the besieged, another host of knights advanced to the charge, assailing the gate, or covering the entrance, and shouting their respective warcries. It would seem that before this insignificant fortress, which poured its rude artillery upon the assailants with courage and effect, all the chivalry of England was displayed; * bearing on their shields and banners of every hue and colour, red pitchers with besants, gold lioncels, white saltire and chief, green crosses, lion rampant, the red chevron, dancette and billets of gold on blue, red and ermine, gemell of gold, golden mullets, and almost every device of that chivalrous age. † When one shield was beaten back, another took its place; when one banner was torn, another was displayed; and the numerous engines, which were supplied by the English fleet, made great destruction upon the walls, where the brave defenders continually relieved each other, till neither iron cap nor wooden target could save them from wounds. A bat-

* Walter de Exeter, a Franciscan Friar.

† Walter de Exeter. vid. MS. in vol. iv.—Antiquarian Repertory, p. 469.

tering engine, belonging to the castle of Lochmaben, had been transported to Caerlaverock,* and three other large engines of great power, and very destructive, were erected by Robert, an engineer, while he continued to discharge numerous stones from the robinet, which were very effective.†

A pennon of submission was at length put out, but the hand which bore it was pinned to the face of the truceman, and the marshal and constable now put a stop to the assault, and entered the castle ‡ When this heroic garrison marched out of the fortress, after they had withstood the whole English army for two days, to the admiration of the enemy and their own credit, they amounted only to sixty men, including all ranks;§ and some of them received life, limb, and a new garment, though many of them were hanged by the ungallant Edward, whose chivalry and deeds of arms have been so frequently sung; a stain on his knighthood, which we could not have looked for. ||

* Transported by seven carriages, at 6*d.* a day, 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*—Wardrobe Account, Edw. I., 1299—1300.

† Walter de Exeter, a bard, who attended Edw. I.

‡ Scala Chrònica, v. 126.

§ Walter de Exeter.—M. Westminst. 445.

|| Chronicle de Lanercost.—The wages paid during this expedition have been preserved in the Wardrobe Account of Edward I. for the year 1300, from which it appears, that the average rate of wages for the following

When the banner of Edward waved on the battlements, together with the banners of St. George, St. Edmond, St. Edward, Sir John Segrave, who acted as marshal during the siege, the Earl of Clifford, and Hereford, who were appointed to garrison and defend Caerlaverock Castle; the English King, taking up his head-quarters at Dumfries, sent out detachments of his troops to reduce and re-official and military characters and tradesmen were as follows, per day:—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Admiral of the Fleet	2	0
Captains	1	0
Chaplain of the Fleet	0	6
Master	0	6
Seamen, each	0	3
Horsemen	1	0
Bowmen	0	2
Masons	0	4
Carpenters	0	4
Smiths	0	4
Plasterers	0	3
Miners	0	3
Labourers	0	2
Boys or Apprentices	0	2
A Woman	0	1½
PRICE OF OATS PER QUARTER IN 1300.		
January, at Holderness	2	2
July, Newcastle-upon-Tyne	2	6
Do. in Scotland, per boll	0	4
Bear, do.	0	8
Barley	0	10
Wheat per quarter, at Cawode,		
York	4	0
Do. in Scotland	1	4
Do.	1	8
Hire of Cart per day	0	6

ceive into subjection the different towns and fortresses of Galloway, which had not yet acknowledged his dominion, or given up all hope of independence.* The Scots, who now believed that their only chance of preserving the liberties of their country, was to obtain a secession of hostilities, took advantage of the mediation of the Bishop of Galloway, the Earl of Buchan, and Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, and had an interview with Edward for this purpose; but demanding with that spirit of freedom, which had not yet deserted them in their adversity, that their lawful sovereign, Baliol, should be set at liberty, and again permitted to reign over them, and that their private estates, which had been unjustly seized by Edward, and bestowed upon his favourites, should also be restored; the brave king, who had scarcely received them otherwise than as rebel subjects, firmly and promptly refused to listen to their proposals, and their northern blood being inflamed at this treatment, they openly defied him, said that they would rather perish by the sword than yield to an ignominious slavery, and left him with little ceremony.

The young Queen Marguerite, the sister of the King of France, accompanied Edward on this occasion, and gave birth to a son, Thomas,

* Rymer, vol. I. p. 921.

at Bothertown, a village in Scotland, which he assumed as his surname.*

Buchan and the Regent now joined the Scottish army, which was lying near Irvine, a sea-port town on the coast of Ayr, and Edward, who by this time began to feel the effects of want, drew down his troops to this quarter, that he might receive some supply of provisions from his ships, where he remained for eight days; and observing the Scottish army on the opposite side of the river, the Earl of Surrey and the Prince of Wales were sent with strong detachments to dislodge them, but they at first resisted the attacks of the English, who came in contact with them at Swin; † and it was not till Edward had joined them at the head of his troops, that they retired to the impassable bogs and mountains in the neighbourhood. ‡ To pursue was only with the English the action of a moment; but their heavy armed troops being unable to proceed through the rough defiles, and the Welsh soldiers, who were accustomed to this mode of fighting, refusing, Edward was under the necessity of

* Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 193.

† Matth. Westminster.

‡ The Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 193, says he effected nothing in this expedition, and that the Scots retreated to their fens and groves.

making overtures of peace, and listening to the plenipotentiaries of the King of France.*

After the defeat of Wallace, Edinburgh fell into the hands of the English again, and John de Kingeston was appointed Constable of the Castle of Edinburgh; † who received from Edward, on this occasion, stores and provisions, together with a letter addressed to him and nine other knights and governors of castles, to defend their fortresses to the last extremity.

31st October. A truce was the meanwhile mediated between the two contending powers, through the good offices of France, which again renewed her negotiations, after much artful manœuvring by Edward, who agreed to it on account of the favour which he bore to his dear friend the King of France, and not as the ally of Scotland; and a writ, commanding its observance, was addressed by Edward I. to Robert Hastang, his Viscount de Rokesburgh; to John Bourdon, Viscount of Berwick; Earl March, and Simon Fraser, Keeper of the Forest of Selkirk. ‡ This truce was in force till Whit Sunday 1301, and

* *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 921. Walsingham, p. 78.

† Mons Johan de Kingeston, Conestable et Gardeyn du Chastel de Edinburgh Ordinance sur le Gouvernement d'Ecosse.

‡ Writs 28 Edward I. Docum. Palgrave the Editor, N. 129. p. 248, copy of original.

the peace of the marches was committed to the wardens of the respective countries, John de St. John, and Adam de Gordon.* The Bishop of Glasgow, the most intriguing prelate of the kingdom, again renounced the cause of independence, and renewed his allegiance to Edward, swearing upon the croyz gneytz, and black rood of Scotland, believed to contain a part of the real cross.† In the meantime, the Scottish émissaries at Rome procured, through their intrigues in the papal court, a more threatening remonstrance from Boniface VIII., against the iniquitous conduct and tyrannical usurpation of the English King in Scotland, than they had been able to obtain from Philip le Bel of France.‡

The Pontifical Sovereign had not yet abated any of his high pretensions as the common father of Europe, and the King of Kings. The power of this skilful and highly selfish court, was enlisted for once in the cause of patriotism, by one of those pious frauds which it had so often passed upon the world, or, perhaps, by something more substantial; and asserted, in the plenitude of its ignorance and superstition, that Scotland owed its conversion to the

* *Fœdera*, ii. 868—870.

† Aldred, p. 349, apud Twisden.

‡ *Scala Chronica*, p. 125.

Christian Faith, by the relics of St. Andrew's, consisting of one joint of the saint's arm, three fingers of his right hand, one tooth, and one knee-pan, a pious fraud, which we find supported by our gravest chroniclers and historians;* that it held, therefore, of the Court of Rome, and owed allegiance to the Pope, and charged Edward with intruding into the patrimony of the Romish Church, and enjoined him to resign the kingdom into the hands of the legate.† The Archbishop of Canterbury was charged to deliver this remonstrance of Boniface to Edward, which he did on his return to New Abbey on the Solway. At the imminent risk of his personal safety, he proceeded upon this mission; and having passed with his learned clerks and dignitaries, his chariots and horses, to Kircudbright, which was infested with bands of robbers, and the more dangerous sands of the Solway, he delivered to him the Papal bull, near the Castle of Caerlaverock.‡

The English barons had deep grievances to be redressed; the great charter had not been strictly observed by their Sovereign, Edward; the forest law had been violated; and they

* Chronic. de Regist. Prior St. Andrew's. Trivet, p. 319. Fordun. lib. ij. c. 58.

† Scala Chronica, p. 126.

‡ Prynne, Hist. Edw. i. p. 882.

were unwilling to enter upon a period ~~war~~ with their neighbours the Scots, until they had secured their own liberties and independence, by wresting from the crown some of its rights and privileges; which secured the liberty of the subject, and established the crown upon a more popular and permanent basis. This circumstance added to the weight of the Archbishop's message, and induced him the more readily to undertake it.* The Pope required Edward, on pain of his highest censures, to release the Scottish clergy, particularly Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow; to remove his officers from the patrimony of the church, and those whom, by force or fear, he had appointed to govern the nation under him; to refrain from prosecuting his unjust claims upon Scotland, which had ever been a free and independent nation, and renounce his feudal pretensions. These he shewed to be fallacious, by the treaty concluded by Edward himself, for the marriage of his son, the Prince of Wales, with Margaret, the heiress of Scotland, and the salvo which the Scottish monarchs were wont to make, when they swore fealty to England for their possessions in that country.†

He shewed that King Alexander III. was

* Langtoft's Chronicle, p. 308.

† Fædera, ii, p. 844. Prynne, iii, p. 879. Fordun, xi, p. 35. Walsingham, p. 78.

entreated by the letters patent of Edward, to attend his coronation as a matter of favour, not of right, and that the wardship of his grand-daughter of Norway would have been conferred on the English King, had he been Lord Superior of Scotland, and had a claim on that country :* while the express declaration of Edward, also by letters patent, to these nobles, who attended his court during the controversy, that he received their attendance as strangers, and not of right, shewed, that he had no claim of superiority over the Scottish King, or his subjects. That when the King of Scotland did homage for the lands of Penrith and Tynedale, he openly protested that this homage was made, not for his kingdom of Scotland, but for his estates in England ; that the freedom and independence of Scotland was fully secured, during the confusion which took place after the death of the maiden of Norway, and while Edward acted as arbiter between the contending candidates for the Scottish crown. The Pope concluded this formidable bull, by bringing forward his own claims to be liege Lord of Scotland, which he said had, from the most remote antiquity, belonged to the Romish See, and which was still the property of the Pontiff ; a claim which was

* *Fœdera*, vol. i. part ii. p. 907. Knighton, 25, 29. This bull is dated 5th July, 1299.

never before heard of, and which bears in its front its own refutation.* “Your Royal Highness may have heard, and we doubt not but the truth is locked in the book of your memory, that of old, the kingdom of Scotland did and doth still belong in full right to the Church of Rome, and that neither your ancestors, Kings of England, nor yourself, enjoyed over it any feudal superiority.” But at the same time, he added, “Should you have any pretensions to the whole or any part of Scotland, send your proctors to me within six months; I will hear and determine according to justice, and take the cause under my particular cognizance.” He charged Edward, as the beloved son of the church, not to fail in sending his commissioners to his Holiness, who cherishes like Mount Zion, those who trust in the Lord.

“Neither Mount Zion nor Jerusalem,” said the King, “shall prevent me from defending what all the world knows to be my just right, so long as there is breath in my body: but I am unwilling finally to reply to my holy father, until I consult my prelates, nobles, and people, whom this message concerns.”† It was not the interest of the King of England,

* *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 848. Datum Agnanis quinto Kalendas Julii Pontificatus Bonifacii anno quinto. *Chronicon de Lanercost*, an. 1300.

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 923, late edition.

at this time, to irritate the holy father, since he held in his hands Gascony, and had not given it to any one; and when the prelate again appeared, he thus addressed him:—"My Lord Archbishop, you have delivered me, on the part of my superior and reverend father, the Pope, a certain admonition touching the realm and state of Scotland. Since, however, the present business not only affects the state of Scotland, but the rights of England, I am unwilling finally to reply to my holy father, as many prelates, earls, and barons are now absent, till I hold counsel with my nobility, and with their advice, transmit an answer to his Holiness by messengers of my own."

The bull of the Roman Pontiff, who exercised a great control over the kings and warlike barons of the age, was not by any means looked upon as a light matter in England. Its sovereign disbanded his army, summoned his parliament, and solemnly setting about answering this appeal of the Holy See, commanded the abbots, priors and monks to search their monasteries, for all documents relative to the right of the King of England, and the feudal subjection of Scotland, and the most learned of the universities to meet him and his parliament, and advise with him on the claims of their spiritual father the Pope, and of England to be Lord Pa-

rainount of Scotland.* He now confirmed, in a formal manner, the forest laws, which had been evaded till now, that he might conciliate his people, who refused to aid him in his wars, and were likely to defeat the Scottish invasion.†

The English Parliament and King were now actively engaged at Lincoln, in answering the claims of the Roman Pontiff, and refused to submit to his judgment, although Edward acknowledged the Pope as his superior, which he did in feudal right, the kingdom having once been resigned into his hands by the King, but not the estates; nor would the Parliament permit the King to do so. They denied that ever Scotland belonged to the church; as he had never answered, nor ought he to do so, for his privileges and temporalities before an ecclesiastical court; that in temporal affairs, the English nation was independent of the See of Rome, and endeavoured, by the most minute search, to deduce the superiority of England over the northern part of the nation, from the time of Eli and Samuel, when they asserted that the British empire was founded by Brutus and Trajan; as well in the times of the Britons as of the Saxons.‡

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 922.

† Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 146.

‡ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. pp. 883-888.

They were careful to display all the instances of homage which the Scottish kings had rendered to the English, from the period of Edward the Elder, and particularly that which William offered to Henry II., without taking notice of the open renunciation of all such fallacious pretensions by Richard the Black Prince, and others; and by assertions equally bold and untrue with those of Rome, and a miracle which was performed by King Athelstane, to establish the feudal claims of England, they endeavoured to prove the superiority of the one country, and the dependence of the other.*

The Parliament refused to submit its rights to the Pope, and answered: "Having diligently considered the letters of his Holiness, it is now, and for the future shall be, the unanimous and unshaken resolution of all and every one of us, that our Lord the King, concerning his rights in Scotland, or other temporal rights, must in no wise answer judicially before the Pope, or submit them to his judgment, or draw them into questions by such submission; and that he must not send proxies or commissioners to his Holiness, more especially when it would manifestly tend to the disinheritance of the crown and royal dignity of England, to the notorious subversion of the

* *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 883.

state of the kingdom, and to the prejudice of our liberties, customs, and laws delivered to us by our fathers; which, by our oaths, we are bound to observe and defend, and which, by the help of God, we will defend, by our whole force and power. We do not, we ought not, we must not permit our King to attempt measures subversive of his royal rights, and that government which we have sworn to defend, and which we will maintain. Wherefore, we reverently and humbly entreat his Holiness, to permit the King to possess his rights in peace, without domination or disturbance."*

This bold and spirited answer of the Parliament, was accompanied with one hundred and four seals of the nobility appended to it, and a letter to the Pope.† The evidence of the independence of Scotland, and the historical documents upon which the Roman Pontiff founded his pretensions to the supremacy of that country, were furnished to him by that artful and intriguing partisan, Baldred Bissett;‡ William Englesham, William Frier, Professor of Canon Law in the University of

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 875.

† Rymer, vol. i. part ii. p. 932, new edition. Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 146; dated Lincoln, 12th January, 1301.

‡ Rymer, vol. ii. p. 883. Walsingham, p. 78. Fordun, lib. xi. c. 35.

Paris, the Scottish Commissioners ; and, however ridiculous these were in themselves, they occasioned no small embarrassment to Edward, who found sufficient employment with his Parliament during the truce, which afforded a seasonable relief to the distracted interests of the Scots, in answering and satisfying the demands of the ambitious ecclesiastics, which Edward attempted to do in a private letter to the Pope.*

In this letter, which was sent to Rome about two months after the meeting of Parliament, he declared that it was intended to satisfy the conscience of the Pope, and not forwarded to him as a judge ; and he gave, at great length, the historical reasons for his claims over Scotland, which are scarcely worthy of notice, and his reasons for invading that country.†

The effect of these proceedings soon appeared ; Edward was frightened into compliance, in some measure, with the papal demands. As the Pontiff laid claim to the kingdom of Scotland, in consequence, as he said, of its conversion to the faith by the relics of St. Andrew, so the King of England met him with a claim of superiority over Scotland, equally

* Fordun, p. 984.

† Fordun, a Hearne, p. 984. Rymer, vol. i. part ii. p. 932, new edition. Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 147.

potent and conclusive. Athelstane, King of England, said he overcame the rebellious Scots in battle, through the intercession of St. John of Beverley. He prayed, through the same intercession, for a visible sign, whereby all men of that age, and of the ages to come, might know that the Scots were of right subject to England. Having thus spoken, he drew his sword, struck a flinty rock in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, and made a gash in it of about an ell in length. The evidence of this miracle is twofold: First, the mark appears on the rock at this day; second, the legend of the miracle is weekly recited in the church of Beverly, to the praise and glory of St. John.* Such is the puerile nature of the claims of the King of England, and the Pope, to the kingdom of Scotland. The sword of the one was as like to overturn its liberties and independence, as the thunders of the other.

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 883.

CHAPTER V.

EDWARD, who had mustered an army to invade Scotland, was unwilling to disband it without effecting his purpose. In the truce, the original of which is preserved in our treasury, as agreed upon by the Ambassadors of England and France, John Baliol receives the title of King of the Scots from the French, but the English Ambassadors do not designate him; and not satisfied with this, an elaborate diplomatic correspondence took place, in which Edward insists, that alliances made against common right, sound morals, and oaths of fidelity and allegiance, cannot be binding. He therefore denied that the Scots were included under the truce agreed upon between the French and English at Amiens, because John Baliol, late King of the Scots, possessed English properties, for which he owed allegiance to England, and, consequently, was incapable of entering into treaty without its permission; and affirmed that Pope Honorius, in his bulls to the King of the Scots, held it to be treason

for Scotland to make an alliance with France, against the King of England, her natural seignior; and gave in these and other reasons at London, against its validity, as it affected the Scots.*

Upon receiving this remonstrance, Philip, King of France, despatched ambassadors to Edward I., who insisted on the claims of the Scottish nation to be recognized in the truce of Amiens; affirmed that they were included in the treaty as allies, and besought Edward to observe its terms, and preserve the peace.† These ambassadors were Jean de Hospitali and Gobert de Helleville, who insisted also for a safe conduct to the representatives of Scotland; which was granted.‡

The King of England had set a high price on the head of Wallace, and held out great rewards to those who would deliver him into his hands. This brave man had not received the treatment from the nobles of Scotland which he deserved. After the truce had been agreed upon between the English envoys and the Scottish ambassadors, including Lam-

* Les raisons faites a Londres, N. 123. - Documents by Palgrave, p. 250.

† N. 123. Documents by Palgrave, p. 250.

‡ L'ra. Reg. F'ncie de Credencia t. rogatoria P. Scotis; great seal of France, appended with white wax, Doc. 124, p. 262—Palgrave gives a more correct copy than is found in *Fœdera* i. p. 942.

berton, Bishop of St. Andrews, at the French court, and finally ratified by Edward at Dumfries, to be observed from Hallowmas to Whitsunday; * in consequence of which, all the English troops, unless those which were in garrison, were withdrawn,—Wallace retired into France; having been invited by Baliol, the King of the Scots, and Philip, from whom he received a safe conduct.

The visit of Wallace to France, which has hitherto been believed solely upon the authority of the blind minstrel Henry, has been doubted; but it now appears, from documents recently published, † that he went over into this country, where the fame of his exploits had travelled before him, and were sung by the troubadours. It was to the honour of the patriot chieftain, that when he wielded the power of Scotland, he never entertained the selfish view, of raising himself upon the ruins of his country, but exercised his authority, and issued such documents as were necessary, in the name and power of John, King of Scotland. ‡ Baliol, who was upon the Con-

* 30th October, 1300. Wyntown.

† Wallace Papers, published by the Maitland Club.

‡ “Andreas de Moravia et Willelmus Wallensis, duces exercitus Scotiæ, nomine præclari principis Domini Johannis, Dei gratia regis Scotiæ illustris, de consensu communitatis regni ejusdem. Charter de Hexhildesham, vii. die Novembris.”

continent, bestowed credentials upon his faithful commander; and Philip, King of France, sent a herald, who complimented him as the restorer of the rights of his native land, and the upholder of the ancient government of the country; and invited him, in the name of his master, to pay him a visit in France. The letters of safe conduct which he gave to Sir William Wallace, were discovered during the latter days of the veteran, and delivered to Edward at Kingston, by John de Segrave.*

That the hero of Stirling passed a second time to France, rests not only upon these documents, the letters of safe conduct to him by Philip, but appears also to be attested by a manuscript, a composition apparently written previously to the reign of James I., † if not a copy of the blind Minstrel Henry, who gives, in detail, an interesting and sprightly narrative of the second visit of Wallace to France. He embarked on board a merchant vessel, accompanied by a few brave companions; ‡ but was

* Ancient Kalendars, vol. i. p. 134. § 46. The Scotichronicon mentions his voyage to France, after the battle of Roslin,—the second voyage.

† Donation Manuscripts, No. 1226, c. 10, British Museum, consisting of one hundred leaves, in small quarto, written in prose, previously to the times of James I., supposed to be an abridgment of Henry the Minstrel.

‡ Wallace, by Henry the Minstrel, Buke tend, pp. 893—898.

attacked by John of Lyn, off the Humber, who displayed a red sail, surmounted with a flag, bearing three leopards courant; the well-known insignia of Edward, whose depredations on the Scottish coast, and ferocious disposition, were the terror of the Scottish traders. The merchants, encouraged by Wallace and his companions, prepared for the combat by stuffing sheepskins with the wool which they had on board, as a kind of defensive rampart, which received the missiles of the bows and crossbows of the English, till they could lay their vessel alongside that of the enemy. Their leader fell beneath the sword of Wallace, who presented the ship to the merchants, divided the spoil among his followers, when he arrived at Sloicehawyn, and taking his departure, passed through Flanders, and soon reached Paris,* and was again welcomed by Philip as the preserver of liberty, and the pillar of ancient government.†

There is reason to believe that upon this or another occasion, he visited Norway; for he certainly received from Haco, King of Norway, letters of passage, whose existence has lately come to light in this country.‡ Eric,

* Wallace, by Henry the Minstrel, Buke tend, pp. 893—898.

† Ancient Kalendars, vol. i. p. 134, §46. Scotichronicon. ‡ Ibid.

King of Norway, had been one of the claimants of the crown, and arrears were due by Scotland, on his wife's portion; so that Haco had every reason to show attention to the deliverer of his country, and one whose influence had once been great.

Upon his return, Wallace had found that the enemy had spread over the country; and having landed in one of his resorts, he, with his few followers, were obliged to betake themselves to the fastnesses of the country, where the sound of his bugle was heard at midnight; and breaking in upon their encampment, he slew Sir John Butler, the commander of the party sent to pursue them, and escaped under cover of the mist. The war-note of Wallace was well understood in every glen of Scotland, and inspired his friends with confidence and joy, and his enemies with terror; and while Edward lay at Dunfermline in winter, Wallace, the Lord of Badenoch, and Frazer, lived upon spoil, and supported themselves by plunder.* This warlike monarch, Edward, who found a more kindred employment in the hardships of the campaign than the details of the cabinet, in the early part of summer set out again for Scotland, with two divisions of troops, when he had propi-

* Langtoft, vol. ii. pp. 309—320.

tiated the spirit of St. Thomas-à-Becket, by humbly walking barefooted on a pilgrimage to the shrine.* The army of England, Mar. 12. with which, upon the conclusion of the truce, he invaded Scotland, was divided into two parts; the one of which was committed to the charge of Edward, Prince of Wales, and entered by the Western marches; the other, under the command of the King, advanced to the north by Berwick; but the Scots merely came in contact with them in skirmishes; and finding that what the English gained in summer was generally retaken in winter, he determined to remain during that season in this country; his head quarters being at Linlithgow.† The Abbey of Melrose was occupied by Hugh Audley, with about sixty men-at-arms; and John Comyn, one of the regents, who was at this time in Etrick forest, hearing of this, arrived at Melrose privily in the night, and thrusting open the gate, put several to the sword, and took Sir Thomas Gray prisoner, who had occupied a house over the gate, where he defended himself till it was set on fire.‡

13th February. The Scots, during this period, greatly harassed the straggling parties

* *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 936. *Tyrrel*, vol. iii. p. 149.

† *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 200.

‡ *Scala Chronica*, p. 127.

of the English, by removing all manner of provision, and particularly provender for their cavalry.* This, together with the severity of the winter, occasioned the destruction of many of their war horses, and the death of numbers of their troops.† The English king passed his winter quarters at Linlithgow palace, where he kept his Christmas with his son and nobles, and, during this period, instead of taking, he built and fortified a castle.‡ The Scottish regency saw of what importance it would be to prolong their novel mode of warfare, and secure the aid of France against England; and the Steward of Scotland, James Earl of Buchan, John de Soulis, one of the regents,§ and Ingelram de Umfraville, remained for some time at the court of Philip, to secure his assistance, and defeat the policy of England. Edward was now by the French King induced to agree to a truce with Scotland for a short period, and instructed his ambassadors accordingly.|| Those who had secured estates in Scotland during the revolution, saw the advantage of peace; and France, ever

* Chron. Abingd., quoted by Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 148. Trivet, pp. 331, 332.

† Fordun, Lib. xii. c. 1.

‡ Palgrave's Parl. Writs, Chron. Abstract, vol. i. p. 54. Fordun a Hearne, p. 954.

§ Rymer, vol. i. new edit. p. 955.

|| Langtoft, p. 316. .

true to Scotland, supported and urged their mediation with England.

Edward was now more willing to listen to terms of peace : he was arrested thus a second time in his progress, not less by the ravages of want, the incessant attacks of scattered guerilla parties,* and the mediation of France after he had assembled his forces with a fleet of seventy ships ; and, during his protracted campaign, he seems only to have reduced a single castle, Bonkhill, in Merse. The French not only supported the Scots upon this occasion as their allies, but insisted, though without effect, on the acknowledgment of Baliol as King, and procured for this miserable country a truce for another year.†

But it was not to be supposed that this armistice was very well observed, either by the English who were desirous of conquering the kingdom, or the Scots who had suffered so much from them. Accordingly, the Scottish army, on the expiry of the truce, was in arms ; and having ravaged that part of the kingdom which acknowledged the English, it seized on several of the castles which Edward had garrisoned, and burnt others to the

* Chron. Abingd. vid. Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 148.

† Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 892, 896, vol. i. p. 936. Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 149, from 6th Jan. 1302, to 30th Nov. 1302, signed at Linlithgow.

ground;* and even threatened to carry their arms into England. Upon the representation of John de Segrave, who had been appointed one of the English guardians of Scotland,† and acted as Marshal of England,‡ Edward directed Ralph Fitz-William, and his principal barons, by the fealty and love which they owed him, to join the guardian with all their horse and foot, paid their allowances by Ralph de Manton, the clerk of his wardrobe, and promised soon to follow them.§

24th Feb. 1302. Both kingdoms were too eager to renew those scenes where cruelty and oppression were not less equally displayed, and an army of twenty thousand men, chiefly veteran men-at-arms, commanded by the most experienced leaders, was despatched to the north under the command of John de Segrave, who had been appointed to the government of Scotland,|| and had transmitted an account of the success of the Scots, who had burnt and destroyed his fortresses and castles,¶ and advanced within a short stage of Edinburgh.**

* Rymer, vol. i. last edit.

† John de Segraf le gardein Descoco. *Scala Chronica*, p. 126.

‡ His erle Marschalle Rogere nohele that tyme met
He went with his banere Sir Jon the Segrave.

Peter Langtoft's *Chronicle*, p. 309, in 1300.

§ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. part ii. p. 947, last edit.

|| Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 111.

¶ *Ibid*, p. 3. ** Hemingford, vol. i. p. 197.

Comyn the regent, Sir Simon Frazer, who had again joined the standard of freedom, and had gained intelligence of their movements, proceeded at the head of a small but select band of eight thousand men-at-arms, joined it is said by Sir William Wallace, the consistent patriot;* and by a forced march from Biggar to Roslin, surprised the first division of the English army, early in the morning, near Roslin, where they had pitched their camp,† before they had left their couches, which receiving the attack of the Scots, was broken, and forced backward with great slaughter, Segrave being wounded and taken prisoner, together with sixteen knights, and his brother and son, who were secured in bed.‡

The second column, which had learned with dismay the defeat of their general, at the head of his choicest troops, and of the cruel slaughter of the prisoners, were met with the same resolute bravery, struggled long but in vain to retrieve the fortune of the day, and were at last borne down by the impetuosity and gallantry of the Caledonian circles;§ and Ralph de Manton Comfrey the cofferer, who paid the

* Walsingham, Chronic. Abingdonensis, Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 153.

† Scala Chronica, p. 126.

‡ “Our men in Scotland with sautes sodeynly
The Segrave myght not stand, Sir Jon took the gaynstie
His sonne and his brother of bedde als thei woke,
And sertene knyghtes other, the Scottis alle them toke.”

§ Fordun, vol. xii. p. 2.

Langtoft, p. 319.

soldiers their allowance, was taken prisoner. It was in vain that Ralph, though an ecclesiastic, begged, or proposed to ransom his life from Sir Simon Fraser; his priestly frock could not on this occasion save him, since the Scottish commanders had issued a cruel order, to give no quarter, as it would have been impossible for them to have done their duty to the country, cumbered with prisoners. "Where is thine albe, or thy hood?" said the chieftain; "this laced hauberk is no priestly habit. Often have you robbed us of our lawful wages; it is now our turn to sum up the account, and settle the reckoning;" upon which, with relentless animosity, Sir Simon cut off his hands, and with his broad sword or battle-axe severed the head of this unfortunate ecclesiastic from his body.* When the prisoners had, with a policy which every humane person must execrate, been put to death, the third division, under Sir Robert de Neville, who had distinguished himself in the Welch war, ascertaining from the fugitives but too correctly the state of affairs in the front of the army, had the precaution to halt; and being engaged in the celebration of mass, formed a rallying centre for his fugitive countrymen,—menaced the Scottish stragglers whom he found upon the field stripping the

* Rymer, vol. i. p. 608. Trivet, p. 336.

dead, and succeeded in recovering some few prisoners.* The Scots, many of whom were wounded in these two engagements, had no sooner taken some refreshments, were arranged again in order, and joined by the followers of the camp, who had armed themselves with the spoils of the enemy, than with a sudden display of military ardour and glory, they decided the fate of the day, and chased the English from the field.† This day's success, crowned with three victories, and the defeat of twenty thousand men by a handful, which the English writers appear to be somewhat tardy in admitting, put a check to the arrogance of Edward, confirmed the wavering authority of the regents, animated in some degree the drooping hopes of the nation, and secured to them all the fortresses and castles in the southern part of the kingdom,‡ and would have been glorious, had it not been stained with the blood of the captive.§

13th August. Boniface VIII., who failed in proving Scotland to be a fief of the Romish see, addressed the Scottish people in the high-sounding language of that artful court, and particularly Wishart, Bishop of

* M. Westminst. p. 465. Walsingham, vol. i. p. 87, Fordun, lib. xii. c. 2.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 197. Trivet, p. 336.

‡ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 197. Fordun, xii. 2.

§ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 117.

Glasgow, whom he blamed as the chief instigator of those fatal disputes, which had arisen between the Scottish nation, and his son Edward, King of England.

“ I have heard with astonishment,” said the Pope, “ that you, as a rock of offence, and a stone of stumbling, have been the prime instigator and promoter of the fatal disputes which prevail between the Scottish nation, and Edward, King of England, my dearly beloved son in Christ, to the displeasing of the Divine Majesty, to the hazard of your own honour and salvation, and to the inexpressible detriment of the kingdom of Scotland. If these things are so, you have rendered yourself odious to God and man. It befits you to repent, and by your next earnest endeavours after peace, to strive to obtain forgiveness.”*

The Bishop of Glasgow had just been delivered from prison, and renewed his oath of allegiance to the English King ; but, animated in some measure by the love of his country, but more by an irresistible desire of change and intrigue, for which he was distinguished, he had encouraged if not supported the Scottish patriots. The Pope, at the same time, addressed a bull to the other Scottish prelates, commanding them by the allegiance which

* Rymer, vol. i. p. 948, new edit.

they owed to the head of the church, to cherish peace between the two kingdoms, and threatening, if they failed in their obedience to the Holy See, to adopt measures more stringent and alarming.* It was a distinguishing feature in the history of these loose times, that truth and justice were seldom recognized, in the transactions which took place between sovereign princes ; and Edward, who, no doubt, was exposed to many temptations, displayed, perhaps, less repugnance in violating the sacred principles of integrity and political honour in his dealings with Scotland, it may be, than any other crowned head in Europe. But the sequel of this national struggle shews that honesty is the best policy. The example of the pontiff was too speedily followed by the most ancient ally of the Scottish kingdom.

The valour and patriotism of the Scots were by no means equally supported, by the address and diplomatic skill of their ambassadors or commissioners at the court of France, who permitted a treaty to be concluded between Philip of France, and England, without providing for the peace of Scotland. They had sent over into that country, the Bishops of St. Andrew's and Dunkeld, James the Steward of Scotland, the Earl of Buchan, Ingram de

* Rymer, vol. i. p. 942, new edit.

Umfraville, and John Soulis, one of the regents.* The French king deceived the deputies, by inducing them to remain at his court, under the pretence that he would mediate a peace with England and Scotland, while he well knew that Edward had already begun the war. In the letter which they at this time sent into Scotland to the governor and nobility, they called upon them not to be alarmed, because the Scots were not mentioned in the treaty, which the King of France had concluded with England at Paris, stated that the King of France, would immediately send ambassadors to divert Edward from war, and to procure a truce, until the two kings can have a personal conference in France, and that peace would be concluded at that conference, agreeable to their wishes, and beneficial to Scotland. "Of this, the King of France, himself, has given us the most positive assurance," they observed. It was the opinion, both of the English and French councillors, that our peace would be negotiated, with more facility, and on better terms, if the two kings were once united in friendship and affinity by the marriage of the Prince of Wales and a daughter of France.

* Rymer, vol. i. new edit. p. 955 ; tom. ii. p. 929, old edit.

“You would greatly rejoice,” say they, “if you were aware what a weight of honour this last conflict with the English has conferred upon you throughout the world. Wherefore, we beseech you earnestly, that you continue to be of good courage. And if the King of England consent to a truce, as we firmly expect he will, do you likewise agree to the same, according to the form which the ambassadors of the King of France shall propose, by one of our number who will be sent to you. But if the King of England, like Pharaoh, shall grow hardened, and continue the war, we beseech you, by the mercy of Christ, that you quit yourselves like men, so that by the assistance of God, and your own courage, you may gain the victory.”*

While the Scottish commissioners were amused in this manner by Philip, who, in his negotiations with Edward, either overlooked his allies, or failed in his attempts; Edward, who had hitherto been prevented from directing his undivided attention to the subjection of Scotland, by his foreign relations, which was so far favourable to the cause of liberty, and the views of the regency, now prepared himself with vigour to mature and prosecute his

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. new edit. p. 955, June 8th, 1303. *Fœd. t. ii.* p. 929, old edit.

designs with regard to that country. He abrogated many of the old laws and usages of the kingdom, anxious to assimilate both countries in this particular; and summoning a parliament at St. Andrew's, where he was met by the Scottish barons and nobility, with the exception of Sir William Wallace, Sir Simon Fraser, and Oliphant, the Governor of Stirling Castle, who alone represented the cause of national liberty and independence, they were denounced as outlaws, and put under the ban of the empire.* The name of Wallace was, however, in itself a tower of strength; his heroic deeds were even celebrated in the songs of the Troubadours on the Continent; † and doubtful of being able to subdue him by arms, Edward made use of an instrument not less powerful, and held out to him a lure, the crown of Scotland, which, had he been an ambitious man, might have satisfied his highest wishes. But his was a character yet more noble and perfect; and disdainful to hold even a crown in fief of England, he nobly preferred to live and die a patriot, rather than the crowned slave of a foreign master. "O! desolated Scotland!" said this exalted man, when pressed by his

* Trivet, 333. Fordun, xii. p. 3.

† See Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 176.

friends to accept; "too credulous of fair speeches, and not aware of the calamities which are coming upon you. If you were to judge as I do, you would not willingly put your neck under a foreign yoke."* Peace had been hastily agreed on with France, that Edward might bend the whole power of the nation to the conquest of Scotland, which the late signal defeat of his arms required him to begin anew; and the Scottish commissioners, who had been most cruelly deceived by the French, could only console Comyn the Regent, a prince of the blood royal, who seems to have taken upon himself the chief direction of affairs, and the nation with "the positive assurance," which the King of France had given, that he would speedily negotiate for them a truce, and, finally, a lasting peace, † although he had left them out in the treaty of Paris. ‡ In this manner, these warlike knights were detained at the court of France, and deceived.

There were no continental projects now to divert the mind of Edward from his Scottish war. The Pope of Rome favoured his enterprise; his late enemy, the king of France

* Fordun, lib. xii. c. 3.

"Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum;
Nunquam servili, sub nexu vivito fili."

A proverb which he frequently quoted.

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 929.

‡ *Fœdera*, vol. i. pp. 946—952, late edition.

glad to purchase peace by the sacrifice of his Scottish allies, no longer distracted his efforts ; and the triumphs of the sword of Wallace in England, under his own eye, and the recent defeat of a powerful army at Roslin, still rankled in his breast ; and he swore, by an oath not to be repeated, that Scotland should either bend to his yoke, and all her patriots be forced to do him homage, or be turned into a desert. The few noble-minded chiefs, who had hitherto struggled so successfully to maintain the liberty of their country, and scorned to bind themselves to his car, found their efforts of little avail to preserve the independence of the kingdom, or resist the tide which was now setting in, and would soon overrun the land.

The English King, meanwhile, assembled an overwhelming army, and a great fleet to co-operate with it, and supply the needful provisions from his vassals in England, France, and Ireland. The one division of the army, which was separated into two parts, was placed under the command of his son, the Prince of Wales, who directed his course to the western marches ;*

May 10. Edward himself, with the other, passed the Tweed, traversed the southern part of the kingdom, and as there were few fortifications in the hands of the Scots, which he

* Langtoft, 321. Hemingford, 205.

stopped to reduce, and that people had learned, from the late events of the war, to avoid a general engagement with so powerful an adversary, he proceeded, with little molestation, from Newcastle by Morpeth and Roxburgh* to Edinburgh, till he reached Brechin Castle, avoiding the dangerous pass by Stirling, before which he sat down with his army. This brave garrison was under the command of the gallant Sir Thomas Maule, who made a noble defence against the impetuous assault of the whole English troops, who endeavoured to carry it by storm. All the efforts of the enemy did not quell the intrepidity of this hero, who stood upon the walls cheering his men, and contemptuously wiping off the rubbish of the battering artillery, with a towel in his hand; and while he was mortally wounded by one of these missiles, he answered those indignantly who wished him to surrender: "What, cowards! yield up the castle?" and instantly expired.† The combined fury of the assailants, with this animating example before them, was not able to reduce this insignificant fortress till next day, when the flag of England appeared upon the walls, after a siege of twenty

* Prynne, p 1017. May 21st, 1303.

† Liber. Garderobæ Edward I. fol. 15. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 205. Fordun, lib. xiii. c. 3. M. Westminst. p. 446. Frædera, l. ii. p. 934. Trivet.

days ; and Edward, meeting with no opposition, made a progress through the north-eastern parts of the kingdom.*

The intrepid King then proceeded to Kincardine, and from thence to Aberdeen, Aug. 24. where he remained some days, from which he directed his march by the coast of Banff, on the Moray firth, without proceeding into the interior.† He then advanced to Kinloss, Nairn, and Lochindorb, a fortalice situated upon an acre of ground in a loch, with watch-towers at the corners, where, in the county of Moray, he received the homage and oaths of those who lived on the banks of the Spey, and even to this day the name of Edward Longshanks has been handed down in this quarter,‡ who, unwilling to proceed farther, concluded a peace with the northern parts of the kingdom.§ During the commencement of the harvest, he visited Kildrummie, the seat of the Earl of Mar, in Mar, a strong castle on the banks of the Don,|| which, if it then fell into his hands, was in possession of

* Rymer's Collections—Prynne. Ryley, p. 369.

† On 4th September he was at Banff.

‡ Statistical Account of Annandale.

§ In propria persona, ad Lochindorb pervenit, et ibidem aliquamdiu moram faciens, partes boreales ad pacem cepit, Fordun.

|| Prynne, 8th October, 1015—1017.

the patriots early in 1306;* and from thence he returned to Kinloss, and afterwards to Dunfermline, by the way of Dundee, Cambuskynel, and Kinross, where he spent the winter,† and was joined by the Queen.‡

Bruce, who, from policy, had declined to use his authority as a regent, and unable to gain that important post in the command of the nation which he sought after, seldom appeared openly in the patriotic confederacy; and dreading the retaliation of Edward, from whom his lands had already suffered greatly, he seems to have been among the first of the Scottish barons who submitted to the conqueror, having surrendered himself to John de St. John, an English commander.§ Edward took up his winter quarters in Dunfermline, where his soldiers sacrilegiously burnt and destroyed its noble Benedictine abbey, with the exception of the church, and a few monkish cells, the frequent resort of the Scottish Parliament, a fabric so magnificent, that three sovereign princes, with their numerous reti-

* After 24th August, 1306. Barbour, vol. i. p. 51.

† Prynne, p. 195, 1615, 1022. He was at Kildrummie, 8th October, 1303; at Kinloss, in Moray, again, 10th October; at Dundee, 20th October; at Cambuskynel, 1st November; at Kinross, 10th November; at Dunfermline, 11th December. Prynne, pp. 1017—1022.

‡ See note F, Appendix.

§ Ryley, p. 369.

nues, could conveniently have been lodged within its precincts.* This magnificent abbey was doomed to destruction, "because they had converted the house of the Lord into a den of thieves, by holding their rebellious parliaments within its walls."†

While Edward held his court on the banks of the Forth, Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, the governor Wallace, and Freselle, or Sir Simon Fraser, were at no great distance from his quarters, and supported themselves, at this precarious season, on the plunder of the enemy, living in the woods and mountains ‡ The cause of the patriots was now in a most deplorable state; Stirling Castle, under the protection of Sir William Olifant, was alone in their possession, and in order, if possible, to save it, and make the last stand in favour of the national independence, Comyn assembled the shattered remains of the Scottish army on the south bank of the Forth, to prevent the passage of the bridge.

Edward was not aware, till he reached the river, that the bridge had been destroyed by the Scots after the defeat of Cressingham, for

* Matthew of Westminster, p. 446. † Ibid.

‡ "The Lord of Badenauh, Friselle, and Waleis,
Lyned at theues lauh euer robband alle weis.
Thei had no sustenance, the werre to mayntene,
Bot skulked opon chance, and robbed ay betuene."
Langtoft's Chronicle.

they had resolved to pass the river by the bridge,* had not the Scots imprudently destroyed it; and had he attempted the passage, which is not likely, he might have shared the fate of his general. As soon as he arrived, he pitched his tents and prepared for dinner, when John Comyn approached on the opposite bank with the whole power of the Scots; upon the appearance of whom, the English army seized their arms, mounted their horses, and with these, the King himself entering the river, found, as Trivet observed, by the direction of the Lord, a ford for himself and his soldiers.†

21st April. The sagacious Edward readily discovered the ford which had enabled the Roman armies to pass that dangerous river, near the rocky height; and when they saw their powerful enemy safely on the other side, this small but irresolute band lost the only resource, which had never yet failed them—their courage, and abandoned their position and country to the irresistible power of the invader.‡

An English parliament or convention was now held at St. Andrew's during Lent, to

* Trivet mentions that this had been his intention, p. 337.

† Trivet, *ibid.*

‡ Trivet, p. 333. Ryley, p. 369.

which the great barons of Scotland were summoned, and attended, with the exception of Wallace and Sir Simon Fraser, who, together with the garrison of Stirling, were outlawed.* When Wallace heard that Fraser had yielded to the fine and banishment, he left his fastnesses at Dunfermline, and through the mediation of his friends, proposed, on condition of liberty, to roam in the forest, the preservation of his property and effects to him and his, to surrender himself into the hands of Edward; but the English King, who looked upon him as an outlaw and a traitor, offered three hundred marks to any one who should bring his head to town; and, in precipitation, he fled again, to his wilds and mountains.†

When Dunfermline was reduced, Comyn, Earl of Buchan, and his adherents, entered upon a negotiation with the conqueror, who had bestowed upon him the honour of knighthood, that he might obtain the peace of the King. Edward had made a proclamation, that those who might yield submission before Candlemas should neither be harmed in life or limb, nor disinherited, provided they agreed to ransom and make reparation for injuries.

* Trivet, Merton College MS. edition. Fordun, lib. xiii. c. 3.

† Langtoft's Chronicle, vol ii. p. 324.

A meeting was held between the Earl of Ulster, with the other ambassadors of the King, and Sir John Comyn, at Strathorde, on the water of Ord, in Fife, who treated for all to whom he was bound by oath or engagement, and was received without imprisonment and ransom, having resigned his lands into Edward's hands, on condition of being banished for one year from Scotland.*

It was stipulated that neither he nor those for whom he was bound should be liable for any trespass committed against any one, save the English King; † that they should be preserved in the enjoyment of all their laws, usages, and franchises, in all points, as they were in the reign of Alexander; that the ransom of lands should be in the discretion of the King; that he and Sir John Mowbray should be discharged from paying ransom, and enjoy their properties, on doing homage; and that Edward, and the Prince of Wales and baronage, should permit them to adhere to such settled course, as the King of France or the ambassadors of England or Scotland may agree to, and give him and his followers reasonable surety, under their seals, to this and

* Document, No. i. 30, § 2, p. 80; on Wednesday, 4th February, 1304.

† Doc. p. 286, § 2, postea.

the other requests* which were granted.† Sir Simon Fraser, the Stewart of Scotland, Sir John Soulis, late regent along with Comyn, and Thomas du Bois, were, however, excepted; the two former being banished from Scotland for two years, and the castles of the Stewart to be maintained at his own expense, in the King's hand, while the two latter were exiled for three years, unless they should find grace from England.‡ Sir David Graham was banished, for half a year, beyond the Tweed; the Bishop of Glasgow, for two or three years, as penance; and the fortresses, which Edward held in possession until next parliament, were to be kept or garrisoned at the charge of those to whom they belonged.§ Sir William Wallace, who had, by his heroic conduct and noble bearing, incurred the highest displeasure of his enemy, was declared to be an outlaw; and Sir John Comyn, Sir Alexander de Lindsay, Sir David Graham, who were to keep themselves in exile, according to the ordinance in England, were ordered

* Les condicions grantees p. l'Roi a Mons. Johan Comyn t. as autres d'Escoce en venat a lax pes le Roi N. 133. Memoranda 131. Dockets au Viscomte de Abden, et 1288. Postea apud Sti. Velyn, 9 Mai.

† Doc. p. 283, § 7, 5. Docum. Palgrave, N. 130, § 5, 4, 5, p. 281.

‡ Le roi entent que il soit receu a sa volentè et à son ordeinement. Docum. p. 284, § 3, postea.

§ Documents, Palgrave, p. 283, § 1, N. 132.

to use all endeavours to secure Sir William Wallace, dead or alive, that, by this means, they might shorten the period of their exile, diminish the amount of ransom, and be received into high favour with Edward.*

So eager was he to lay hold of the guardian of Scotland, that the seneschal or steward of Scotland, Sir John de Soulis, and Sir William de Umfraville, were prohibited from approaching his presence, until they had secured Wallace;† and so little was he disposed to extend mercy to him, that the guardian was required to surrender at discretion, and be wholly in his power. Wallace and his friends were, the meanwhile, actively employed in organizing an insurrection, which was to break out upon the arrival of Robert the Bruce.

The castle of Stirling, deserted by the barons and people of Scotland, for Comyn appears to have retired on certain conditions, which the gallant bachelor would not accept,‡ and stripped of all external succour, seemed still to cherish the native sentiments of freedom, fed, as they had been, upon the altar and by the ashes of its bleeding country. The patriotic and gallant Olifant, the deputy-go-

* Doc. 126. 32 Ed. I. § 48, p. 276.

† Doc. *ibid.* § 50, p. 276.

‡ Ne deigna conscentir as condiciouns Johan de Comyn, Scala Chronica, p. 127.

vernor of Stirling, scorned to yield up the only remaining fortress of the nation of any importance, and nobly persisted in defending it to the last, against the assailing hosts, unsupported, as he was, by the regent.* To the message of the English King, William Olifant or Olifart, a young bachelor,† refused to deliver up the castle, and, in the chivalric spirit of the age, proposed to pass over into France, if hostilities should cease for a little, that he might learn the will of the governor, John de Soulis, to whom he had passed his knightly word to defend it to the last; but so eager was Edward to complete the conquest of the kingdom, that he would not listen to his gallant proposal,‡ and could scarcely be expected to do so. In vain was all the skill, artifice, and bravery of this warlike age directed against this fortress; Edward, though now sinking under the weight of years, fought with the ardour and heroism of a youthful knight—an imprudent gallantry, which had well nigh cost him his life. While riding near the walls, his horse was overturned by a huge stone, discharged from the ramparts, when he was carried down the hill by his own soldiers,§ and

* Trivet, p. 337.

† Scala Chronica, p. 127. "William Olifart vn jouen bachelor Descoco."

‡ Prynne, Edward I. p. 1051.

§ Matth. Westminster, p. 449.

being struck by a javelin, which stuck between the plates of his armour, he pulled it out, and, shaking it in defiance, cried that he would hang the villain who aimed it at him.* Every warlike machine which the ingenuity of the English could procure was employed,—balistæ, quarrells, and bows were sent him from all parts of the kingdom, and a simple machine, the war-wolf, which committed great havoc.† The walls were shattered by engines capable of throwing stones of upwards of three hundred pounds weight, particularly the Lurdare of Strivelin, which made tremendous breaches in the walls; but they were manfully defended by the besieged, who showered arrows and stones from their warlike engines upon the enemy, which occasioned great sacrifice of lives.

Thirteen engines of war were employed in reducing this fortress, which was but inconsiderably fortified, which discharged leaden balls of great size, made from the leaden roof of the refectory of St. Andrew's, which was torn off for this purpose. But little progress was effected after the siege had been carried on a month, and from the sallies which were made from the garrison, and the promptitude

* Walsingham, p. 89.

† Liber Garderobæ Edw. I. fol. 52.

with which they served their rude artillery, great destruction was made in the English army. Edward now endeavoured to turn the siege into a blockade, by cutting off all communication with the surrounding country; and having written to the sheriffs of York, Lincoln, and London, with an order to send him quarrells, balistæ, bows and arrows, and the governor of the Tower to transmit without delay the apparatus of a siege, he inhibited all knights and esquires from jousts, and tournaments, and feats of arms, without his special licence, in order that he might have their assistance and skill in the siege of Stirling.* Amongst these ancient feudal pieces of artillery there was one dreadful instrument of destruction, the Greek fire, discharging large arrows, to whose heads were fastened balls of burning cotton, which stuck in the roofs of the castle, and communicated fire to the building against which they were discharged. The provision of the garrison began now to fail, and, to add to their miseries, there were thirteen females, the wives and sisters of the knights and barons.

It was not till the ditches were filled up, the outworks destroyed, and the whole pile laid

* Rymer, vol. i. p. 963, 964, new edition.

in ruins, that the heroic governor, who, with his brave companions, gained great honours by his patriotism and spirit, reluctantly raised the flag of truce, after a close siege by Edward and his whole army for the space of nineteen weeks.* Unconditional surrender were the terms of this hard-earned triumph. While the English endeavoured to renew the attack, their walls in many places being thrown down, their stores exhausted, they offered, by their deputies, to surrender, on condition of life and limb; but the noble defence made during two campaigns against the most gallant army ever led against Scotland, induced him to spare the lives of the besieged, now reduced to twenty-six, including two friars, whose names have been preserved,† thirteen maidens and ladies, and one hundred and forty soldiers.‡ They were led, however, in ignominious procession, to the tent of Edward, who received them in great pomp, surrounded by his state officers and nobility, in their shirts, with their heads and feet uncovered, their matted hair hanging over their shoulders, having suffered every indignity, save chains, which a tyrannical and ungenerous nature could devise, and were

* Scala Chronica, p. 927.

† See note, Appendix.

‡ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 206.

compelled, on bended knees, and with uplifted hands joined together, to implore the clemency of their gallant conqueror, and confess their guilt and offence in renouncing his sovereign authority.* This feudal penance was the more ignominious and shameful, that Edward had given a written agreement, when the castle was surrendered, that the garrison should be preserved from all harm and indignity; and yet, with a perfidy which stains the character of this monarch, he treated them with the most marked and cruel contempt,† unless that he did not bind them with chains, cast the governor, who had shown so much heroism, into the Tower, and the rest of the garrison to various castles through England.‡ Having concluded this ignominious scene, unworthy of a monarch otherwise exalted in character as in bravery, and appointing Sir John Livel to be keeper of Stirling Castle, and John de Segrave to the government of Scotland, he again crossed the border, by the way of Jedburgh and Ytholm, and spent his Christmas days at Lincoln, with great state and rejoicing, attended by the principal families of the Scottish nobility, who had deserted the

* *Fœdera*, t. ii. p. 951.

† Fordun, p. 991, a Hearne. Wyntown, ii. p. 119.

‡ Rymer, *Fœdera*, p. 966, latest edition. *Scala Chronica*, p. 127,

cause of their country, and graced the triumph of the conqueror by their presence in his court.*

At this siege Thomas de Gray Chevalier, while engaged in rescuing his master, Henry Beaumont, from the Scots, was struck with a garon from an espringal upon the head, and fell down apparently dead; and they had removed him from the trench, and were in the act of burying him, when he showed some signs of life, and was afterwards cured of his wounds.†

Robert the Bruce and Comyn had both submitted to the Conqueror, each, however, in the hope that he would acknowledge his claim to the sovereignty of Scotland; but the magnificent promises which he had made now appeared doubtful, at least, when he had destroyed almost the only fortress which afforded protection to the patriots. These two powerful barons now lamented the desolate state of the country; her castles dismantled, or in the hands of the enemy; their properties laid waste, and the feudal array of Scotland transferred to a new lord. They agreed to retire from the court of Edward, where they had met with so much dissimulation and perfidy;

* Matt. Westm. p. 450. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 206.

† Scala Chronica, p. 127.

and entering into a mutual bond of manrent by oath and indenture, to restore the liberty of Scotland, Bruce agreed, if he succeeded in obtaining the kingdom through the assistance of Comyn, to make over to him his estates.*

Scotland was for a time subdued by the intrigue and arms of Edward of England. Its aristocracy had submitted to the victor, and yet there was one hero, who scorned to acknowledge or yield to the power of England's king, and who, though he had retired to his native wilds, when driven into exile by the envy and party spirit of the Scottish barons, appears occasionally to have been actively employed in harassing the enemy, in raising, if possible, a new band of patriots, and supporting in secret that noble cause, which already owed so much to his exertions.† He alone refused to surrender his country and his liberty into the hands of a perfidious monarch, who had betrayed the sacred trust which Scotland had reposed in him. Large and magnificent offers of honour and lands are said to have been held out at one time to the patriot by the English monarch, if he would acknowledge him as superior over Scotland; but all these failed in

* Wyntown, vol. ii. 123. Fordun, xii. 5. Barbour;

† Fordun.

subduing his stern virtue, or shaking his allegiance to his sovereign. He owed his life, he said, to his country, and for it he would frankly lay it down; and though every native-born Scotsman should submit to the King of England, yet never should he yield obedience, or swear allegiance to any power save to the King of Scotland, his righteous sovereign.*

The hero of Scotland was now subjected to the insidious pursuit of pretended friends, as well as of open enemies; but while he could avoid and guard against the one, the other, of whom he could entertain no suspicion, could watch his movements, and betray his confidence. Ralph de Haliburton, of whom better things might have been expected, who is one of those who so nobly defended Stirling Castle, † endeavoured to discover the retreats of Wallace and his movements, of which he was not ignorant. At the head of a troop of horse, he pursued his victim into one of those natural fastnesses from which there was no retreat; but Wallace, whose courage never failed him, finding that it was impossible to make head against so many, sprung over a precipice with his charger, and his horse being killed in the fall, he made his escape before his pursuers could reach him, or struck

* Fordun. † Radulfus de Haleburton. Langtoft.

with horror at the daring attempt, they gave him another chance for his life.

When the Castle of Stirling was taken, the English proceeded northward, reduced several strong-holds, and amongst others the Castle of Mal, now Urquhart, at that time belonging to Alexander Boyis (probably Thomas Boyis, who, with Fraser and Sir John Soulis, were excepted when an amnesty was declared),* who, after a bold defence, was slain during the siege. All were put to the sword but the Lady of Boyis, who escaped in disguise, and fled to Ireland, where she was delivered of a son, who afterwards claimed the lands and castle of Mal, or Urquhart, which had belonged to his father Ochonachar; but they had been given to others, and in place of them, Robert I. afterwards bestowed upon him some lands in Mar. †

Edward I., who by this time entertained some suspicions regarding the conduct of Bruce, still deemed the submission of the Scots insufficient, so long as the master-spirit of the age, Sir William Wallace, was at liberty, he who at first excited the Scots to throw off the yoke of slavery, who had alone contended

* Documents, p. 289, § 3, postea.

† Boece's History and Chronicles of Scotland, p. 377, and Traditionary Account: see Matthew Lumsden's History of the House of Forbes, pp. 2, 3.

with splendid and effectual success against England, and who might again endanger her safety, by kindling anew the flames of a sanguinary war. Sir John de Mowbray, a Scottish knight, basely agreed, at the request of Edward, to co-operate with his other minions for the destruction of the inflexible patriot, who alone refused to bend to the conqueror, and for this purpose carried along with him to Scotland Ralph de Haliburton, one of the prisoners lately taken at Stirling, who undertook to seek out Wallace, his late commander, and betray him to this recreant knight.* Wallace, with the advice of his friends, made proposals of surrendering himself to the English monarch, while in the neighbourhood of Dunfermline, on condition of life, limb, and property; but the hatred which he bore to this magnanimous and chivalrous knight was unextinguishable, he looked upon him as a traitor, and those who supported him; cursed him as a fiend, who was ever in his way; gave strict charge to the captains and governors to seek him out, and offered a reward of three hundred merks to those who should bring his head to London.† The only terms

* Ryley, *Placita*, p. 277. *Leland. Coll.* i. 541.

† "Three hundreth marke he hette unto his warisoun
That with him somette, or bring his head to town,"
Langtoft Chronicle, ii. 324.

which Wallace could obtain was unconditional surrender. As for him, it was covenanted that if he thought proper to surrender himself, it must be unconditionally to the will and mercy of the King of England.* Sir Simon Fraser, and those who were excepted from the conditions agreed to by the Regent Comyn, were still active in contriving the deliverance of their country, and ever since the interview which Wallace had with the Earl of Carrick, he was anxious to detach him from the ignominious fetters of the perfidious Edward. Fraser at length yielded, and was fined and banished; but neither he nor the bishop of Glasgow or the rest suffered punishment or lost their estates.†

1305. A negotiation was now entered into with Edward Bruce, his brother, whom he had left to watch over his interests in Scotland, and a messenger despatched secretly to the English Court, whither he had retired, to invite him to assume that crown which had been worn by his ancestors, and which had already been stained by the noblest blood in the nation.

Wallace was actively employed in organizing

* See the Deed of Stipulation between Edward and Comyn, whose commissioners met him at Strathorde, in Fife. Prynne, *Hist. of Edw. I.* pp. 1120, 1121.

† State Papers, Prynne's *Edward I.*, pp. 1119, 1120.

an insurrection on the arrival of Bruce; the rendezvous of the confederates was in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, and Wallace drew near with his party, among which was a relative or follower of Sir John Monteith, Jack Short, who betrayed his designs, and the hiding-place of the patriot, to his master.* The magnificent promises of Edward had hitherto failed in subduing the virtue of Wallace; and while he was permitted to be at large, he saw that the completion of his favourite scheme could never be accomplished,—the conquest of Scotland, nor its incorporation with England. He had stipulated, as a condition of receiving several of the Scottish magnates into favour, that they should become bound to deliver up Wallace into his hands. When Edward made a final settlement for Scotland, John de Bretagne was appointed lieutenant in Scotland, with a council of twenty-two, among whom were the Bishops of St. Andrew's, Dunkeld, Aberdeen and Ross; the Abbots of Melrose, Coupre, Jeddeworth, Dunfermlyn; the Counts or Earls of Carrick, Buchan, Asceles or Athol, and Ross; and Sir John Comyn, Sir John de Mowbray, Alexander de Argyle, Sir Robert de Keith, Sir Duncan de Ferendragh, Sir Adam de Gordon,

* Langtoft calls him a servant.

Sir John de Inchmartyn, and Sir John de Monteith.*

This last member of the council now resolved to betray Wallace, in consequence of some family feud, arising out of the pretensions of the Stewarts, who sought the chief command at Falkirk, into the hands of his enemies, who wished to take his life; and being driven to live on plunder, and long outlawed, he and his friend Kerr had retired into a lonely retreat, said by tradition to be at Robroyston, near Glasgow.

Edward had attempted several plans for securing the patriot, and Sir John Mowbray, a Scottish knight, who attended Court, was sent into Scotland, and ordered to carry with him Ralph de Haliburton, one of the prisoners lately taken at Stirling, to act in unison with the other barons, and enemies of Wallace, whom he had bribed to assist in the pursuit, † particularly Sir John Monteith, at that time sheriff of Dunbartonshire.

August 5. John Monteith, ‡ a son of

* Memorandum, N. 135, Doc. 292, 293.

† Ryley, Placita, p. 279.

‡ Captus fuit Willelmus Waleis, per unum Scottum scilicet, per Dominum Johannem de Mentithe Chronicum de Lanercost, p. 203. He is called Sir John in the original document, offering him a reward for his services. Memorandum, § 6, Documents preserved in the Tower, and now published, p. 295.

the Earl of Menteith, who held for England the most important fortress of Dumbarton, employed his valet and some followers, to watch the outlaws of England, who, as soon as he discovered him, basely betrayed the patriot, and went with the important information to his master.* Wallace was fast asleep with his attendants, when they cautiously took his bugle from his neck, and his arms; and removing his follower while asleep, put him to death. Sir William Wallace had by this time awoke, and grasping a piece of oak, on which he had been seated, laid two of his assailants dead at his feet, determined to defend his liberty to the last, or die in the attempt.

Menteith now advanced to the aperture, represented to him the folly of throwing away his life, and requested him to go with him a prisoner to Dumbarton, as the English had now discovered his retreat; and he is said to have gone with Menteith, trusting more to his professions of protection, than his own powerful arm, and was treacherously committed a prisoner to Dumbarton Castle.†

* Note G, Append.

† Apres quel assege William Walays, fust pris par Johann. de Mentethe, pres de Glaskow, et amiener au roy Dengleterre, qi ly fist trainer et pendre à Londres Scala Chronica, p. 126.

It is stated upon another authority, that he was made prisoner in the house of Rawe Rad, or Ralph Raa, in Glasgow;* but we prefer the account, which agrees with an ancient chronicle, that he was captured near, not in the town of Glasgow.

The popular account of the capture of the patriot chief, on the authority of the Minstrel Henry, which has hitherto received little credit among historians, turns out now to be the true account; an additional proof of the wonderful accuracy of the minstrel, in many of his details. The valet who first discovered Wallace, received from the King of England forty merks,† sixty more were distributed to those who were present, or assisted in taking him; and on Sir John de Menteith, who had been chief actor in this unworthy scene, one hundred livres were bestowed by Edward, which were secured to him in land,‡ who rejoiced that he had now his greatest enemy within his power, and had reduced the nobles of Scotland.

Sir William Wallace was now removed from

* The Arundel MS. 220, and printed in the "Illustration of Scottish History," by the Maitland Club, which gives an account of the capture and execution of Wallace.

† *Fait à remembreri des xl. Mars q' deivent etre dones à un valet q' espia Will. le Walays, N. 137, Documents, p. 295.*

‡ *De la terre, c'est à savoir, cent livres, pour Johan. de Menteith. Memorandum, § 6, Docum. p. 295.*

Dumbarton Castle and carried a prisoner to London, where he appears to have occasioned among the English as much surprise as satisfaction. He was conducted by the way of Carlisle, where he rested a night, and on his arrival in London was sent to the house of William Delect, a citizen of London, in Fenchurch Street, where he was strictly watched. The crowd was so great, who had assembled to see the hero who had reconquered the kingdom of Scotland and subdued the northern part of England, that they found it difficult to proceed, if not dangerous; and instead of being taken to the Tower, he was committed in ward in a private house. He was led in solemn pomp, on the eve of St. Bartholomew, to Westminster Hall, attended by two knights, Sir John de Segrave who acted as Grand Marshal of England, and Geoffrey de Hartlepool, recorder of London; by the mayor, the sheriffs and aldermen of London, and a numerous cavalcade on horseback and on foot, where he was conducted to the southern bench of the hall, and had a crown of laurel placed upon his head (the badge of a conqueror): a piece of mockery which Edward might have well spared, to the last hero of Scottish independence. When he was impeached* by Sir Peter Mal-

* Stow Chron., p. 209; Langtoft, p. 329, 330.

lorie, the king's justice, who accused him of treason, of burning the towns of Edward, and slaying his subjects; he denied that ever he had been subject to the King of England; but confessed, that, as the enemy of his country, he had stormed his castles, slain many of his bravest subjects, and burnt his towns;* but as he owed him no allegiance, therefore could not be considered as a traitor, but an enemy of the King of England, who had been basely delivered into his hand. In running over the particulars of his indictment, he was accused by the judge of checking the conquests of Edward; and when Baliol had forfeited the kingdom of Scotland, and Edward had received the homage and allegiance of the prelates, earls, barons, and others, restored peace to the kingdom which he subdued, and bestowed upon it a system of administration, according to the customs and laws of the land, William Wallace, forgetful of the homage which he owed to the King of England, slew William de Heselrigg, sheriff of Lanark, whose dead body he cut in pieces, and drew his sword against the lord paramount and sovereign of this kingdom, which Edward pretended to be. He was accused of raising a great

* M. Westminster, 451; *Fœdera*, l. 12, c. 8.

force, of storming the English garrisons, and vanquishing his generals, of overrunning Cumberland, Northumberland, and Westmoreland; of having the boldness to oppose the king in battle, of seeking an alliance with the King of France; of summoning parliaments, and sending his writs throughout Scotland, as if he were lord superior of the kingdom: and when vanquished by Edward, of refusing to submit, or avail himself of the conditions of peace held out to him. He denied the King of England's authority to convict him of high treason, and admitted merely that he had fallen into his hands, unfortunately, by the treachery of a friend, and the chances of war.* The judge, who knew the deeply seated resentment which his sovereign entertained against Wallace, would listen to no plea from him, why he should not be tried as a subject, and condemned as a traitor.

August 23.—The sentence pronounced against this patriot was, that he should be hanged, headed, and quartered limb by limb, that his bowels should be taken out and burnt,† and that his head should be suspended above the bridge of London; his right arm, which had carried desolation into Eng-

* Wallace Papers, N. 20. Introduction, p. 27. Transcript from one of the Cotton MSS.

† Chancellor's Rolls, 33 Edw. I. British Museum.

land, as far as the Tyne, should be placed on the bridge above Newcastle-upon-Tyne, his left arm on the walls of Berwick, which he had taken ; his right foot at the village or town of St. Johnston, and his left at Aberdeen.* He was thus subjected to the greatest tortures which malignity and cruelty could invent ; yet, during the trial, Wallace conducted himself with great dignity, and when it was finished he was committed to the Tower, and loaded with irons. The malignity of Edward followed him even to the prison, for there no minister of religion was permitted to attend him, and soothe the anguish of his mind. He was from thence dragged to the elms of Smithfield, the place of execution, on a hurdle, surrounded by a strong guard ; and requesting a priest to make confession, Edward sternly refused him even this consolation in his dying moments. But Winchelsea, the good Archbishop of Canterbury, who had stopped Edward and his army in his cruel devastations on the border, and threatened him with the thunders of the Church, advanced boldly to the King, whose conduct he condemned in the severest man-

* Chronicon de Lanercost, anno 1305, p. 203, published 1839.

ner, and declared his determination to do this last service to the patriot. Wallace kneeled down before Winchelsea, who received his dying confession, administered to him all the consolation in his power, and withdrew from a scene, so cruel and revolting to humanity. While thousands stood around the guardian of Scotland and of Scotland's liberty, he is said to have turned to Lord Clifford, and requested that a psalter, which had been taken from him, his constant companion from his early years, should be restored. The book was handed to him, and he commended his spirit to his God.

After hanging a certain period, while life was not yet extinct, he was taken down from the gibbet,* his entrails cruelly torn out and consumed before him, for burning religious houses; and, agreeably to the sentence, his head was placed on the chief pinnacle of London Bridge, and his mangled hands and arms distributed over the land, at Newcastle, Berwick, Perth, and Aberdeen.† There cannot now be a doubt, that the Scottish patriot was betrayed

* He was executed on that spot in Smithfield now occupied by Cow Lane.

† M. Westminster, 451; Stow, 209; Fordun, lxii. 8; Ryley, 279; Walsingham, 90; Lanercost, MS., fol. 211.

by a friend, Sir John Menteith, who had at one time embraced the unpopular cause of his country, who had served under Wallace against the English, turned his back upon the patriots, and had again sworn fealty to their great oppressor, and who, under the mask of friendship, betrayed his commander and former companion in arms, through the treachery of a servant, John Short, whose brother Wallace had slain in battle.*

This ungenerous conduct of Sir John Menteith,† which deserves to be handed down to posterity, was followed by a similar act, and no less execrable; for, under pretence of giving up to King Robert I. the castle of Dumbarton, on condition of receiving the Earldom of Lennox, he treacherously endeavoured to seize the King, and deliver him over to the English.‡

About the time that Wallace was made prisoner, through the treachery of Sir John Menteith, or in the succeeding year, several others were also secured, and delivered into the hands of Edward, among whom were John de

* Langtoft, vol. ii. pp. 329, 330.

† Menteth immanis proditor relationes de Arnold, Blair, p. 8; Bower's Scottish Cronicle, xii. 8; Bower was born 1385. Langtoft Chronicle, p. 329. Scala Chronicon. Chronicon de Lanercost.

‡ Bower, lib. xii. c. I. 6. 17.

Seton, John and Humphrey, his brothers, who had espoused the side of Robert the Bruce, who being cruelly tied to the legs of wild horses, were drawn; and afterwards hanged. Sir Symon Fraser was among these unfortunate men, a person of the greatest bravery and patriotism; and being first hanged, then quartered, and afterwards decapitated, his head was placed above the bridge of London, beside that of Sir William Wallace, two patriot chiefs who had fought in the cause of liberty, and were not far divided in death.*

Such was the end of these brave men, and the cruel fate of Wallace, whose death will be a stain on the memory of Edward while Scottish history is read. His disinterestedness, his matchless valour, and the love of his country, which deserted him not in the agonies of death, have raised for him a lasting monument of glory, and admiration in the hearts of his countrymen; and yet, while the gallant Edward had trusted and pardoned those who had frequently violated their oaths, and renounced their allegiance, he had no confidence to put in the patriotic Wallace, whose soul was animated with truth and heroism, and

* Chronicon de Lanercost, 1306, p. 204, fol. 211. Note H, Appendix.

whose ideas of morality were far removed from the corrupt practices of the age. His stature was lofty and majestic, his face exquisitely beautiful, his eye commanding and bright;* and his native genius carved out a system of military tactics, which paralyzed the power of England for a time, and gave an impulse to Scottish liberty, which even the tyranny, the military resources, and the splendid abilities of Edward, were unable to restrain.

He died the last free man, of a noble and ancient kingdom, the victim of English tyranny, and a martyr to freedom; but out of his ashes liberty again revived, sprung up with greater beauty, and extended over mountain and glen, till the oppression and tyranny of Edward could no longer stand before it, but again recoiled upon his own head. His mangled limbs, which were distributed over the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and were looked upon with veneration on account of the man and his virtues, served for the rallying gonfannon, or banner of liberty; and his death, instead of becoming a bond of union to the two nations, called forth the indignation

* Fordun, lib. x. c. 23. Chronicon de Lanercost, Scala Chronic. Langtoft, p. 329.

and warlike spirit of both, and appears to have kindled them anew in a desolating war.*

* Fragment of verse written in England, in 1306, on the execution of Simon Fraser.

“To warny alle the gentilmen that liueth in Scotlonde,
The Walais wes to drawe, sethe he was an honge;
Al quic biheveded, ys bowels y brend,
The heved to Londone brugge wes send to abide..

* * * * *

Sire Edward oure Kyng, that ful ys of pieté,
The Walais quarters sende to is oune contre;
On four half to honge, huere myrour to be,
There opon to thencke, that monie myhten se.

Ant drede

Why nolden he be war
Of the bataile of Dunbar,
How euell hem con spede?”

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

ROBERT THE BRUCE.

ROBERT DE BRUCE, who occupied so distinguished a place in Scottish history, is generally believed to be descended from a Norman family; yet, from undoubted authority, it appears that the family of de Brus was descended from Earl Sigurd, who possessed the Orkney Islands, Caithness, and Sutherland. He left three sons, Thorfinn, whose mother was a Scottish princess, in the time of Malcolm I., Einar, and Brus, his brothers, but not by the same mother. Brus, who was distinguished for mildness, was a peaceable man, sociable, eloquent, and of good understanding, and seems to have occupied a third of the Orkney Islands previously to the time of the Norman Conquest, acknowledging Olaf, King of Norway, as his sovereign.* Yet the Lord of

* Arnon, the Earl's Scald. Saga of Olaf Haraldson, the saint Heimskringla, Saga vii. vol. ii. p. 131. Laing Edit. about 1018.

Annandale, the great ancestor of Robert de Bruce, enjoyed many noble estates in Yorkshire, and as Lord of Skelton, was distinguished from the time of the Conquest. Whether this family be the same as the Norwegian family, we have not been able to ascertain; but it is not at all unlikely that the descendants of this powerful family may have joined William the Conqueror, when he subdued England, and have received estates in that country.

Robert de Brus, the second Lord of Skelton, a man revered for his prudence as well as eloquence, was sent by Stephen, in company with Bernard de Baliol, to propose terms of peace to David King of Scotland, in 1137, who entertained for him the warmest friendship, and he charged their King with the shedding of much innocent blood, and the enormities committed by his army, which he mourned over; but his benefactor and patron was deaf to all his entreaties, and the Battle of the Standard was the consequence. This nobleman had contracted a friendship with David when he resided in England, as Prince of Cumberland, and when he returned to Scotland, he bestowed upon him the Lordship of Annandale, of which he was superior;* and he thus ac-

* That he accompanied David into Scotland, appears from a grant made by him to the repair of the church

quired extensive estates, both in Scotland and England.

The third Lord Annandale, Robert de Bruce, a man of valour, magnanimity, and piety, was married to Isabel, daughter of King William the Lion; and the fourth of the same name, to Isabel, second daughter of Prince David, Earl of Huntingdon, and son of Henry, Prince of Scotland, the eldest son of David I. The Bruces of Annandale thus became connected with the royal family of Scotland, and ranked amongst the most powerful subjects of Christendom. Robert de Bruce, the sixth Lord of Annandale, accompanied Edward, Prince of England, and Louis I. of France, to the Holy Land, where he acquired great honour and renown by his heroism. One day, as he rode through the domains of Turnberry, he was met by Margaret, Countess of Carrick, accompanied by a splendid retinue, who, captivated by his noble bearing and graceful carriage, invited him to join her in the chase, and share her hospitality. Robert de Bruce, reluctant to form too sudden an inti-

of Glasgow, with the consent of Mathilda, his wife. "Et pocerum et militum meorum Roberti de Brus, &c." Register de Glasgow, inter. ann. 1120, 1124. He founded the monastery of Canons regular at Gysburn, in 1129, and bestowed upon it the patronages of all the churches within the Lordship of Annandale. See deed Dugdale's Baronage, tom. ii. p. 447.

macy with a royal ward without sanction, declined, with the greatest courtesy, her kind invitation; but the young Countess laid hold of the reins of his noble steed, and led him away like a captive knight to her castle of Turnberry. For fifteen days he shared in the festivities of the castle, the first in the chase by the side of the Countess; and having obtained her heart as well as her hand, without the consent of the Scottish King, whose ward she was, or the knowledge of her relatives, they were privately married; in consequence of which, the estates and castle of the young Countess were seized by order of the sovereign, and only escaped the doom of forfeiture by paying to the crown a large fine. The eldest son of these noble persons whose union took place in so romantic a manner, was Robert de Bruce, who was born on the 21st of March, 1274, achieved the deliverance of his country from slavery, and seems to have spent his early days at Carrick, distinguished for his heroic spirit and persevering energy.

Edward I. of England had, with a policy for which his reign is distinguished, induced the competitors for the Scottish crown, to choose him as arbiter, or lord paramount, upon the death of Margaret, the Fair Maid of Norway, to whom young Edward had been affi-

anced. The English monarch, who was naturally of an aspiring disposition, and one of the most active princes of his age, looked upon this unhappy circumstance as the consummation of his long-cherished hope, of uniting the Scottish kingdom to his own. Having, by an artful stratagem, acquired possession of all the fortresses and strongholds of the nation, he laid claim to the kingdom as feudal superior, and gave his decision in favour of Baliol, sprung from the elder daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, on whom the succession of the kingdom had now devolved, in preference to Robert the Bruce, who was descended of the younger sister.* He reduced the kingdom to his authority by these means, and abused that tutelage which he claimed over the weak King, Baliol, who laid Scotland at his feet, and bartered the liberty and independence of the nation for the transient splendours of a crown, which he did not long continue to enjoy.

Edward had, by the terror of his arms, and the consummate skill which he displayed as a politician, established himself superior of the country. He had transferred the sovereign power from Scotland to himself, leaving the unfortunate Baliol little of royalty but the

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 36. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. pp. 590, 593—600.

name, compelled him and the aristocracy of the country, including even Robert the Bruce,* to swear fealty to him as liege lord,—established appeals from the Scottish courts to those of England,† summoning even the King, on the most trivial occasion, to appear at the bar of his parliament as a private individual;‡ and, with the basest perfidy, betrayed the sacred trust of arbiter, converting it into an instrument of oppression, by which he reduced a once independent nation to a state of absolute dependence and abject slavery. One man alone had the magnanimity to assert the cause of liberty, and stand forth as her champion, when every one else had deserted her standard—the brave and heroic William Wallace, who, by his glorious deeds, rescued his country from thralldom and slavery; nor did he perish in this patriotic undertaking, until he had set free the genius of his native land, and lighted up that hallowed flame of liberty, which afterwards burst forth, with such splendour and beauty.§

By means of a groundless claim of feudal superiority, insidiously preferred, and sup-

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 577—579.

† Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 533, 109, 125, 168, 280, 1064.

‡ Ryley's Placit. Parl. pp. 152, 153. Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 603—616.

§ Ryley, 279. Fordun. Stow, Chron. p. 209.

ported by the strongest argument,—that of the sword,—Edward I. deemed the fabric which he had been at so much pains in rearing, complete and impregnable. And so much did he rely on the stability of his power, and the security of his government, that he endeavoured even to subvert the laws and usages of Scotland, and substitute in their place those of his native kingdom, England;* to bury in oblivion the very name and deeds of the country which he had all but subdued, by carrying away and destroying all its ancient records and chronicles of antiquity.† This prince had been at great pains in bending to his will the Scottish King, whom he reinstated upon his throne, in making arrangements for the dependent government which he had formed, in violation of every sacred obligation, and in raising a monument by violence, oppression, and injustice, which was soon to be overturned and erased to the foundation.

In ascertaining the views and designs of Robert de Bruce, we must take a retrospect of some events which we have already traced with fidelity and considerable care.

The grandfather of Robert the Bruce, Robert, Lord of Annandale, had laid claim to

* Ryley, p. 506.

† Leland Collect. vol. i. p. 540.

the crown as son of Isabella, the second daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, when the decision had been given in favour of Baliol, who was descended from Margaret, the eldest daughter, by Edward of England; and refusing to take the oath of homage to his rival, gave up his lands in Annandale, lest he should hold them of Edward's minion, to his son, the Earl of Carrick;—a proceeding which was followed by this prince, in behalf of his son, Robert the Bruce,* in 1293, then serving the King of England.† Young Bruce, whose gallant spirit was afterwards the means of rescuing his country from a foreign yoke; of restoring her to independence, when her sons were about to be reduced to a state of more abject slavery than they had hitherto known; had, during the greater part of the weak reign of his rival, adhered to the fortunes of Edward, to whom he more than once swore allegiance, yielding himself up to an obvious policy, the uncontrollable necessity of circumstances.‡

During these struggles for power, with a well-dissembled policy he appeared sometimes to assert his own pretensions to the crown, the independence of his country; and at other

* Leland Collect. vol. i. p. 540.

† Leland Collect. vol. i. p. 540.

‡ Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 83, 123.

times to yield submission to the superior power of the English king, whom he wished to gain to his side, until a favourable opportunity should offer itself, of openly asserting his rights. Still he viewed Baliol as a rival, who had artfully wrested from him the jewel of his ambition, who had obtained the crown, at the expense of the independence of his country, whose elevation to the throne he looked upon with great envy and displeasure, viewing it as a violent and unjust usurpation of his rights. With such feelings he returned to the English court, fearful of committing his fortunes with those of the feeble-minded Baliol, whose assumption of power he regarded with envy, and whose weakness of character he despised, contemplating him as the author of all the miseries to which Scotland had been reduced; yet he secretly cherished the hope of being one day able to become the deliverer of that unhappy country, and her rightful sovereign.*

Neither Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, the sister's son of Baliol, who inherited his rights, whose family had advanced pretensions to the Scottish throne; nor Baliol (who was connected with the royal family of England through his wife Johanna, a daughter of the

* Leland Collect. vol. i. p. 540. Barbour, B. i. Quarto Edition, 1820.

Earl of Pembroke, whose father had been married to Isabella, the widow of John, King of England) and his adherents; nor the partisans of the King of England, were ranked by Bruce in the number of his friends; whose opposing powers clashed with those of his house. Nor was he displeased that they should continue to waste their resources and strength in a fruitless quarrel, from which he kept aloof, in order to come in for the spoil.

His father, Robert, had been amused by the English king, with the vain hopes that he was subjecting the kingdom to his authority; that, after Baliol's feeble administration had ceased, he would place him upon the throne, in order to detach him the more effectually from the interests of his country, and the few partisans who yet followed the ruined fortunes of Baliol. But when the Lord of Annandale, immediately after the battle of Dunbar, required him to make good his promises of reinstating him upon the throne of his ancestors: he haughtily replied, "Have I nought else to do than to win kingdoms for you?" Upon which he quietly retired from court, whither he never again returned, to his large estates in England.*

Robert might have obtained the crown, if

* Fordun, xi. 25.

he would have held England, and acknowledged its king as senior of Scotland; but he would not receive it at his hands on any other terms, than as a free crown which had been worn by his ancestors, and of right belonged to him.* Of the Scottish barons, not a few who had appeared in arms against him, fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the usurper; and amongst others, Sir William Douglas, who had frequently joined Wallace in his patriotic attempt to set his country free, and had also submitted to Edward at the capitulation of Irvine, was thrown into prison after Wallace had resigned the regency, and was afterwards put to death in a cruel manner,† and his lands were bestowed on the English Lord Clifford. His son, Sir James Douglas, who was then a page, and who afterwards acted so conspicuous a part, upon learning the fate of his father, passed over to France, to the Earl of Artayis; and was sometime afterwards presented, at Strevillyne, to Edward, by William Lambyrtown, Bishop of St. Andrew's, who claimed for him his lordship of Douglas on doing homage, but was refused.‡

* Barbour's Bruce, Buke Fyrst, p. 8. 4to. 1820 Edit.

† Barbour, Buke Fyrst, p. 12.

‡ Barbour, Ibid. pp. 14, 16.

The family of Bruce never imprudently renounced their allegiance to Edward, or rancorously displayed their opposition to his authority; seeming to discharge the duties committed to their care, yet never overlooking the relation in which they stood, as competitors for the kingdom. Nor did they render themselves altogether odious to the Scots, by pushing matters to extremity, with that people, whose allegiance they one day looked forward to as sovereigns; judiciously waiting for the most favourable opportunity of throwing off the mask, and openly asserting their rights. Yet, with all this seeming foresight and sagacity, Robert the Bruce frequently involved himself in precipitate measures, which had well nigh been the cause of a rupture with both parties, and crushed all his future hopes, either of calculating upon the interest of Edward, or of being able to bring into the field those resources which he relied upon, on ordinary occasions.

When John Baliol was raised to sovereign power, the family of Bruce looked upon his elevation with great envy, nevertheless prudence dictated the part which it became them to act; and upon Robert, the son of the first competitor of the family, resigning into the hands of the Scottish King, the Earldom of Carrick, which

he possessed in right of his wife, Robert the Bruce, his son, was admitted to do homage, and became Earl of Carrick.*

When King John, stung to madness with the haughty conduct of Edward, who treated him as his vassal, and shewed him every indignity, had openly thrown off the yoke, and concluded an alliance with France,† and sent Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, at the head of an army, to invade England;‡ Robert, whose allegiance was uniformly divided, and who appears secretly to have rejoiced that Baliol had embroiled himself with the powerful King of England, deemed it unsafe to rank under the banner of his natural sovereign, but traitorously joined the English King, with all the strength, and adherents of his house. This open rupture rendered the breach between him and the Scottish King still wider, and decided the policy of John, who immediately confiscated his estate of Annandale as that of a traitor, and made a grant of it to his steady and faithful follower, Cumyn, Earl of Buchan.§ The wardens of the English western marches,

* Second Parliam. Aug. 3, 1293. *Fœdera*, t. ii. p. 614.

† Fordun, xi. xv. *Fœdera, Angliæ*, ii. p. 692.

‡ Wm. Hemingford, t. i. p. 96. Fordun, xi. p. 25, 30th March, 1296.

§ 1296. Hemingford, vol. i. 83, 97, 98.

knowing well the temper of Robert, who had now retired to the family estate in England, and suspecting his fidelity in these troublesome times, summoned him to Carlisle to do homage. Here he immediately repaired, and on the consecrated host, and on the sword of Becket,* swore to follow the fortune of Edward, and serve him with the strictest diligence against the Scots; and in order to show that this was not a mere empty boast, extorted from fear, he drew out his followers, with whom he overran the lands of Sir William Douglas, a Scottish patriot, and even carried away his wife and children.

Stung with remorse, however, for this treacherous act, which was really extorted from him, and reflecting how much it might afterwards militate against his ambitious views, of one day ascending the Scottish throne, if it was not done with a view of collecting his English followers without suspicion, he retired from a country where he knew that he was watched with a jealous eye, trusting for the violation of his recent engagements, which were forced upon him, that the Pope would absolve him and ease his conscience. His

* Venit ad ipsum diem cum ipso populo Galewalie et super sacra sancta mysteria juravit, et super gladium Sancti Thomæ juramentum præstitit. W. Hemingford.

vassals of Annandale, whom he requested to join him in emancipating the nation from which he had sprung from slavery, and become his counsellors and dear friends, refused, however, in the absence of the elder Bruce, to enter on such perilous undertakings;* and decamped in the night, leaving their young master to his fate, who immediately went and joined the Scottish army, which Wallace, the brave patriot, had raised, or rather the Bishop of Glasgow and Steward of Scotland, who were the prime movers of the plot.†

The Scottish leaders were, however, too much at variance among themselves to make a resolute stand. Their pride was wounded by the thought, that a private gentleman, such as Wallace, should take the lead of the Scottish army, the man certainly at that time most capable of doing so; and the English, ever vigilant for their own interest, found them strongly posted near Irvine, in this irresolute state; and sending messengers to treat with them, they sued for pardon, and threw down their arms without striking a single blow, with the exception of the undaunted Wallace and Sir Andrew Murray, who left them to treat with their haughty conqueror.‡

* Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 120, 123.

† Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 120, 123.

‡ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 124. *Fœd. Angliæ*, vol. ii. pp. 774, 775.

Bruce at this time saw no favourable opportunity of delivering his country, or being able to stem the torrent of opposition which he would have met with, both from the Scottish leaders, and the powerful Edward. He therefore deemed it most prudent to submit with his countrymen, and acknowledge the authority of the English King, who received their submission on condition of their serving in France, during the continuance of the war.* But such had been the inconstancy of this nobleman, and the undecided tone which he had assumed during these troublesome times, generally joining himself to that party which he deemed of most consequence to his cause; that security was now demanded by the English commanders for his future good behaviour, and fidelity, in the cause of his master. The Bishop of Glasgow, the Lord Stewart, and Alexander de Lindsay came forward as his securities† upon this occasion, until he should deliver over his daughter Marjory as an hostage for his loyalty, and future good behaviour.‡

In this manner Robert the Bruce continued to amuse both parties, neglecting no favourable opportunity of enlisting in the cause of his country, yet rendering little effective ser-

* *Fœd. Ang.* vol. ii. p. 772, 782.

† 9th July, 1297. *Fœdera*, vol. ii. pp. 774, 775.

‡ *Fœdera, Angliæ*, vol. ii. pp. 774, 775.

vice to either party. Things, however, began now to wear a more favourable aspect; and it was necessary for the young Earl of Carrick either to declare himself, and take a side with determination, or for ever abandon his ambitious hopes.

Baliol had, some time ago, with the white rod in his hand, surrendered himself into the power of Edward, together with his country and his people, acknowledging him as liege lord, and was sent by him eventually to the Pope;* so that from this quarter Robert had now nothing more to dread, since his great rival, reduced to this abject state of slavery, never returned to his native country as a Prince, or was able to raise a party sufficiently powerful to replace himself upon the throne.

Edward having ratified several charters, and making many public professions, in order to regain the confidence of some disconcerted barons, determined, at the head of a powerful army, to reduce Scotland to entire submission,† so that Bruce must either take a side without delay, or for ever remain in a wavering and doubtful state. He hesitated not for a moment which of the measures he would adopt; but mustering his trusty followers and

* 18th July, 1299. *Fœdera*, vol. ii. pp. 840, 846. Walsingham, *Hist. Ang.* p. 76.

† Rymer, vol. ii. p. 813.

feudal retainers, he raised his standard in the cause of liberty and national independence. An event which either occurred in the chapter of accidents, or more probably the sentiments of Bruce, however secretly kept in regard to this national quarrel, being known in England, was purposely intended, while the movements of Edward served to make him declare himself more abruptly, and to take his leave of that country for ever.

In 1297, Sir Robert Clifford, the Warden of the English Marches, suspicious of the hostile intentions of the young Earl of Carrick, had made two destructive inroads from Cumberland into Annandale, his patrimonial inheritance, during the winter; where he wasted his father's estate, and committed great devastation.* The latent virtue of the young Prince was roused by this indignity, offered to his character and person, and he immediately joined the triumphant cause of his country. Comyn, his great rival, who had been a prisoner in England, † being again set at liberty, and appearing in arms against England, he deemed it more prudent to shut himself up in the castle of Ayr, a most important fortress, which enabled him to keep up the communication between the northern and southern

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 137.

† Rotuli Scotiae, 30th July, Edward I.

parts of the kingdom, than to join his countrymen at Falkirk.* While he was thus engaged in laying the foundation of his future schemes, by retaining one of the strongholds of the nation, the unfortunate battle of Falkirk took place, where Edward appeared at the head of a hundred thousand men. His father, the elder Bruce, and his brother, Bernard Bruce, were in the service of England, and are thought to have been in the army of Edward on this occasion; but Robert, although at no great distance, was not in the English army.†

Edward, in order to be revenged on Bruce, who, with the Scottish Barons whom he had summoned to a Parliament held at York, had refused to attend,‡ directed his march in a westerly direction, after ordering the town and castle of Stirling, which had been burnt by the Scots in their retreat, to be repaired, and put in a state of defence.

Robert, however, upon the approach of the conqueror, thought it imprudent to wait his arrival, and setting fire to the castle of Ayr, retired to Carrick, where Edward would have willingly pursued him, had not his provisions failed.§ Though unable to penetrate that

* Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 160, 166.

† Trivet, Hemingford.

‡ Hemingford, vol. i. pp. 144, 145.

§ Cumque fuisset voluntatis regiæ, ut tunc Gall-

strongly fortified part of the country, his vengeance lighted upon the young Bruce, since, bending his course towards England, by the western marches, he entered Annandale and took possession of the castle of Lochmaben, in 1298, a place of considerable strength, and the patrimonial abode of the family of Bruce.* The kingdom, distracted by the success of the English King, and the retirement of her avowed champion, Wallace, who, in disgust, threw up the regency to a discontented aristocracy, looked up to the natural guardians of her independence, the nobility; and with the general and tacit consent of the people, a regency was appointed, in the name of their abdicated King, John, who had returned, and seems never to have reclaimed his right.

Among those entrusted with the government, on the 13th of November, 1299, were John Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch, a prince of the blood royal, and Robert Bruce, the younger, Earl of Carrick.† Bruce, though joined in the commission, seems never to have properly acknowledged his rival Baliol, nor to have taken any active part in supporting his authority; keeping ever in mind the main *walliam ingrederetur, deficiente tamen pane.* W. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 166.

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 166.

† Fordun, xi. p. 34. Rymer, vol. ii. p. 859.

object which he had in view, and with a far-seeing policy, shaped his course for his own accession to the throne. Comyn, whose mother, Ada, the sister of Baliol, great granddaughter to the Earl of Huntingdon, stood in the capacity of one of the first princes of the blood royal, and, as next heir by substitution, inherited the claims of the Baliol family, appears to have taken the chief lead in the regency, and become protector of the kingdom; but with this he seems to have rested satisfied, waving all right to the crown.*

Edward having disposed of Baliol, by committing him to the care of the papal nuncio, from him he expected no further molestation in the execution of his plans against Scotland; but still dreaded the artful Bruce, who had hitherto eluded his pursuit. Having summoned his Barons to meet him at Carlisle, he projected an invasion of Scotland, and crossing the Solway, overran Galloway and entered Annandale, the country of the Bruces, and took his strong castle of Lochmaben; dismantled the castle of Caerlaverock, receiving the submission of the inhabitants wherever he went. † After this, through the mediation of France, he consented to a truce with the Scots. ‡

* Scoti Chronicon:

† 1300. Hemingford, p. 166.

‡ Fœdera, Angliæ, vol. ii. p. 870.

Meantime, the regency made several attempts to maintain the liberty and independence of the kingdom, wisely acting on the defensive;* and Comyn, the guardian, who was by no means unworthy to succeed the renowned Wallace, gained several decisive victories.† Bruce, unable to gain that important post in the command of the nation which he sought after, seldom joined the confederacy; and dreading the retaliation of Edward, to which his lands were greatly exposed, seems to have been among the first of the Scottish Barons who submitted to the Conqueror, after he had traversed the country with a great army, having surrendered himself to John de St. John, an English commander.‡ The unflinching spirit of Wallace alone refused to yield; but being afterwards unhappily discovered in his retreat, he was carried to London, and basely executed, as we have seen.§

In the mean time,|| Edward, who now regarded the subjection of Scotland as complete, with the advice of Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, who, afraid of risking his all in the fearful struggle, had surrendered himself

* Trivet, p. 332. † 1302. Fordun, vol. xii. p. 2.

‡ Ryley, p. 369. 1303.

§ Trivet, p. 340. Stow's Chron. p. 209.

|| 1304. 11th June.

to Edward; Robert the Bruce and John de Moubray convoked a general council of the Scottish nation, where it was agreed that they should appoint ten Commissioners, invested with full parliamentary powers, who should repair to London, and with twenty on the part of the English, establish laws for the administration of justice and the government of Scotland.*

Bruce had beheld with regret the submission of the guardian, and the independence of Scotland as a nation entirely destroyed. But policy, as well as necessity, at least, in his estimation, required that he should appear loyal for the present. He seems, indeed, to have gained considerably on the confidence of Edward, and to have been usually consulted upon all matters of importance; while his rival, Comyn, lost his confidence, and appears to have been subjected to a heavy fine. We, however, question much the soundness of this policy adopted by Bruce; and subsequent events shew that it was founded on wrong principles, and subversive of his best interests. Had he openly joined the noble and high-minded patriot, Wallace, who alone had the good of his country at heart, and was basely sacrificed to a jealous aristocracy,

* Ryley, pp. 503, 504, 243.

as a reward for rescuing them from the chains of England, he would, undoubtedly, have prevented a fearful carnage and oppression, and ascended the throne ere it had been drenched with the best, and noblest blood of the nation.

As the castle of Kildrummie, one of the strongest fortresses of the North, situated upon the Don, was deemed a place of consequence, Bruce was ordered to put it in the custody of some one of his friends, whom he could trust, and for whose conduct he should be answerable. The English King having completed, as he supposed, his conquest, undertook to establish a new government, and render the country a permanent acquisition to his crown. For this purpose, he injudiciously invested his lieutenant with power to subvert the rights and customs of the country, to amend such as he should deem inconsistent with the laws of God and reason, and to prohibit in future "the customs of the Scots and Brets" from being practised,* that is, should subvert the ancient laws of Scotland. By such precipitate and ill-advised measures, by which he intended to rivet his authority more firmly, he inflamed the resentment of the common people, more particularly by the cruelty which he displayed to some of their leaders, and the

* Ryley, p. 506.

unlimited power which the lieutenant had over their persons,—disposed them to rise against the government, and hastened forward the dissolution of that fabric, which he had been raising for many years, by means of violence, tyranny, and fraud. The rights of the people are unalienable, and can never be transferred to a sovereign, unless surrendered at will, without constraint or force; and however solemnly given up, if wrested by violence and fraud, according to the principles of an immutable justice, are certainly reclaimable. Few monarchs have experienced such temptations to violate the rights of the people as Edward the First; and few in their dealings with the people have laid aside so entirely truth and justice, which he sacrificed to inordinate ambition, and the love of conquest, at least, in his transactions with Scotland.

The privileges of the parliament were infringed, and commissioners appointed in their stead, who were transported to London, with the semblance of parliamentary authority, but were virtually the creatures of the monarch, and kept under his control.*

Friday,
March 26.

Sir John Monteith, who was returned, instead of Earl Patrick, as the Earl of March was commonly

* Ryley, p. 243.

called, who refused to act as one of the ten commissioners,—the Bishops of St. Andrew's and Dunkeld,—the Abbots of Cowper and Melrose, the Earls of Buchan, John de Mowbray, and Robert de Keith, who represented the church and the Barons; and Adam de Gurdon and John de Inchmartin, who were sent by the burghs, were made choice of by the three estates of the kingdom, who assembled in a parliament at Perth, on the summons of Edward, for the purpose of making a full settlement of the government and policy of Scotland.* They were appointed to proceed to England at the public expense, and give their advice, under oath, to the King of England, in conjunction with twenty-one English commissioners, including Sir John de Sandale, the chamberlain of Scotland, the Bishops of Worcester and Chester, the Earls of Lincoln and Hereford, and the Abbots of Westminster and Waverly, who were all solemnly sworn, in regard to those whom he should appoint to offices of trust in Scotland, and in respect to

Sept. Scots affairs generally.† An English parliament was then assembled, at which the representatives of the communities in Scotland now appeared,‡ and were, by the am-

* Ryley, Plac. Parl. p. 279, § 243.

† Ryley, Plac. Parl. p. 503.

‡ *Communitas terræ Scotiæ.*

bitious Edward, compelled to surrender the independence of their country, by framing measures for its government under his authority, and in a foreign country. A code of legislation was drawn up by this parliament, with the concurrence of these thirty-one commissioners, in which much salutary wisdom was displayed, and a spirit of liberty and equitable administration, by which the rights of the people were better secured than they had hitherto been. This term, however, must not be misunderstood; for by the people, these were not meant the labouring classes, who were in a state of absolute slavery, but the farmers, vassals, and burghers in towns.

Scotland was then divided into twenty-three viscounties, Edinburgh, including Haddington and Linlithgow; Berwick, Peebles, Selkirk, Dumfries, Wighton, Air, Lanerk, Dunbarton, Stirling, Clackmannan, Kinross, Fife, Perth, Forfar, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff, Elgyn, Forres and Nairn, or Invernairn, including Inverness and Cromarty. In each of these counties a sheriff was appointed, to settle all disputes and escheats which were brought before him; and of these, three were hereditary sheriffs, or sheriffs by fee, that is, they were still continued in office, the sheriff of Cromarty, William de Urquhart, and those

of Selkirk and Kinross.* De Sandale was appointed chamberlain of Scotland, keeper of the castle of Berwick, and to him the sheriff of the county was answerable; while William Bisset and John de Menteith, the constables of the castles of Stirling and Dunbarton, were elected sheriffs of these counties.†

For the better administration of justice, the country was divided into four quarters, and two justiciaries were appointed to each, namely, Loeneys, that is the country to the south of the Forth, not comprehending the district of Galloway, of which John de St. Isle and Adam de Gordon were justiciaries; Galloway; the range of country between the Forth and the mountains; and the district beyond them, including the northern counties of the kingdom. In each of these quarters a justiciary was placed from every kingdom, those belonging to Scotland being Adam de Gordon, Roger de Kirkpatrick, Robert Keith, afterwards marshal of Scotland, and Reginald de Chien, a Norman family from Moray land. Edward laid the foundation of that highly honourable and most beneficial institution the court of justiciary, to which was committed originally, both the administration of criminal law, and civil right, through which the streams of jus-

* Ryley, *Placita*, p. 504.

† Ryley, *ibid.*

tice flowed to all who sought it; for these justiciaries of Scotland were afterwards permanently sanctioned and established by her own monarch, Robert the Bruce.*

In order to render them responsible for the discharge of their sacred judicial functions, the King's lieutenant, chancellor, and chamberlain, had the arbitrary power of removing them, if they deemed it to be either for the interest of the King, or the good of the country. The people of Galloway were accustomed to try causes without jury;† and "the customs of the Scots and Brits" were for the future prohibited, and no longer observed. The Scottish people were now assembled by John de Bretagne, the lieutenant of Edward, and when they had met, the statutes enacted by David, King of the Scots, were read over to them, and all the laws and additions of succeeding kings; and the ‡ lieutenant, with his English and Scottish council, proceeded to amend such of those statutes and usages as were plainly against the laws of God and of reason, so far as they were able in so short a time to do, without consulting the King. And such matters as they felt themselves in-

* Riley, *Placita*, p. 504.

† Quon. *Attachamenta*, c. 72, 73. L. L. Baird, i. c. 15.

competent to enter upon, they put in writing, and laid before Edward by his lieutenant, together with the names of as many commissioners, with parliamentary powers, as the Scots were inclined to choose, that they might meet with commissioners appointed by the King of England, for reforming the Scottish laws, and settling the good government of the country.*

In order to subject Scotland still more effectually to the crown of England, and abolish the semblance of that independence, which it ever had possessed, the governor was appointed to consult with the chief men of Scotland, as to those likely to disturb the public peace of the kingdom, and under fair pretences to send them to the King of England, that he might keep them beyond the Trent, and fairly subdue the spirit of the nation. But the only offenders seem to have been Alexander de Lindesay and Simon de Fraser, who, in terms of the capitulation of Strathorde, were exiled from Scotland, the former for half a year, and the latter for four years.† John de Kingston, constable of Edinburgh Castle,

* The substance of the Record of Proceeding. Ryley, *Placita*, p. 506.

† Ryley, p. 508.

was appointed one of the governors of Scotland, and was afterwards succeeded by Sir Piers de Lombard, or Leland, a brave but faithless knight of Gascony.*

Such were the fatal effects of referring the settlement of their national disputes about succession, to the monarch of a neighbouring kingdom, whose interest, self-aggrandizement, and ambition, were so many powerful motives, such as he could not resist, calculated to mislead him in his sacred trust of arbitration, and to involve Scotland in civil and foreign war. Any attempt to weaken or dissolve the connection between the sovereign and his people, where privileges and the sacred liberty of a nation had been seceded fairly by mutual contract, must be held as treasonable. But where these have been forcibly wrested from the nation, either by fraud or strength of arms, and that, too, by a foreign prince, who betrayed the sacred trust of umpire committed to him, no defence is necessary for those, who would endeavour to repossess themselves, of their unalienable and just rights.

Robert the Bruce, the great grandson of Isabella, second daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, succeeded to the claims of his family to the throne, upon the death of his

* *Custodes Scotiæ Leland Collectanea.*

grandfather, Lord of Annandale, and his father, the husband of the Countess of Carrick. The family of David, Earl of Huntingdon, the brother of William, the Lion King of the Scots, succeeded to the kingdom upon the demise of Margaret, the maiden of Norway, the grand-daughter of Alexander III., in whom the male issue of one of the most ancient line of kings in Europe failed.* It appears that the grandfather of Robert had been declared to be the rightful heir to the kingdom by Alexander II., when he had no prospect of heirs of his own body, an opinion which was confirmed by Alexander III. Though his grandfather was only the son of the second daughter of Huntingdon, he was one step nearer of kin than Baliol, who was the grandson of Margaret, the eldest daughter; and according to the ancient law of succession of Scotland, the brother of the deceased King being considered nearer in degree than his own son,† his claim was preferable to that of Baliol. This prince, who had resigned the crown into the hands of Edward, and his family, consisting of two sons, were living in captivity in France, and Robert's schemes being ripe for putting into execution, affairs being

* *Fœd. Ang. t. ii. pp. 578, 579.*

† *Ratione proximitatis in gradu. Fœdera, t. ii. p. 582.*

now come to a crisis, a wide field was opened for the ambition, and hitherto untried abilities of Robert the Bruce. Baliol, who was but a weak man, had publicly thrown out some improper reflections upon his subjects in that deed, by which he renounced all right and title to the kingdom of Scotland, declaring them traitors, and that he would cease to hold farther correspondence with them, by which conduct their minds were alienated from him, and his popularity ceased.*

Bruce saw the impossibility of ever being able to procure the independence of Scotland, while it was agitated by so many contending parties, and more particularly the failure of all his schemes, unless a leader could be procured whose authority could hold in subjection the powerful barons, who had as yet taken little active concern, in the affairs of the nation. In these days of ferocity and superstition, when the power of the clergy was superior to that of kings, such an acquisition could not but be considered as a great step, to the possession of a kingdom. For this purpose, he was assiduous in courting the clergy, and particularly some of the heads of the church. He studiously endeavoured not to render himself odious, either to the Scots or the English, and

* Brady, Hist. vol. ii. App. n. 27.

seemed to enter with great warmth into the designs of Edward, for settling the Scottish government;* and for this purpose he cooperated with Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, and seemed to give his approbation to the schemes of that obsequious prelate.

But while he was thus actively employed, apparently in forging new shackles for his native country, and in confirming her degradation to the proud victor, he secretly entered into a mutual league with William de Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrew's, one of the Regents appointed to act in the name of Edward I. In this private association, they mutually engaged, by solemn oath, in these troublesome times, to be faithful to each other, to consult together before entering upon any hazardous undertaking, to warn each other of any impending danger, and to endeavour to ward it off by the combined aid of their followers against all persons whatsoever; † and that they might be the more faithful in this compact, they bound themselves to the performance of it under a penalty of ten thousand pounds, to be levied on him who failed, and appropriated to the crusades. ‡ As head of

* Trivet, p. 334.

† See Ayloff's "Calendar of Ancient Charters," p. 295.

‡ Ancient MS. among the records in London.

the Scottish church, Lamberton possessed great influence in the kingdom; and besides, the clergy, in any great emergency, could muster a great feudal force, and were the only men capable of taking a rational view of political affairs, which, during the middle ages, were entirely under their management and control.

With this powerful prelate by his side, should he and his brave adherents fail in their patriotic design of delivering their country from the thralldom of the English King, and be compelled again to crouch at his feet, they were now in a state to defy even the thunders of the Vatican, which he would not fail to direct against them, before which, even when supported by the clergy, emperors were compelled to fall; and as a union of the two nations, and such a one as was likely to take place, would subject the Scots church to the English, and their bishops to the spiritual dominion of the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, for these reasons, Bruce found less difficulty in entering into this confederacy, than, from the conflicting interests of parties, he could have anticipated.

Though the Earl of Carrick, and Cumyn, who had of late discharged the duties of guardian, and defended Edward with his best

endeavours, had seemingly acted together in defence of their country, they were the heads of two great parties, under either of which all the Scots at that time seemed to rank. Besides the feelings natural to their distinct interests, which may be supposed to have rankled in their breasts, there was a private feud, or quarrel, existing between the families, which must have lessened their friendship, and alienated them more and more. In the first and last attempt of Baliol to shake off the yoke of the English Monarch, to whom the family of Bruce then continued loyal, all the partisans of Edward, and neutrals, were declared traitors to their country; the Lordship of Annandale was forfeited, and Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, who obtained a grant of it from his uncle Baliol, took possession for a time, of the family estate of Lochmaben; an insult which Bruce never forgot, or forgave.*

Such was the state of affairs, when the Scottish patriots received in this nobleman an important accession to the cause of independence and freedom. The miseries and oppression which the people endured from the domination of a haughty foreigner, the still greater hardships which they suffered from the disunion and private feuds of their great families, the numerous defeats and misfortunes which

* Hemingford, i. 83. 1296, 28 April.

they had endured of late, the cruel fate of their revered champion Wallace, who had met with such an unmerited end from the usurper, and whose blood is on the heads of his countrymen, who obtained, after all, but a poor revenge; and the submission at last of their guardian Cumyn, were so many incentives for accepting Bruce as a leader, who had but too many reasons of a personal nature for seeking vengeance which his oppressed and miserable country so loudly demanded.

When he offered himself as their commander, he expected that many would eagerly flock to his standard; and it was no unfavourable presage of his future career, that he numbered the Bishop of St. Andrew's among his friends. As Earl of Carrick and Lord of Annandale, Robert Bruce was one of the most powerful of the Scottish Barons—the family estates extending between the Friths of Clyde and Solway to the borders of England, besides the large English property to which he succeeded.* Since the open conference which he had with the gallant Wallace, he seems to have formed the noble resolution of liberating his enslaved country; and his first step was to procure, if possible, such an association with

* Hemingford, i. 123. Dugdale, Bar. i. 450. Fœdera, i. 614.

Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch, as he had entered into with the Bishop of St. Andrew's, in whom he had recognised a kindred spirit of independence, though he stood opposed to him in his claims to the kingdom.*

In the meantime, Bruce, whose loyalty was never suspected, was highly in favour with Edward; † and Cumyn being equally as anxious as the Earl of Carrick for a conference, with a view to adjust his own claims, an opportunity soon offered itself, as these two noblemen were passing together from Stirling, soon after the subjugation of Scotland. It appears that Cumyn, during the conference which took place, acknowledged the title of Bruce to the crown; ‡ and when the latter insisted upon taking possession of the kingdom, he volunteered his aid, upon condition of receiving the Earl's estate as a compensation for the loss of his own right to the crown. §

"Support my title to the crown," observed Bruce, "and I will give you my estate; or, give me your estate, and I will support yours." || A mutual oath of secrecy being administered, the conditions of this agreement were drawn

* Feb. 10, 1306.

† Fæder. Ang. ii. 988.

‡ Barbour, vol. i. p. 489.

§ Fordun, xii. 5. Barbour, 17.

|| Fordun & Hearne, vol. iv. p. 992.

up in the form of an indenture, and the instrument sealed by both parties.*

After the departure of Robert, who accompanied the King to England, the Lord Badenoch, when reflecting upon this rash bond, by which he virtually renounced all the claim of his ancestors to the crown, the desperate nature of the undertaking, and the hopelessness of success, resolved to atone for this act of treason by a speedy confession of all the circumstances of the case. He himself had acted a more consistent, if not a more honourable part, than Bruce, and yet this powerful Baron had gained the ear of Edward, and stood high in his confidence. The haughty chieftain was offended, and the selfishness of his family prevailing, he broke truce with his friend, and threw out insinuations against the noble Bruce to Edward. Having, during the conference, become acquainted with the associations and designs of Bruce, he revealed the secret to Edward, in as far as was sufficient to criminate his accomplice, and screen his own guilt; † he placed in his hands a garbled copy of the indenture, ‡ or explained the particulars by letters.

The King, without delay, challenged Bruce, who had gone to London to attend the Par-

* Barbour, vol. i. pp. 511, 514.

† Hemingford, p. 219. ‡ Barbour, p. 20.

liament, with this dark plot; and, as an evidence of his guilt, produced the correspondence of the Lord of Badenoch; but, as he was either unwilling to give full credit to the account, or, rather, being afraid of alarming Carrick before he had secured his brothers, whom he also suspected of being connected with the conspiracy, he appeared satisfied with his judicious answers and excuses, and merely appointed spies to watch his conduct.*

The indenture appears, in the meantime, to have been presented to Parliament, or rather the Privy Council, † held at London, where Bruce was summoned to attend, and being shewn to him, with his own signet, he requested leave to answer to the accusation the following day, offering to impledge all his estates on security, as the seal was not in his possession—an indulgence which was unwarrantably granted. ‡ Without delay, he returned home, committed the charge of his attendants to his marshal, and withdrew, together with his secretary, to his private chamber, being warned by the Earl of Gloucester, § his relative, that the King intended, without delay, to secure him in durance, and to put him to death.

* Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 122. Barbour, p. 20.

† Barbour, vol. i. pp. 602—604.

‡ Barbour, vol. i. pp. 615, 626.

§ Robert the Bruce's grandfather was married to Isabel de Clare, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hartfield.

This nobleman, who appears to have been the intimate friend and kinsman of Carrick, not presuming, under the existing circumstances of the case, to communicate his danger in person, sent a messenger to him with a pair of gilt spurs and some gold pieces, which he pretended to have borrowed. Having provided himself with two horses, whose shoes he had the precaution to get inverted, lest they should be able to trace his route in the snow which had lately fallen, he took his departure, under cover of the night, together with his secretary, and hurried on with such expedition, fearful of pursuit, that, in five days he arrived at the castle of Lochmaben, in Annandale, a distance of about four hundred miles, and acquainted his brother Edward and Mr. Robert Fleming, whom he found there, with the conduct of the English King,* from whence he learned the dangerous and almost desperate nature of the enterprise in which he was embarking.†

Near the Western Marches he had observed a passenger on foot, who excited his suspicion; and after having discovered that he was the bearer of letters from the faithless Cumyn (to the King of England),‡ who had basely betrayed him, urging his immediate imprison-

* Barbour, vol. i. p. 23. † Barbour, vol. i. p. 23.

‡ Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 127.

ment or death, he took summary justice upon the messenger, and beheaded him. Meantime, Feb. 7, 1306. the Parliament was opened, and some knights were despatched for Bruce, and his servants, who thinking he was still in the secret chamber, broke open the door, and found he had made his escape.*

As there happened to be a number of the nobility convened at Dumfries, where a court of justiciary was then held, and among others, Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch, his former associate, he hastened to the town and joined the assize, where he was bound to be present, as a freeholder of Annandale, and Comyn as a freeholder in Dumfriesshire.† The noblemen were surprised to meet him, and anxious to learn the cause of his so sudden appearance. He declared to them, in a meeting which was appointed for the purpose, that he intended to free his country from the yoke of the English tyrant, or perish in the attempt; and endeavoured, by every effort, to rouse their latent courage, and excite their indignation against the usurper. He called upon the patriots, if yet there were any, to shake off the degradation of a foreign servitude, offering himself as their leader, and agreed with those who had still any love for their country, to

* Barbour, Buke Fyrst, p. 24, edit. 1820, 4to.

† Barbour, vol. i. p. 23.

redress her injured wrongs. He ran over the calamitous events which had reduced them to a state of servitude worse than death, imputing all the miseries which they had suffered to the sacrifice of the rights of his own family to the crown, in order to make way for an unworthy competitor, who had sold his kingdom, and afterwards, in vain, endeavoured to redeem it; to the disunion among the nobility—the natural guardians of the constitution—and their want of energy in the cause.

“Need I recall to your minds,” said he, “the successful and noble stand which our ancestors made on their native hills against their hereditary enemies, the ancestors of the English, who sacrificed life and fortune rather than stoop to a conqueror; who, by their own valour, their woods and mountains, withstood the united efforts of the Roman empire; and shall we prove ourselves unworthy of such privileges as they died for, and submit, without a struggle, to a foreign master? Can we allow our children to be torn from their paternal abode, our fathers, whose grey hairs are red with blood, to languish in servitude, or die on the scaffold, our ancient nobility to be exterminated by a foreigner, and voluntarily surrender ourselves into the chains of the usurper? As your native Prince, I offer my-

self to live and die in your service; to fight for my country, and protect my people. Let us plant the standard of liberty on every mountain of Scotland, where, till lately, it has so long flourished; and may he who has not spirit to follow the banner of his Prince, and assert his own rights and the independence of Scotland, go over to England's King, and kiss the shackles which he has prepared for him."*

This animated address, the interesting appearance of the speaker, his heroic sentiments and princely descent, produced a powerful effect upon the Scottish barons, who simultaneously declared their readiness to fight for their country and their name, and to support the title of Bruce, their rightful sovereign. Cumyn alone, whose pretensions were opposed to those of Carriek, and who had already acted the part of a traitor to him, and entered into compact with the King of England, represented the desperate nature of the attempt, the overwhelming power of Edward, who had lately gained so many decided triumphs over them, the certain vengeance which would overtake them if they awakened the lion of England, and violated their oaths of allegiance to a sovereign of such vigour and address, and the unavoidable ruin which they must entail

* Matth. Westmin. p. 453. Fordun.

upon themselves and families. Bruce, who had already but too many proofs of the treachery of the Lord of Badenoch, was now convinced by the open avowal of it; and dreading the failure of his plans, should a nobleman of such weight and influence oppose him, even after he had pledged himself to support the independence of Scotland, upon the breaking up of the Assembly, endeavoured to procure an interview with him, and gain over his avowed adversary.

Thursday, Coming up with Cumyn at the
10th Sept. Minorite, or Gray Friars, he took
1306. him aside into the church of the
 monastery, shewed him the indenture as a proof of his guilt, for which he reproached him,* and charged him with having accused him to the King of England, and of being engaged in seditious practices, by which he suffered great injury.† Cumyn, it appears, gave him the lie, and the altercation becoming very hot, Bruce, either in self-defence, or in a moment of high excitement, ran him through the body, and left him stretched before the altar.

When Robert made his appearance, hurrying from this scene of bloodshed and sacri-

* W. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 219. Barb. vol. ii. pp. 43, 48.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 219.

lege, he rushed into the street and called to horse, looking extremely pale and agitated; and upon being asked by his attendants, Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, and Lindsay of Crawford, if all was well, he replied, as he mounted his horse, "I fear I have slain the Cumyn."

"Such a matter must not be left in doubt," replied Kirkpatrick, "I'll mak sicker;" when rushing into the sanctuary, and learning from the Lord of Badenoch himself, that he might recover if a surgeon could be procured, he ran his dagger through his heart, as he lay bleeding on the steps of the altar.* His kinsman, Sir Robert Cumyn, while endeavouring to defend or revenge his death,† shared the same fate,‡ together with several other men of rank, who were slain at the same time.§ In these days of rude barbarity and cruel superstition, this deed of Carrick and his followers, on which all good men will look with horror and regret, was regarded as an act of patriotism and heroic bravery. Kirkpatrick, who in cold blood im-

* Fordun, vol. xii. p. 7. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 220, mistaking the deed of Kirkpatrick, says, that Cumyn, after the expulsion of the Justiciars, was carried by the friars to the steps of the altar, and there slain by order of Bruce.

† Pope's Bull, *Fœdera*, p. 810. Sir Roger Chronic. Leland. Collect. vol. i. p. 4.

‡ Barbour, vol. i. pp. 37, 38.

§ Epist. Epis. cop. de St. Andrew's, MS. in the records of London.

brued his hands in the blood of an unhappy man, struggling in the agonies of death, and cut off him who generously stood up in the cause of humanity to defend his friend, triumphed in this deed, which he deemed worthy of transmitting his name to posterity; and his family, in consequence of this unhappy circumstance, adopted as a crest for their armorial bearings, a hand with a bloody dagger, with these emphatic words for a motto, "I mak sicker."*

Deeds of violence were at this period but of too frequent occurrence in the country; and such was the ignorance of men, that on account of the many scenes of bloodshed and warfare to which they were inured, and the daily feuds and quarrels which took place among the nobility and great families, murder, attended with the most revolting circumstances, was viewed without horror, and scarcely looked upon as a crime. The cause of this indifference to the feelings of humanity, this want of all the kindlier sympathies of our nature, is to be traced to that military system

* Barbour, vol. ii, pp. 43, 48. The murder is mentioned in *Historia Anglia a Bruto adan*, 1348, MS., in Cottonian Vitell. Robertus de Brus ad regnum Scotiæ aspirans, nobilem virum I. de Comyn, quod se proditioni noluit assentire, in ecclesia fratrum minorum de Dumfries interfecit, 1305-6.

of government which had been long and permanently established in this country,* as in most nations of Europe, as much, perhaps, as to the ignorance of men and the rudeness of their manners. The power of the king was very much circumscribed in ancient times; and so far was it from being despotical, that in many cases it depended entirely upon his being able to number any respectable body of the great Tiernas as his supporters and faithful subjects. Every baron was virtually king within his own jurisdiction; he appeared at the head of his tenants at will, claimed the right of redressing all their grievances, of avenging their quarrels which he made his own; and in a word, he possessed the power of imprisonment and confiscation, of life and death.†

Such a system of government was most prejudicial to the rights of equity and the administration of justice, while every feudal fief or dependant was at the mercy of his superior, whose personal interest, his love of revenge, and other circumstances, led frequently to pervert the laws of truth and equit-

* *Diplom. Scotiæ*, pl. 281, pl. 25, *Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl.* 9.

† *Chron. Reg. St. Andrew*, *Chron.* 3, *Innes*, *Append. Fordun*. See an account of the ancient manners of this country in vol. i.

able dealing ; a cruel thirst of blood and a violence, which, as it originated in the higher orders of society, must have pervaded the whole mass, could only be looked for in such a badly-regulated kingdom. The king, who, as the guardian of the rights of his people, and whose authority for this reason ought always to be such as is consistent with the safety of the state, was so circumscribed in influence, by the encroachments which the great barons had made in his prerogative, that he was frequently unable to punish the lawless cruelty of the nobles, which, in consequence, became a national vice, such as government and civilisation had not yet been able to eradicate.

In ancient times, the king alone was the supreme judge of the nation,—so difficult was it to repress the growing authority of the comites or barons. But when the multiplicity of concerns increased under his hand, and population and improvement advanced, it was found impossible for him to do justice in this important charge. In the time of Alexander I. and David I., the justiciary, who represented his sovereign, and had the important charge of administering equitable laws to the people committed to him, was chosen in his stead, and discharged his important duties on

both sides of the friths of Solway and Clyde.* Under these were appointed subordinate judges, for settling differences and administering laws, in the absence of the Supreme Justiciary;† but whether, owing to the influence of baronial power, they were unable rightly to execute their commission, two justiciaries were called upon to supersede the supreme justices, the one in that part of the country which lies south of the Friths, or Lothian, and the other in the north. In order to add to the dignity of the judge and the terror of the criminal, every baron or freeholder was bound to give suit and presence in the king's court, which perambulated the country, and was the means of infusing health and vigour into society, of lopping off dangerous members, who had inflicted wounds into its vitals, and endeavoured to subvert or destroy its very foundations.

The court of justiciary was sitting at Dumfries, in the province of Galloway, when this atrocious deed of murder was perpetrated; and if we consider the rank and power of the offender, the unsettled nature of the times,

* Excheq. 30. Reg. Excerpt. St. Andr. Chart. Coldingham, 3.

† Gulielm. Chart. Aberbroth. Chart. Cupr. 14. Chart. Scone. 54. Chart. Balmer. 49. Chart. Aberd. 203. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 30.

and the limited authority which this court at that time possessed, in the district of a powerful nobleman, we may reasonably suppose that even the court of justiciary was able to take effectual steps to secure the royal criminal. The judges were afraid of their own lives, which they considered to be in great danger ; and though so many warlike barons were convened at Dumfries, they gave orders to barricade the doors of the court house, and stood upon the defensive. But having no other means of resistance, or any prospect of being able to hold out for any length of time, the doors were burnt to the ground by means of fire, which Bruce applied ; and being at last obliged to surrender themselves as prisoners, trusting to the clemency of the Earl, he permitted them to return into England without injury or fine. Thus fell Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch, frequently known by the name of John the Red Cumyn, who had married Joan, the sister of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, by whom he left one son, John, a nobleman, who, with all his faults, made the greatest efforts since the fall of the renowned Wallace, to establish the natural liberty and independence of Scotland.

The deed of Bruce, which no honest man can justify, was rash and premature ; and succeeding events shew that it was done merely

in self-defence, in a fit of provocation or extreme passion. No plan as yet appears to have been formed, or any proper measures taken for promoting the great end which he had in view, or enforcing his own claim to the crown. Scarcely any fortresses were at his command, besides those which were in his possession; and but few barons of any note or authority. But the murder of Cumyn was certainly the signal of a war, which the policy as well as the bravery and resentment of the English king, would be prompt to commence. No resources were left for Carrick, but to shake off the authority of Edward, having now become a fugitive without the pale of the law; and he must assert his liberty, or perish in the attempt.

The situation of Bruce was indeed perilous in the extreme. He had to look for nothing from Edward but the rancour of his enmity, since he stood in his way to the sovereignty of the kingdom; he had laid open his schemes not only to the members of his own family, but to those noblemen and barons who were assembled at Dumfries. He had, by the arm of the assassin, taken away the life of a nobleman, high in rank and influence, who had himself a claim upon the crown, the first subject of the kingdom, and been guilty of a most

atrocious crime, committed in the house of God; and had nothing to look for but the keenest resentment from the powerful friends and vassals of him whose blood had stained the altar. His resolution was now taken; and after consulting with his brother Edward, he drew his sword in the cause of liberty and national honour, and never again sheathed it till he had emancipated his country from slavery, and received as a reward the crown and homage of the kingdom.

In the meantime he appears, after having assembled his followers and reduced the castle of Dumfries,* to have returned to his castle of Lochmaban, from whence he sent messengers and letters to his friends and acquaintances, disclosing the unfortunate event which had taken place at Dumfries,—urging them not to overlook such a favourable opportunity of obtaining their liberty,—pointing out the infirmities and old age of Edward, who would hardly endeavour in person to put down the confederacy,—the imbecility and character of the Prince of Wales,—the determination of the Scots nobles at Dumfries, who had declared in his favour; and his own determined resolution of ascending the throne of his ancestors, or perishing in the attempt, and requested

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 220.

their speedy aid and protection, in so momentous an undertaking.*

He seems to have proposed to himself no regular plan of operations, to have laid in no store of provision; and the enterprise certainly appeared to be one of a desperate nature, when undertaken against such a populous, powerful, and warlike nation as England. Supported but by a few of the Scots nobles, and opposed by the faction of Baliol, the family of Cumyn and the rest of the aristocracy, the standard of Bruce was unfurled; but some, being distrustful of his steadiness, refused to join it, while others, looking back to the cruel fate of Wallace and his patriotic band, regretted the misfortunes of their country, but would not stir to relieve it. Among those who answered his letters of requisition, were only the Bishop of St. Andrew's, Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow; the Abbot of Scone, the Earls of Athole, Lennox, and Errol, Thomas Randolph, of Strathdon, who became Earl of Murray, his nephew, — his brother-in-law, Christopher Seton, and other adherents of his house; his four brothers, Edward, Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander; David of Inchmartin, ancestor of Lord Lovat; Alexander Fraser, brother to Simon Fraser, of Oliver castle;

* Barbour, ii. 73.

Robert Boyde; Robert Fleming; John of Strathbogie, Earl of Atholl; Hugh de la Haye,* brother of Errol; David Barclay, of Cairns, in Fyfe; and Somerville of Linton, each the head of a noble family.

From de la Haye, the Earl of Errol is descended; from Somerville, the Lord Somerville; Inchmartin is the ancestor of the Earl of Airlie; Boyd, that of Kilmarnock; Fleming, ancestor of the Earl of Wighton; and from Nigel Campbell, of Lochow who joined him, along with these, the Duke of Argyle is descended.

Sir James Douglas appears also to have united himself with this patriotic body, who undertook to free their country from slavery, and raise their banner, not only against the victorious Edward, but Scotland;† and although Bruce had formerly laid waste his father's land, he afterwards proved one of his most distinguished leaders and firm friends.

The intrepid young Douglas, who was animated with the spirit of a hero, was the son of William Douglas, the Hardy, a man of high birth and great spirit, who, refusing to take the oath of allegiance to Edward, at Berwick, when he was in the act of subduing his vassal John Baliol, who had yielded up his independence, when he received from Edward, as

* Math. Westm. p. 452.

† Fordun a Hearne, vol. v. p. 998.

arbiter, the kingdom of Scotland, as in his view the nearest heir to the crown, was in consequence thrown into prison,* set at liberty, and again imprisoned in York Castle. James Douglas received his education in France, at the schools of Paris; and when he heard of his father's imprisonment and death, he returned home to consult with his friends, and, in these troublesome times, to look after his patrimony. Being received with respect and affection by the Bishop of St. Andrew's, he introduced him to Edward, while carrying on the siege of Stirling, desirous that the King of England would employ him in his service, and restore him to his hereditary estate; but having already destined it to another, he refused; which so irritated the heroic Douglas, that he left his presence, and espoused the cause of the patriots.

The chief cause of his accession appears to have arisen from the forfeiture of his estate, which was given to Lord Clifford by Edward of England; and so destitute was he at this period, that the Bishop of St. Andrew's, directing him to take his own horse, he is said to have knocked down the groom, who was unwilling to deliver him, in order to screen the Bishop from the English party, and to have

* This was in 1296.

saddled him himself, and joined Bruce unaccompanied by any one.* Sir James met Robert the Bruce at Arykstane, near the town of Lochmaban, as he was passing to the palace of Scone; and when the retinue drew near, he hailed him courteously, and kneeling down, offered him the homage due to his righteous sovereign. He was received affectionately by the Prince, for his father had fought with Wallace, received men and arms from him, and never afterwards left his King; till death separated them.†

The undertaking of Bruce was one of a gigantic nature; for had he united himself with Wallace, at the height of his success, and assumed that authority which naturally belonged to him, he might have reaped the fruit of his great victory, which this brave man gained at Stirling, saved himself from innumerable perils and labour, and the country from a vast amount of carnage and desolation. It is almost impossible to narrate the scenes of distress which befel him in his career,—his retreats, his perils, his privations, his hunger and thirst, his nightly watching and dangers by day, the snares which were laid for him, and the ambushes which he escaped, the sei-

* Barb. B. ii. 91.

† Barbour, Buke Fyrst, p. 27.

zure, ruin, and execution of his most intimate and dearest friends, and his exile from Scotland. If we contemplate the courage with which he battled not only against the King of England, but against the accumulated power of Scotland and her grandees, who were all, with a very few exceptions, in league against him; and if, in the words of the ancient historian, who has left us a most faithful account of his adventurous life, we add, "these almost innumerable and unpropitious events, which he ever bore with a cheerful and unconquered spirit; if any man should undertake to describe his individual conflicts and personal success; these courageous and single-handed combats, in which, by the favour of God and his own great strength and courage, he would often penetrate into the thickest of the enemy; now becoming the assailant, and cutting down all who opposed him, at another time acting on the defensive, and escaping from inevitable death; if any writer shall do this, he will prove, if I am not mistaken, that he had no equal in his own time, either in knightly prowess, or in strength and vigour of body."*

Tidings were carried to Edward at Winchester, of this sudden catastrophe, and the revolution which followed the surrender of his

* Fordun a Hearne, vol. v. p. 998.

justiciaries, to whom policy and his own feelings dictated but one line of duty. A considerable force was raised, to the command of which Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was appointed: a nobleman in whom he certainly could trust, who would do his utmost against Robert the Bruce, in order to revenge a private quarrel, and take vengeance for the murder of his brother-in-law, the Lord of Badenoch. Yet amidst all these seemingly insurmountable obstacles, Robert persisted firmly in his purpose, subjecting himself to frequent perils, dangerous ambuscades and escapes, and also many individual conflicts of daring courage and great privation;* never losing sight of the patriotic design of restoring his enslaved country to freedom, and yielding protection to that people, who had formerly called his ancestors their King. Those who favoured the cause of their country were requested to attend at Glasgow, the place of rendezvous, whither the Bruce had already arrived from Lochmaben.† From Glasgow he proceeded, with a bold and decisive step, to Scone, the palace of his ancestors, that they might place upon his head that crown, of which he was by them accounted the rightful heir, and cement more

* Fordun, vol. v. p. 997, Hearne Edit.

† Barbour, B. ii. 175.

closely those ties of duty, by which the party were held together.

The privilege of placing the crown upon the head of the Scottish sovereigns belonged to the Earl of Fyfe, who claimed it as a descendant of Macduff, since the time of Malcolm Canmore. But Duncan, who at that time enjoyed the title, being attached to the English King, Isabella, his sister, who had been married to Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, secretly withdrew from her residence, and repaired to the banks of the Tay, accompanied by a troop of horses.* Unfortunately, before the arrival of this lady, who had buried in oblivion the recent transaction between the kinsman of her husband and Bruce at Dumfries, he had been installed Mar. 27, 1306. by his noble barons, and declared King.†

Lambert, Bishop of St. Andrew's, placed a golden crown or coronet upon his head, which had been found in possession of Geoffrey de Coigners, who incurred the resentment of Edward I., for preserving it, but was pardoned.‡

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 220.

† Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 203, fol. 210, in Original Roll.

‡ Langtoft, Chron. vol. ii. p. 331. "Coronella aurea." Pardonatio concessa Gulfrido de Coigners de eo quod detinuit et concillavit quand coronellam auream, cum qua Robtus le Brus rebellis regis Scociæ fecit se indicta terra Scociæ coronari. Apud Carleol, 20 Marcij.

The Bishop of Glasgow furnished him with robes, and a banner with the arms of the kingdom of Scotland upon it, which he had long concealed in his treasury,* over and under which he received the homage of his nobles,† in the absence of the regalia, which appears to have been carried off by Edward I. Robert I. was solemnly crowned King of Scotland,‡ in the presence of four bishops and five earls,§ on the 27th of March. In order that no part of this solemnity should be omitted, and that it might have the advantage of every loyal form in the eyes of the people, Isabella, the Countess of Buchan, was permitted, in the absence of her brother, the Earl of Fyfe, to install Robert in their augural chair, on Sunday, May 29th, the second day after his coronation,|| the fatal stone on which the Scottish kings were usually crowned, and with which their destiny was believed to be connected, being removed by Edward to Westminster.¶ Robert I. now

* *Od une banere des armes—jadis Roy d'Escoces la quelle banere le dit Evesq avoit longtems celement musce en sa tresorie enveia audit Counte a l'Abbeye de Scone. Articuli p. ponendi conta. Epm. Glasguens. N. 180. Documents in Treasury, p. 540. It does not appear that the arms of Baliol were wrought on it.*

† Rymer, *Epiat.* 88. *Par. Roll,* 35 *Edw. I.*

‡ Barbour, vol ii. p. 180.

§ Hemingford, p. 221.

|| *Fœdr. Angl.* 988.

¶ *Trivet,* p. 342. *M. Westminster,* p. 454. *English*

received the homage of his nobility, and those that had attended his coronation, and afterwards proceeded through various parts of Scotland, in order to augment the number of his party.* In his progress, many were induced to enlist under the banner of their sovereign; and he was enabled to lay hold of several castles and fortified places, which had been in the possession of his enemies, committed to prison sheriffs and officers of Edward, and compelled most of the English to take shelter in England, with the exception of those who had fled to the fortresses that continued still to hold out against him.†

The inhabitants of Galloway had showed an unwillingness to support the cause of Robert, and entering their country, he burnt many places to the ground, and laid siege to one of their chiefs, who had shut himself up in a fortified place; but some troops of England having come from Carlisle, he raised the siege,

writers inconsistently attribute this action to Elizabeth de Quinci, daughter of the Earl of Winchester, and mother-in-law to Isabella M'Duff. *Scala Chron. Ap. Leland, Coll. ii. 542.*

* Barbour, vol. ii. pp. 185—189.

† *Historia Angliæ a Brute, ad an. 1348. MS. Cotton*:—per comitissam de Bohan, se fecit in regem Scotiæ solemniter coronari. *Rotul. Patentium.*

and the machines and ships with which it had been carried on being burnt, he retreated.*

Immediately after his coronation, letters of credence were sent by Robert the Bruce, who in the English songs of his day was styled "the summer King,"† to the Earl of Strathern by the abbot of Inchaffrayn, who urged him to come and perform homage. "Nay," said the Earl, "I have nothing to do with him." The King and the Earl of Athole immediately entered Strathern, and occupied Foulis, with his army, while the Earl remained in the wood of Creff; and Strathern, with the advice of his people, proceeded into the presence of the King, but refused to do him homage, and was permitted to depart, under his safe conduct. When advised, at a second

* Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 204.

† English verse, written in 1306:—

"To the Kyng Edward hii fasten huere fay ;

Fals was hereforeward so frost is in May,

That sonne from the southward wypeth away.

Hii that him crowned proude were ant bolde,

Hii maden kyng of somere, so hii ner ne sholde ;

Hii setten on ys heved a crowne of rede golde,

Ant token him a kyng-gerde, so me kyng sholde.

Now kyng Hobbe in the mures gongeth,

For te come to toun nout him ne longeth ;

The barouns of Engelond, mght hue him gripe,

He him wolde techen on Englysche to pype,

Thourh streynthe :

Ne be he ner so stout,

Yet he bith y soht out

O' brede and o' leynthe."

meeting, on the Moothill, where he was urged by the Earl of Athole to join his sovereign, he replied, "I would not that my faith should be as frail as yours." Upon which, he was placed in the custody of Sir Niel Campbell and Sir Walter de Logan, while his lands were plundered by Athole, and he himself conducted to Inhomecolmick. The King being entreated by Sir Robert Boyd to attain his lands, and punish him as a traitor; at length he performed homage, promised his support to his sovereign,* and was received into favour.

Malise, Earl of Strathern, soon afterwards renounced his allegiance, and, in a memorial to the King of England, gave these as his reasons for acknowledging the title of Robert the Bruce† and deserting Edward:—that he was in danger of his life, and compelled to do so.

Along with Pembroke, John de Bretagne, junior, seems to have been appointed joint lieutenant in Scotland, on whom the English King bestowed three thousand merks, as an annual allowance,‡ out of the revenue of that country; and John de Keith and John de Kingston

* Roll, 144. Documents and Records preserved in the Treasury, vol. i. pp. 319—321.

† Document 144, p. 319, preserved in the Treasury.

‡ *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, Ed. I. N. 6, p. 65.

were appointed keepers,* probably wardens, of the marches, or governors of fortresses.

The Earl of Pembroke, Adomaro de Valens, who had already received orders to march into Scotland, was appointed guardian and lieutenant over the marches of Scotland, to the confines of Dumfries, as his part of jurisdiction, in the room of John de Bretagne, who held that office, with full power to grant pardon to all who should acknowledge the authority of England, with the exception of those who had been concerned in the murder of the Red Cumyn—a power which was granted to him by royal charter, under the great seal.† William de Bevercotes was appointed Chancellor, Robert Heron, Comptroller, and John de Sandale, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, the chamberlain;‡ Pembroke was also appointed Captain-General of York and Northumberland, besides Landou, in England, the ancient possession of the Scottish Kings, extending as far as the borders of Dumfries, from whence he summoned his military tenants, for the northern expedition.§

Edward had now become aged and un-

* *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, Ed. I. A. 33, N. 4, p. 65.

† *Calendarium Rotul. Patentium*, 34 Ed. I. M. 28, p. 66. Tyrell, vol. iii. p. 171.

‡ Ryley, 504. *Fœdera Angl.* ii. 9978. Trivet, 342.

§ *Fœder. Angl.* ii. 938.

wieldy, so that he could not readily mount on horseback. He strengthened the frontier garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle, however, and adopted every means for maintaining his influence in Scotland. His clergy and laity agreed to contribute a thirtieth, and the merchants, the most wealthy body of men even at this early period in England, a tenth to carry on the war.* When he was informed of this daring attempt of Bruce to wrest from him a kingdom, which had cost him so much trouble and expense, he despatched a messenger to the Pope, then living at Bordeaux, to acquaint him with the treachery of Bruce, the violation of the sanctuary, and the cruel murder of Cūmyn, at the high altar; and beseeching him to issue the thunders of the Vatican, and place under interdict all who should endeavour to aid this traitor, or draw a sword in defence of liberty. Upon the arrival of the couriers, Clément V., a native of Gascony, who had lately been a subject of Edward, in order to shew his dutiful respect, issued a bull, appointing the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Carlisle to excommunicate Bruce with all his adherents,† and place their possessions under all the horrors of an interdict, which

* Math. Westminst. p. 455. Langtoft, p. 333.

† Dated Bordeaux, 18 May, 1306.

they did in the following spring.* The English King thought, by this summary proceeding, to crush at once the hopes and prospects of Robert, a measure which he expected would prove more effectual in settling this distracted country than any he could pretend to by means of his arms and temporal power.

By denouncing the sentence of interdict, which the Pope usually did against sovereigns, for the most trivial offences, the nation was involved in the greatest misery. The people were deprived of all the consolations and exercise of religion; no sacred rite was performed to them, unless the baptism of infants, and the administration of the communion to the dying; the church was rendered desolate, and the altars almost overturned and stripped of every sacred ornament. The dead which lay uninterred, the consecrated ground being prohibited, were frequently thrown into ditches, or the loathsome carcasses buried at a distance from the tombs of their forefathers, without any service of the dead to soothe the surviving mourners, or hallow their prayers and crying.

All the sacred relicts of the Cathedral, the images of the saints, and the Virgin Mary, and our Saviour, the bell which announced the sacred hour of prayer, were removed from

* *Fœder. Angl.* ii. 997, 998.

their place and laid on the ground ; and every symbol of religion was hid from the contagion of mortal eyes, the priests and clergy not even daring to approach them, according to their superstitious rites, in the sacred act of veneration. High mass was performed with shut doors, the sacred orders alone being permitted to hear it ; and, in short, there was not an action in life, which did not bear the impress of this prohibition. All the pleasures, and innocent enjoyments natural to man, were interdicted ; the voice of joy and gladness was banished from the land ; marriage was celebrated in the churchyards ; the most mortifying penances were prescribed, while the deepest distress pervaded the land ; and the external appearance of the people corresponded to the desponding feelings of the inward man, who could receive no consolation or enjoyment. Every person appeared with his clothes rent, his beard unclipped, and abstaining from certain kinds of meat, in order to avert the just vengeance of heaven, and propitiate the divine favour ; and men were held, as it were, by a spell, attending with profound veneration to every injunction issued by the sacred order *

This was the first fulmination of the church

* Chron. Dunst. vol. i. p. 51. Fœder. Angl. ii. 997 ; Annal. Weverley, p. 170.

of Rome; but while this horrid sentence was putting in execution, another one, of a yet more characteristic and terrible aspect, was hanging over their heads. The sentence of excommunication was the next anathema, which was pronounced and ordered to be read from every pulpit, debarring the King from all the consolations, and privileges of religion. Then followed the excommunication of his adherents or subjects, absolving them from their oath of allegiance and fidelity, denouncing every one without the pale of the church, who dared to hold any intercourse or conversation with a Prince, who had been excommunicated,—prohibiting them from attending his table, entering his councils, or holding any intercourse with him whatsoever. The last step in the gradation of papal discipline, was the sentence of deposition which pontiffs did not hesitate to pronounce against the most powerful emperor or king. Such was the influence of that spiritual hierarchy over the minds of men, that it was almost always followed with the desired effect; and the monarch, against whom this thunderbolt was directed, usually fell prostrate before the papal throne, and did homage to the triple crown. An anathema of this kind required, however, an armed force*

* *Fœdera Anglia*, ii. 997. *Math. Paris*, p. 165.

to put the threats of the pope in execution ; and Edward, whose heart was already set upon this object, was appointed to dethrone this upstart king, and as a recompense, received the blessings of Rome, and her order to take possession of his kingdom.*

This cunning artifice of the Romish church, by which the priesthood enslaved the minds of men, and bent them to every possible undertaking, seldom failed of its purpose. Little more than a century before, one of the ancestors of Edward, King John of England, was reduced by the sentences of interdict, excommunication, and deposition, to such an abject condition, that rather than lie under such agonies of terror, he resigned his kingdom into the hands of the papal emissary, and with clasped hands and bended knees, did homage to the legate, the representative of the Pope, who restored it again to him, and trampled on his tribute money.†

The thunders of the Roman Pontiff, however, fell powerless upon Robert the Bruce, a circumstance which we are not to account for, from any enlightened change in the minds of men, who were still as prone to superstition, as in the darkest ages of the church ; but to

* Fœder. Angl. ii. 997. Math. Paris, p. 165.

† Rymer, vol. i. p. 116.

his alliance with the clergy, who alone could avert these evils, and brave the thunders of the hierarchy. From these observations it must be seen, that the authority of the Roman Pontiffs, to inflict such a tyrannical sentence upon kings, and to visit a nation with such misery, as to dissolve all the ties that unite society together, depended almost entirely upon their influence, with the clergy of that kingdom, which was placed under the interdict, as they alone could put the sentence into execution, or frustrate its power.

Bruce, although he entered upon this momentous undertaking, without having laid down proper schemes for the regulation of his conduct, had the precaution to enter into a mutual alliance of defence with Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrew's, and to attach to his party, the other ecclesiastics of rank.* To these alone he was indebted for the success of his cause, which otherwise would have been lost in the outset, along with his kingdom and life. They had as much interest as Robert, in withstanding any bull proceeding from the Archbishop of York, to whose spiritual authority they were unwilling to stoop; and by steadily persisting to celebrate divine worship, notwithstanding its prohibition by the head

* *Fœdera Anglia*, ii. p. 497.

of the church, and resisting the fulminations of the Pope, they turned the edge of the spiritual sword powerless away, and prevented the most inevitable and direful consequences from ensuing.*

Edward had by this time become aged and infirm, being about sixty-five, and after a life spent in continual warfare and activity, but little able to endure the hardships of a winter campaign. But although feeble and unwieldy, he was as yet vigorous in mind, and prompt in measure; and in order to inspire his son with the chivalrous notions of the age, and infuse new life and vigour into the army, he conferred the honours of knighthood on his son, Edward of Carnarvon, Prince of Wales; on the Earl of Arundel and Warrene; and issuing his royal mandate, that all those worthy of knighthood should appear at Westminster, he conferred this honour at the same time on nearly three hundred young men, of family and gallantry. This ceremony of installing the knights, was performed at Westminster, in a style of magnificence hitherto unknown. These noble esquires, with a brilliant cortege of pages and other feudal attendants, pitched their pavilions around the new temple, in the orchard, which was cleared for the pur-

* *Fœdera Ang.* vol. ii. p. 997.

pose, and received from the wardrobe of their magnificent sovereign, the embroidered belts and splendid scarlet dresses, in which they kept their vigil, and watched their arms in the chapel of the temple, while the Prince of Wales underwent a like ceremony, in the abbey church of Westminster.

After the King had knighted his son, in the most solemn and impressive manner in his palace, the Prince conferred the like honour, giving the accolade to his three hundred companions on the step of the high altar, who were to accompany him to Scotland, and prove themselves worthy of their belt and spurs. A sumptuous feast was prepared, and two white swans, the imprese of the royal arms,* adorned with golden nets, and other splendid ornaments,† were brought before the King, attended by his nobles. Edward vowed to God, and also in his superstition to the swans, that he would take ample vengeance on Bruce, who had done violence to the holy church, and the

* " Hay, hay, the withe swan,
By G——'s soul! I am thy man."

Words wrought upon the surcoat and shield of Edward III. A swan was sometimes given by heralds as an imprese to musicians.

† Tunc allati sunt in pompatica gloria, duo cygni velolores ante regem, phalerati retibus aureis vel fistulis de auratis. Quibus visis rex votum vovit: Deo cœli et cygnis.—M. Westmin. p. 454.

laws of God; that he would never unsheath his sword against the enemies of Christianity, until he had punished the treachery of the Scots.* The young prince and his newly-created knights, having devoted themselves to avenge the murder of Cumyn in a singular manner, took upon him to execute his father's vow, and swore that he should not remain two nights in one place, before he had reached Scotland.†

April. The Earl of Pembroke, the principal guardian, had already arrived in the north, attended by Robert de Clifford, Henry de Percy, Ingelram de Umfraville, and Philip de Mowbray,‡ a large army being ordered to meet at Carlisle on 8th July, of which the aged King himself intended to take the command. Pembroke, with his army, took up his head-quarters at Perth, and was followed by young Edward and his knight companions. As they advanced, intended as a vanguard to the main body of the troops, they laid waste and spoiled the whole country, sparing neither sex nor age, but cruelly put all to the sword without distinction; a mode of warfare which was severely condemned by

* M. Westmin. p. 454.

† Trivet, p. 343.

‡ Barb. ii. vol. ii. pp. 211, 212.

their more experienced King, who recommended that they should be courteous knights, and shew mercy to the common people.*

June 19, 1306. Robert, who had hitherto been employed in perambulating Scotland, with a view to strengthen his party, after pillaging Galloway, made a first attempt against Perth, of which the guardian had already taken possession.† As he approached this city, he sent a herald, according to the customary forms of chivalry, to challenge the English commander in the open field, who, at the suggestion of Sir Ingelram de Umfraville, who suggested this stratagem, replied that as the day was far spent, he would meet him next morning; an answer which had the desired effect of arresting his progress, lulling him into repose.

Trusting to the honour of the English, who had accepted the challenge, and were famed for scrupulously observing the orders of chivalry, he incautiously drew off his army to the neighbouring wood of Methven, a place a few miles distant from Perth, where he proposed to rest during the night. Being informed that they were dispersed, in the act of foraging

* Chron. Lanercost, vid. Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 121.

† Trivet, 343. Barb. 29, 34. M. Westmin. 455. Before 24 August, St. Bartholomew's mass. MS. Harleian, N. 2253, f. 60.

and cooking their supper, and without guards and other indispensable military precautions, having relapsed into confident security, Pembroke ordered an immediate attack, and filed off his troops in the direction of the forest, outnumbering the Scots by fifteen hundred men. The Scots, who were taken by surprise, in order to distinguish them from their enemies in the night, put on linen shirts above their clothes, ran to their arms; and in the confusion and panic which such an unexpected attack produced, being scarcely formed into their ranks, they were enabled to make but a feeble and doubtful resistance.

The King fought in the most gallant manner, and being but weakly supported, was unhorsed by Sir Philip de Moubray, who called aloud that he had taken prisoner the newly-made King, on which he was knocked down by Bruce's squire. Thus rescued by Sir Christopher de Seton, he again rushed forward to the combat in the most gallant manner, unhorsed the Earl of Pembroke, had his horse a second and a third time killed under him, and owed his protection to the fortunate assistance of Simon Fraser, who ran to his aid, and enabled him once more to remount.* By some English reports, he is said to have been taken

* Barbour, p. 34.

prisoner, and again rescued;* and notwithstanding the heroic example which Robert the Bruce set his followers, they were unable to stand before the close ranks of the English, or retrieve the effect of their surprise. Circumvented by this stratagem of Pembroke, his patriotic band was dispersed;† and amongst the prisoners of rank, were Sir Alexander Fraser, Sir David Barcklay, Sir Hugh de la Hay, Sir John de Somerville, Sir David Inchmartin, Hutting, the marshal and standard-bearer, Hugh, the chaplain, and Randolph of Strathdon, his nephew,‡ who were all ordered to be hanged and quartered by Edward, with the exception, of Randolph, who was pardoned and deserted his country, and a few for whom ransom was taken by Pembroke.§ But these cruel commands were in several instances not put into execution.

The inexperienced monarch, who confided too much in the vain forms of chivalry, and who, in this unfortunate contest, shewed what spirit he was of, learned, by this defeat, an excellent lesson of caution and prudence, which made him watch every future movement of the

* Leland, i. 42.

† Chronicon de Lanercost.

‡ Barbour, 36. M. Westmin. 455. Leland, i. 42. Prynne's Edward I. p. 1123.

§ Barbour, p. 37. Prynne's Edward I. p. 1123.

enemy, and afterwards proved of essential service to him in the course of the campaign. Robert retired upon this defeat, with the scattered remains of his troops, to the fastnesses and mountainous country of Athole, with little more than five hundred men;* attended by Edward, his brother, the Earl of Athole, and Gilbert de la Hay of Errol, Sir James Douglas, and Sir Nigel Campbell, together with Sir William, the Barondown,† and the Earl of Levenax, who fought bravely, but was amissing.‡ There they continued lurking for some time, but from the hardships and privations which they endured, they were constrained to descend to Aberdeenshire, where Robert met the Queen and many other ladies, attended by Nigel Bruce, who preferred the dangers of war in company with their husbands and fathers, to captivity in England.§

Upon the approach of the English, who still pushed northward, they again retired to the mountains, and took refuge in the wilds of Braid-Albin, accompanied by their fair companions.¶ An order was now issued by the

* Barbour, ii. 476, 491.

† Ibid. ii. 479. This Knight witnessed a charter to the Abbey of Melrose. Chart. de Melrose. Bibl. Harl. 3960, f. 109.

‡ Barbour, p. 37.

§ Barbour, Ibid.

¶ Barbour, 39, 40.

English government, with a view, perhaps, to discover the rank and number of those who still adhered to the fortunes of Bruce, that the wives belonging to his party who joined their husbands, should be put to death; upon which his troop was daily swelling, and receiving new accessions of female warriors.*

Sir James Douglas, with great gallantry, supplied the ladies with provision, by fishing on the river, hunting, and other precarious means; but the patriots were frequently reduced to miserable shifts for want of provision,† having recourse frequently to the berries and roots of the earth for food, and the skins of the deer and roe for covering.

Alexander, Lord of Argyle, and the chief of the Macdougals of Lorn, had married the aunt of Comyn; and anxious to revenge the death of his kinsman, attended by a thousand followers armed with the murderous Lochaber axe, he made a desperate attack upon the King, at Dalry, the King's field, near Teyndrum, who, in this unequal strife, was nearly overpowered.‡ Sir Gilbert de la Hay rode in amongst the Highlanders and cut down many of them, but was at length wounded, together

* Fordun, xii.

† Barb. ii. 575, 577, or 39, 40.

‡ Fordun, xii. 2. Barbour, 40, 43.

with Sir James Douglas. Bruce then sounded a retreat, and taking his station in the rear of his troops, safely drew them off, and checked the enemy.* Lorn, observing his prudence and courage, observed to his follower, "Methinks, Murthokson, he resembles Gol Mak-Morn, in protecting his men."†

Two young men of the name of Makynedrosser, the sons of the Durward or porter, together with a third person, whose name is unknown, had solemnly vowed that should they ever have the good fortune to meet with Robert, they would either cut him off, or perish in the attempt. Having overtaken him during this flight in a narrow and precipitous dale between Loch-an-our, and an abrupt precipice, as the first one laid hold of the bridle, Robert severed his arm and shoulder from his body, and the second one, who attempted to pinion him by mounting behind, was seized by him with great agility and strength, and stabbed upon the neck of the horse; while the third, who had endeavoured to unhorse him by laying hold of his leg, had the meanwhile been dragged forward by the noble animal, to whom the King had applied the spur, until he had disengaged himself from the second, when he put a period to his life

* Barbour, p. 42.

† Celtic tradition.

also with his broad-sword.* This noble feat, to which, in self-defence, he was urged, gained the admiration of his enemies, particularly of Baron Macknaughton, of Corval,† who, somewhat daunted by the prowess of Robert, gave over the pursuit,‡ and observed to Lorn, “that he had never heard of one who by his knightly feats, had extricated himself, from such dangers as have this day surrounded Bruce.”§

For want of provision on these dreary wilds and upland grounds, more especially upon the approach of winter, he was obliged to seek out some retreat of safety for the ladies of rank; since the queen and her adherents in misfortune were deemed unsafe, and too much exposed to the pitiless storms, in these mountainous deserts. The cavalry, which now scarcely amounted to three hundred, was placed under the command of Nigel, his brother, and the Earl of Athole, who were ordered to escort the queen, a daughter of the Earl of Ulster, with the ladies of her court, to

* Barbour, p. 44, 4to. ed. 1820.

† Barbour, iii. 153, 180.

‡ Ibid. iii. 147, 186.

§ By the tradition of the Macdougals of Lorn, Macdougall was one of the three, who encountered the King; and his mantle and brooch being retained in the dying grasp of his two retainers, the MacKeochs, the brooch is said to be still preserved in the family of Lorn.—See Lord of the Isles, Cantò ii. stanza 11.

the strong castle of Kildrummy, in Mar, in the heights of Aberdeenshire, which was still in the possession of Robert.*

At the head of two hundred infantry, he himself sought a precarious subsistence among the hills; and with a view of passing into Ireland, despatched Sir Niel Campbell to procure ships and provision.† His men were now reduced to great misery, for want of regular food, and fell into great despondency of mind. The King alone seems to have remained unchanged; he raised the dying courage of his followers, and amused their fancy by rehearsing numerous anecdotes; he recounted the noble deeds of Rome, which had frequently been visited with as sudden calamity as Scotland, and had yet generally risen triumphantly over her enemies; and while his people were refreshing themselves with food, diverted them sometimes with the romances of the worthy Ferabras or Fierabras, and an account of the siege of Duke Peris, or Dowchsperis, the twelve peers of France,‡ in the tower of Egrymor, by King Lawyn.§

In their attempts to reach Cantire, they

* Barbour, iii. 335.

† Barbour, iii. 392.

‡ Wyntoun calls them Dowchsperis; in French, les douz pers, or the twelve peers of France.

§ Barbour, iii. 191, 266, 435, 462.

wandered through many extensive forests, and at length arrived on the banks of the beautiful Loch-lomond. They had been engaged in hunting during the whole day, with little success; but the sound of their hunting-horns and other well-known signs of the chase, had attracted the attention of the Earl of Levenax or Lennox, who had retired to these mountains; and near this romantic lake they fortunately met with the Earl, upon which they all shed tears. Being ignorant of the fate of his sovereign, Lennox no sooner discovered the youthful King, than he ran, and fell upon his neck, and they wept together. And now he had the satisfaction of supplying him and his party with provisions, after they had all nearly perished for want.* The only transport which they could find was a small leaky boat or courraugh, in which the King and Douglas passed over the lake, the rest following after, some by swimming, and others in the courraugh. In the course of this solitary journey, in which they were hotly pursued by their enemies, they sometimes took refuge in caves during the night; and particularly upon one occasion, when the King slept on a rock, surrounded by a herd of wild goats, being

* Barbour.

highly delighted with the companions of his slumber.

Meanwhile, Sir Niel Campbell had arrived with some small ships, and boats, and provision, of which last they stood in great need. Into these Bruce and about three hundred of his followers entered; but the Earl of Levenax, being left behind, had a long chase in his boat, and would have been mastered by the enemy, had he not lightened the barge by throwing overboard the baggage, and other things of weight. They landed on the coast of Kintyre, where they were hospitably received by Angus, Lord of the Isles and Cantire, a descendant of the famous Somerled, in his castle of Dunavarty, where he did homage to his sovereign;* and from thence, with a few attendants, he passed over to the small island of Rachrin, on the northern coast of Ireland, where at first the inhabitants fled to their castle, but afterwards received him kindly, and induced him to remain during the winter, where he devised and matured plans for his future movements, in the emancipation of his enslaved country.†

* Barbour, p. 61.

† Barbour, 61, a different Edit.

CHAPTER II.

EDWARD, in the meantime, had learned with great satisfaction the success of his expedition; and indignant at the Scots, whom he termed his rebellious subjects, immediately issued an order of council from Lanercost, to search for and pursue every one who had been in arms against the English government, either before or since the battle of Methoen, and refused to surrender at discretion; to apprehend, dead or alive, all who had been perpetrators of other crimes; to hang and quarter those who were guilty of the murder of Comyn, or were accessory to that atrocious deed, or protected those who had been so; and to imprison the ring-leaders of the rebellion, as it was termed, more especially those ecclesiastics who had espoused the cause of Bruce during the King's pleasure; and to fine and ransom the common people who had unwillingly taken up arms.* Upon

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. pt. 2, 995. New Edit. Tyrrell, *Hist. Engl.* vol. iii. p. 174.

this proclamation being made public, Elizabeth, the Queen of Scotland, and Margory, the daughter of Robert by a former marriage, who had retired to Kildrummy castle, in Mar, thinking themselves yet unsafe, and dreading the hardships of a siege, took refuge in the Gyrth of Tain, or the Sanctuary of St. Duthac, in Rossshire.*

The castle of Kildrummy stands upon an eminence, which, at some distance, is washed by the Don, and defended by two deep ravines. It appears to have originally consisted of one great circular tower or donjon, with five floors or stories ; but was afterwards formed into an irregular pentagon surrounding a spacious court, and flanked by six towers of unequal extent, and dissimilar in form. The barbican or entrance occupied the curtain on the south side, looking to the river Don, and the whole was surrounded by water. A subterranean passage or vault, regularly arched, may still be traced, of sufficient height to admit horses, which opened to the bank on the northern side of the fortress ; and through this passage, which sometimes served as a sally-port, the queen and princesses, with their attendants, now made their escape, when they fled to the sanctuary near Tain.

* *Fœdera*, vol. ii. pp. 1013, 1014. Major, p. 181. Barbour's Bruce, p. 66.

In these times of lawless barbarity, so much had every principle of religion been deadened, that men had little scruple in violating even the most sacred asylum. And William, the Earl of Ross, who dreaded the power of the English monarch, breaking open this sanctuary, delivered the queen and princess to the English, together with the ladies of their train, and certain knights that had escorted them from Kildrummy, who were cruelly put to death.*

It was at first intended to keep the queen in the tower of London with extreme rigour; but this order being revoked, she was given in charge to Sir Henry Percy, together with Christina, the sister of Bruce, and wife of Sir Christopher Seton.† The queen, though kept in captivity, was treated according to her rank, and being conveyed to the manor of Brustewick, had a suitable establishment provided for her; venison and fish for her table; three greyhounds for coursing in the warrens and parks; two squires, one of which was appointed by her father, the Earl of Ulster, the other belonging to the country, to carve for her; and liberty to course and amuse herself within the boundaries of the manor; she had also a footman to attend her in her chamber,

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. pt. 2, p. 167, new ed. Major, p. 181, says the queen was delivered by William Comyn.

† Document, N. 155, § 8, 9, p. 359.

a sober man as servant, to take care of her keys, pantry, and butlery; and also a cook.* Marjory, the daughter of Robert by his first wife, and his sister, Christina, and the lady of Seton, were committed to the care of Henry Percy, who conducted them into separate convents: and Mary, his other daughter, who was not allowed to accompany her mother, was placed in a cage, and kept a close prisoner in Roxburgh castle.† She continued shut up in a most barbarous manner, in this uncomfortable prison, for four years, when she was then exchanged for nine English prisoners of note.‡

The patriotic and noble minded Countess of Buchan, who, under very peculiar circumstances, had placed the crown upon the head of Robert the Bruce, was held in captivity with great rigour, and treated in the most capricious and tyrannical manner. The chamberlain of Scotland received orders to make a cage of strong lattice-work, in which she was confined, which was formed in the shape of a crown,§ strongly latticed and secured with iron and wooden bars, and which was within

* *Fœd. Angl.* ii. 1014.

† *Fœd. Angl.* iii. 1014. *Barbour's Bruce*, vol. i. p. 66.

‡ *Rot. Scotiæ*, 3 Ed. II., m. 2, dorso.

§ *M. Westminst.* 455. *Fleming*, i. 227.

constructed* or attached to one of the towers in the castle of Berwick, a cruel spectacle to every passenger, which called forth the sympathy of the good, and all who beheld her.† In each cage was the convenience of a decent chamber.‡ In this uncomfortable situation she was guarded with the strictest attention, with only one old woman to wait upon her. Prevented from holding any intercourse with human beings, particularly her own countrymen, she was supplied, during her uncomfortable durance, which lasted four years, with the necessaries, but few of the comforts of life, by her aged English attendant,§ until removed to the monastery of Mount Carmel, in Berwick; and he who had the care of her, had to answer body for body.¶

June 9th. Such was the treatment which these noble dames received from the generosity of Edward of England; nor did the noblemen who adhered to Robert meet with a less cruel fate. Nigel Bruce, his brother, who had accompanied the queen to the castle of Kildrummy, in Mar, was there

* Fœd. Angl. ii. 1014.

† M. Westminst. 455. Rotuli Scotiæ, 3 Edw. II., m. 2 dorso.

‡ Rymer, ii. 1014.

§ Fœd. Angl. ii. 1014. Trivet, p. 324.

¶ Documents in the Treasury, 155, p. 358, § 6.

besieged by Edward, Prince of Wales, the Earls of Hereford, Gloucester,* and Lancaster, one of the most powerful subjects in England; and such was the strength of this magnificent building, which was surrounded by a moat filled with water; and the brave defence which the garrison made, that had it not been betrayed by the infidelity of a false traitor, it would have long held out, and perhaps defied the assailants of the English army.

A good many English had been wounded and slain, and they had been frequently obliged to retire, so that they began to despair of being able to reduce the castle; when they found means to bribe a blacksmith of the name of Osbarne, who threw a red-hot coulter into the large hall, in which was a "mow" of unthrashed corn; and the fire penetrating through the thick boards, the castle was soon in flames. The enemy, when they discovered that it was on fire, commenced to storm it, but were repulsed, and did not venture to enter until the morning, although the gate had been burnt down during the night, and rebuilt again. Next day they were obliged to surrender at discretion; and they had not left the castle long, when about a fourth part of the tower

* Barbour, iv. 73, 78.

of Snawdown fell to the ground.* According to tradition, this despicable character received an ample reward for his treachery; since, being promised as much gold for this villanous deed as he could possibly desire, in order to mark their detestation of his character, the English fused the metal, and poured it over his throat.

Among the unhappy inmates of the castle who had been fortunate enough to escape the flames, and who were carried into captivity, were, Nigel, the King's brother, particularly admired for his beauty and comely appearance, † who was tried by a special jury at Berwick, where he was deemed worthy of death, and afterwards beheaded; ‡ John de Strathbolgie, the Earl of Athole, who had endeavoured to make his escape by sea, after the siege, but being driven back by a storm and discovered, § was carried by Sir Hugh le Despenser ¶ a prisoner to London, where he met with the same cruel fate. He was half

* Barbour, Buke Thryd, 409, p. 70. Edit. 1820. Jamieson.

† Miles pulcherrimæ juventutis, M. Westminst. 455. This writer and Trivet, p. 344, say that he was taken at a castle in Kintire, where Robert was supposed to be concealed.

‡ Barbour, p. 65.

§ Barbour, iv. 62.

¶ Document N. 144. "Johan Conte d'Asceles."

strangled upon a gibbet, cut down, and his bowels burnt in his presence, and afterwards beheaded; the trunk of his body being also burnt to ashes,* and his head placed on London bridge; and although one writer says that the sentence which required that he should be quartered or drawn, appears to have been remitted,† yet this was not the case, for he was also quartered.‡

Athole was cousin to the King of England by a natural branch, his mother, Maude of Dour, being a daughter of Richard, the natural son of King John;§ but such was the ferocity of these times, and the delight of Edward upon the defeat of the Scottish patriots, that it served to lighten even the couch of affliction: though he was lying on his death-bed, he triumphed over the cruel fate of his cousin, the unfortunate Earl of Athole,|| who only received this distinction from the rest of the noble prisoners, that he was hanged on a gallows fifty feet high, and

* M. Westmin. 456.

† Langtoft.

‡ Et ibi tractus et suspensus et decollatus, et caput ejus positum super pontem Londoniarum, supra caput Willelmi Waleis et Simonis Fraser, quod consanguineus regis erat. Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 205.

§ Scala Cronica, ap Leland, vol. ii. p. 543.

|| M. Westminst. 456.

had his head placed above those of Sir William Wallace and Simon Fraser.* The aged King shewed indeed little mercy upon this occasion to the Scottish nation; but executed many people of distinction with as great ignominy as if they had been traitors worthy of death, or guilty of rebellion to their natural sovereign. Nor can his want of humanity be better illustrated, than by the memorable answer which he gave to those who demanded his pleasure respecting his captives, "Hang and draw them all."† David, the son and heir of Athole, was given in custody to the Earl of Gloucester.‡

The English army divided themselves into several parties, and overran the country. The castle of Lochare, or Lochurr, in Galloway, being blockaded by a strong detachment of Pembroke's forces, was surrendered; upon which Christopher Seton, the brother-in-law of Robert, who had been present at the murder of Comyn, being betrayed into the hands of the English by M'Nab, a confidential and familiar friend, was tried at Dumfries, a privilege which appears only to have been ex-

* Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 205.

† Barb. iv. 323, 327.

‡ Document, p. 367, § 4.

tended to Englishmen;* and as he had consented to the death of a sheriff of the English King, † was immediately executed. The giving up of Sir Christopher Seton is also imputed to Sir Gilbert de Karryk, who had, it is said, taken refuge in his castle of Lochdon, in the county of Ayr; and it is believed that the charter which was afterwards bestowed upon his family by Robert II., was intended as a confirmation of a remission by King Robert I. in favour of Gilbert de Karryk, Knight, for surrendering the castle of Louchdone to the English, and for delivering Christopher de Seton, that King's brother-in-law; ‡ but there is no proof that he took refuge here. The Scottish King lamented the death especially of his faithful friend, when reported to him by his kinswoman of Carrick, and afterwards erected on the spot where he was executed a small chapel, where mass was said for his soul. His brother, Alexander, met with a similar end at Newcastle, § and the scaffold now streamed with the blood of the best patriots.

* *Quem cum non Scotus, sed Anglicus esset, jussit rex.*—Trivet, p. 365.

† Trivet, p. 345. When Bruce stabbed Comyn, Heming, f. p. 219, says he slew Comyn's brother; but this is contradicted by Trivet, and unsupported by Barbour and Fordun.

‡ Chart. 8 of ane Roll of Robert II. H. vid. Robertson's index to Charters. § Barbour, iv.

The patriots at the battle of Methven wore surplices, or shirts, over their armour, that those of rank might not be known, and in this manner the king and Seton, and many other officers, escaped ; and had it not been for the treachery of Macnab, "a disciple of Judas," in whom the unfortunate knight reposed the utmost confidence, he would not have fallen into the hands of Edward. Christopher Seton was a man of the most distinguished bravery ; he upheld the cause of liberty, not only in the time of King Robert, but also at a period when patriotism was of more rare growth, in the time of Wallace. He was amongst the first patriots of his day, and, on account of his successful skirmishes with the English, and the humanity which he showed, he was surnamed Good Sir Christopher, and for his bravery, knighted by Robert I. It is said by a writer of his life, that Robert the Bruce was taken prisoner by the English, in a field near Methven, when they cried out, in derision and scorn, "Who will come to the help of the new-made king?" upon which Sir Christopher Seton felled the person to the ground at a blow, who attempted to hold him fast, and with his followers rescued Robert, and set him at liberty.* In his detestation of slavery, and

* Sir Richard Maitland, of Lethington, in his life of
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his ardour for the emancipation of his country, he entered into a league with the valiant adherents of Bruce, to uphold his title to the throne, and was one of the fastest friends which that heroic monarch possessed, being married to his sister, Christina.*

The king, who at this time was quartered at Dumfries, had walked out to a small knoll to breathe the air, when tidings were brought to him of the cruel slaughter of Christopher Seton; when, with tears in his eyes, he said, "It is a pity that so noble a knight should die so cruel a death." † His unfortunate wife, Christina, who had been basely delivered up to the English, out of the sanctuary at Tain, which was thus violated, was kept in the monastery of Thirill, in Lyndsay; and the manor of Seton, in Quhytbestroud, was given away to the Lord Edmonde de Mawlay, while his other lands, in Northumberland, were bestowed on Lord William Latemer. ‡

The Scots were now reduced to great extremities, in consequence of the defeat at

the Setons, printed from MS. in the Advocate's Library, by Maitland Club. Christallis, or Christopher's Chapel, was seen by the writer in 1562.

* M. Westminst. apud Prynne, p. 1126.

† Sir Richard Maitland's History of the House of Seton.—Maitland Club.

‡ Chronicle of England; quoted by Sir Richard Maitland.

Methven ; but, indeed, it showed great bravery in Robert the Bruce, to have made an attempt against Pembroke, at Perth, considering that the forces of Edward amounted to about seven thousand.* Yet, after the dispersion of the patriots, Sir Simon Fraser was still at liberty, and those nobles and knights who were taken prisoners, assured the English that it would require all the power of Edward to secure such a knight as the veteran Fraser, who had spent his days in the pastime of war, and was distinguished for his bravery not only in Scotland, but on the continent. He collected a few troops, and for some time upheld the cause of liberty ; but he was attacked at Kirkencliff, near Stirling, when his band was dispersed.†

This unfortunate knight, after the battle of Methven, had fled, when the hopes of the Scots were entirely cut off, and had he continued in retirement, might have made his escape ; but being sorely pursued on every hand, and being a bold and true knight, he turned after the skirmish, and overthrew several of his pursuers, until they got hold of his

* Chronicle in the British Museum of sixteenth century.—Harl. MSS. p. 266.

† Harleian Manuscripts, MS. No. 2253, a song published by Ritson, written about this period in England.

steed, when he surrendered himself prisoner to Sir Thomas Multon and Sir John Jose, who led him to the host. Sir Simon now began to speak them fair, and said, "Lords, I shall give you four thousand marks of silver, and mine horse and harness, and all my armour and income as ransome." "Now God me so help," answered Therbaude of Pevenes, the king's archer, "it is for nought that thou speakest; for all the gold of England, I would not let thee go without commandment of King Edward." He was then conducted to the king, who would not see him, but commanded him to be sent to London to his doom.*

The next victim was the renowned Sir Simon Fraser, of Oliver Castle, who was almost the only Scotsman who stood firm for his country's independence, along with the intrepid Wallace, when all had fled and submitted to the conqueror. As they had been inseparable through life, and resembled each other in many particulars, Fraser being scarcely inferior in strength or courage to the immortal champion of his country, they were not far divided in death. He is described as a brave soldier, who had made a most heroic resistance against the English, when he

* Ballad printed from the Harleian MS. by Pinkerton, in his Maitland Poems, vol. ii. p. 488.

sustained the bloody banner of liberty at Kirkencliff; but before he yielded, many knights and squires were taken, many brave men had fallen, or been drowned in the river. He was given in charge to Aymer de Valence; together with David de Bregbyn.* The arms of this brave man were put in irons, his feet tied under the belly of his horse; and like his heroic companion, Wallace, he was crowned with a garland of green periwinkle, and in this ignominious manner, paraded through the streets of London, to Newgate and the place of trial.

Upon our Lady's-eve he was brought before the justices who sat in judgment upon the Scottish knights, Sir Thomas of Multon, Sir Ralph of Sandwich, and Sir John Abel, men held in much estimation in England, who called upon him to acknowledge himself to be the king's traitor, which he denied he ever could be. Upon this he was condemned, without any inquiry, to be hanged, headed, and to have his bowels burnt with fire. His squires, Thomas de Boys and Sir Herbert Morham, a Scottish knight of French extraction, whose manly conduct and courage have been commemorated in English song, were committed to the Tower along with him; and as Herbert had been in the hands of Edward in 1297, and liberated,

* Docum. N. 154, § 11, p. 855.

on condition of serving in the Flemish wars, they were both executed.*

Sir Simon was drawn from the Tower of London, heavily fettered, dressed "in a kirtle of burel, aselconthe wise," with a garland on his head, by London-bridge, through Cheape-side, where thousands were assembled to witness the melancholy spectacle of his execution, which called forth the pity of the wives and females, who witnessed the melancholy scene, who deplored the forlorn condition of a man so brave, and fair.† The unfortunate knight was first drawn, then partially hanged, that with a refinement of cruelty they might protract his sufferings, and while yet alive was cut down and headed;‡ his bowels were then taken out, and his head placed upon the point of a lance on London-bridge, beside that of his old companion, a horrible spectacle of the cruel policy of the English king, regretted by

* *Fœdera*, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 869. *M. Westminst.* p. 456.

† "With feteres and with gyves ichot he was to drowe,
From the Tour of Londone, that monie myhte knowe,
In a curtel of burel aselkethe wyse,
Ant a garland on ys heued of the new gwyse.

Hurls cheep,
Monie mon of Englonde,
For to se Symond
Thideward con lepe."

‡ *Dominus autem Symon Fraser, Scottus adductus Londonias prius fuit fractus, postea suspensus, tertio decapitatus.*—*Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 204, A. 1306.

his acquaintances, and deemed worthy of a better fate even by his enemies.* His body was hung in chains until Christmas, and a guard set upon it, until the superstition of the age discovered horrible sights, and evil spirits ramping around the gallows during the dead of night, which were said to terrify some to death, and to drive others mad; when it was taken down, and burnt to ashes.†

Several others met with the same cruel end by the orders of King Edward, who, it may be said, had already one foot in the grave, among whom were Hugh, King Robert's chaplain, Sir David Inchmartin, and Sir John Somerville.‡ And such was the barbarity of these times, that their last moments were disturbed by the English, and many of the contemporary historians relate the accounts of their death with exultation, and make their sufferings even a subject for jest.§ The clergy, ever the promoters of liberty and independence, received the credit in England of being the originators of the war.||

* Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 335. M. Westminster, pp. 455, 456.—Ancient Ballad, Harl. MSS. 2253.

† Harleian MSS., p. 466, in British Museum.—See Note I. Appendix.

‡ *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 2, p. 869. M. Westminster. 455. Barbour, iv. 36—38. Langtoft.

§ M. Westminster. 455, &c.

|| Cotemporary verse written in 1306, on Simon Fraser and Bruce.

The English army still pursued and hunted out the fugitives of the patriot body ; and the Bishop of St. Andrews, Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, who held the castle of Cupar, in Fife, and the Abbot of Scone, who had been zealous supporters against the tyranny and usurpation of Edward, were found clad in armour under their upper garments, and conducted in fetters to England.*

The Bishop of Glasgow had been summoned by the King of England to repair to Berwick-upon-Tweed ; but from the time that he joined Bruce, was firm and indefatigable in exciting the people even from the pulpit to espouse the cause of independence, and assured them that the war carried on against the King of England, was as meritorious as fighting against the Saracens in the Holy Land ; in which he was joined by Lamberton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the Bishop of Elgyn.† He had, in his zeal for the cause of national liberty, made use of the timber which the King of England had given him to build the steeple at Glasgow, for constructing engines of artillery, by which he was enabled to reduce the castle of Cupar, in Fife, which the bishop bravely defended for some time ; but being unable to

* M. Westminst. p. 455.

† N. 148. Documents in the Treasury, p. 348, § 13, N. 150, 334, § 8, 9,—12. N. 148. p. 361. § 5.

stand out against Sir Aymer de Valence, the castle was carried by assault, and Wishart made prisoner.*

The Bishop of Glasgow was sent in his coat of mail to Nottingham† and Porchester, and the Bishop of St. Andrews to the castle of Winchester:‡ the latter being accused of transferring Andrew, the eldest son of the Stewart of Scotland, who, as a hostage of England, had been committed to his charge by Edward, into the hands of Bruce; and of raising certain forces to support the usurped authority of this nobleman.§ Being afraid in that age to lay violent hands on any clergyman of rank, a request was presented to the Pope, that this prelate, together with the Bishop of Glasgow, should be removed from their sees, and others who were named, appointed in their place;|| and many accusations were given in against them.¶

The fate of Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, is intimately connected with Scottish affairs. Pope Clement V. cited him to appear at Rome on this representation of the King of England;

* Documents in Treasury, N. 148, p. 349. § 16.

† Rymer, vol. i. part 2, p. 996. New edition.

‡ Rymer, vol. i. p. 996

§ Documents in Treasury, N. 149, § 10, p. 336.

|| M. Westminst. p. 455.

¶ Sept. and Oct. 1306. Documents in Treasury, N. 148, 149.

and in the event of his failing to comply with this summons, he was to be given over to the keeping of Anthony Bec, Bishop of Durham. But although the Pope severely reprobated the conduct of Wishart, he by no means complied with the demands of the King of England,* who recommended William Comyn to the see of St. Andrews, a brother of the Earl of Buchan, and Geoffray de Mowbray to that of Glasgow.†

Such was then the weight of ecclesiastical power, that his application failed, and Edward, committing them to perpetual imprisonment, took possession of their temporalities ‡

The Lordship of Annandale, the paternal property of Robert, was given to the Earl of Hereford, and the lands of Strathbogies and Strathdon, the Earldom of Athole, including Badenagh, to the Earl of Gloucester;§ the Earldom of Carrick to Henry de Percy;¶ the

* See the Papal Register, where many valuable letters on the subject are contained. Raynaldi, A.D. 1306, § 14.

† Documents, N. 148, 150, p. 331.

‡ Fœd. Angl. vol. iii. p. 710.

§ Le bre. de Strathowyn t. Strabolgy q. fu av Conte d'Asceles, t. Badenagh dehors la Conte d'Asceles, Docum. N. 142. § 26.

¶ Documents in Treasury, N. 142, p. 301, § 3. He is called La Conte de Asceles. Calendar Rotul. Chartarum, "Atholic cum Strathbogie Strathon conces. sibi et hired. Scotiæ."

* ¶ Heming. t. i. p. 224. Fœd. Angl. vol. iii. p. 7:

manor of Hart in Durham, and his English estates, to Lord Robert Clifford and others.* The lands of Menteith, with part of the possessions of Alan the Earl, were bestowed on John de Hastings;† Coldingham, in the county of Berwick, in Scotland, to the Prior of Durham;‡ the village of Arnaud, and Castle of Lochmaben, to the Earl of Hereford and Essex, and his Countess Eliza;§ and to the Abbot de Dulci Corde, the lands of Kirkpatrick in Dumfries, and to the Abbot of Dundranand, fourteen properties in Dumfries.||

There were no less than ninety-nine petitions presented to the king, and grants of land in Scotland made to the followers of Edward, while the king was journeying between Westminster and Lanercost; many of which were, no doubt, imaginary grants, and required first to be conquered. Among these were the Castle and Barony of Bothwell, and all other tenements belonging to William de Morreve, together with the castle and forest of Selkirk, the manors of Selkirk and Tres-

* Rotuli Scotiæ. Calendar Rotulorum Palentium, Edw. I. A. 34, N. 22.

† Calendar Rotulorum Chartarum, Edw. I. p. 138.

‡ Ibid. Edw. I. 55, p. 137.

§ Ibid. p. 138. Edw. I. Chart. A. xiv. N. 33.

|| Calendar Rotul. Chartar: Edw. I. A. 33. N. 10, 11.

guayr, the burgh of Peebles, and its mills and appurtenances, which were given to Aymer de Valence.* “The Contee de Levenax,” which belonged to Sir John de Meneteth, with the Viscounty of Dunbarton, bestowed on Aymer de Valence; the lands of Thomas de Monimusk, and Alan Doreward de Fichele, in the county of Aberdeen, and Forglen, in Banf, which were granted to Thomas de la Grene, valet of Sir John de Sandale; † the estates of Sir William de Mohaut or Maclow, ‡ of Kynnetles, who had joined the patriots, to Sir John de la Mare; § and that of John de Forbees, to William Comyn, brother of Sir John Comyn; || and to Thomas de Grey, the lands belonging to Thomas Fraser, and Symon Fraser.

Thus failed the first enterprise of Robert, which was rashly undertaken, without

* These were granted before and afterwards, 10th of Aug. and 4th of Oct. 34 Edw. I. Docum. N. 118, p. 156.

† Documents, N. 142, § 18, 91, p. 305, 316.

‡ Saint Machut or M'Low was the son of the Earl of Guincastle in Scotland. Ribadeneira de vitis sanctorum. His day in the calendar is the 15th of Nov. Cumerarius de Scottorum pietate, to whom the Priory of Lesmahagow, built in 1144, was dedicated.

§ Documents in Treasury, N. 142, § 97, 98, p. 317, see note C Appendix.

|| Item William Comyn frere Mons. Johan ad demande les tres. q. furent a Johan de Forbees. Les demandes q. furent faites Aug. 34, au roi destres. en Escose Roll. 143.

the necessary means having been provided ; and seemed to facilitate the overthrow of all his prospects, and the degradation of his native country. Many nobles of rank, who had espoused his cause, despairing of ever seeing their country restored to freedom, submitted to the English king, and obtained mercy. Among whom were Randolph of Strathdon, his nephew, Allan Earl of Menteith, who was committed to the care of Sir John de Hastings, at Bergaveney ;* and the young Earl of Mar, who, on account of his tender years, was not put in irons and gyves, but was imprisoned in the castle of Bristol, with liberty to walk about the close of the castle and the garden.† Several others, such as the Stewart of Scotland, were summoned before Edward, who at that time held his court at Lanercost, near Carlisle, to swear fealty ; and in this manner he crushed a rebellion which at the commencement threatened to overturn the prospects of nearly half his reign, and entirely to cut off his influence in Scotland.

Meanwhile the thunders of the Romish See

* The Earl of Strathern was ordered to be confined in the keep of Rochester Castle, when taken : Documents, 354, § 2.

† Documents in Tower, N. 142—145, p. 356, § 12. Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 1003—1031. Chronicon de Lanercost.

were directed against Bruce and his adherents, who were, in the most solemn manner, excommunicated by Peter the Cardinal St. Sabinus of Spain, the papal legate at Carlisle, as traitors who did not scruple to violate the sacred obligations of an oath, and who had taken up arms against their sovereign. During this ceremony, the cardinal was attended by the King of England, the bishops and nobles arrayed in their robes of state, and the English parliament which had there been convened; and the awful sentence of excommunication was denounced in the most impressive manner, by bell, book, and candle;* before which, he imagined that the Scottish King would fall prostrate, the patriots vanish, and the fidelity and allegiance of his rebel kingdom would again be restored.

It is humiliating to think to what an alarming height moral depravity had then risen, in an age when everything was carried on by violence and fraud. The sacred nature of an oath was little understood or observed, the dissolution of manners was such, that it was not felt, and being frequently extorted by compulsion, men's notions of right and wrong were so vague and uncertain, that they had little scruple in violating the most sacred

* Heming. vol. i. p. 226. Fœd. vol. ii. p. 1031.

obligation. Edward, who had repeatedly sworn to respect the liberties and rites of his subjects, to confirm to them that charter of privileges by which the happiness of the people was identified, with the limited authority of the monarch, felt little compunction in breaking these, and other sacred engagements. And yet this prince, who procured a papal bull for absolving himself from the violation of the most sacred rite, applied to the same authority, in order to get the Scottish nobles excommunicated, for not observing an extorted oath; on account of which the estates of many were forfeited, and they themselves brought to condign punishment.

These denunciations of the Romish See did not, however, materially affect the interests of Robert the Bruce, being quietly secluded far out of their reach, in the little isle of Rachrine. His cause was now considered desperate and hopeless by his enemies, as they proclaimed him through all the churches of Scotland as strayed or lost, and offered a reward for his apprehension or head.* Divine service still continued to be performed throughout the country; and as a great part of the clergy still adhered to Robert, and resisted the fulminations of the Vatican, and the rest acting

* Fordun, B. xii. 11.

in a hesitating manner, he was able to resist, what had formerly crushed, and reduced to extreme misery, emperors and kings.

The intrepid Sir James Douglas, whose accession to the cause of independence was of itself a tower of strength, and who afterwards acted so conspicuous a part in the history of his country; ever impatient to accelerate the worthy end which he had in view, with the king's permission, who had wintered in Rachrine, intended to surprise the castle of Brathwick, in the island of Arran, which was held by a respectable garrison of Englishmen.* Under the pilotage of Sir Robert Boyd, he passed with a few followers, whom he had received from Christina of the Isles, in an open galley, by the way of Cantire to Arran; where he concealed his men in ambush, and drew up his galley into a glen. While they lay in this sequestered spot near the fortress, which was occupied by Sir John Hastings, the under warder of the castle was observed to arrive the evening before with provisions, clothing, and arms for the garrison; and Douglas, starting from his ambuscade, killed about forty men, and secured three boats, before assistance could be sent them from the fortress. The noise of this affray

* Barbour, B. iv. p. 340.

alarmed the garrison, which issued forth, upon which Douglas blew his horn, and went to meet them; but having retired within the castle, they shut the gate, and being too strongly fortified to hazard an attack, he drew off his men to a woody ravine, where they embarked with plenty of provisions, but lost two of the English boats.*

The king, now destitute of troops, with but few faithful friends whom he could trust, wandered in the wilds of Dumfries for some time, and in the neighbourhood of Closeburn, the residence of one of his cruel knights, Sir Roger Kirkpatrick,† who had perpetrated the murder of the unfortunate Comyn, at Dumfries, within nine miles of his castle. On the steep hill or dune of Tymon, then covered with wood, he concealed himself for some time, and in his wanderings sometimes resorted to the cottage of a poor man named Brownrig, situated on a small patch of stony ground embosomed with thickwood, where he was pleased sometimes to take shelter, and the few conveniences which the cot could afford. When Robert was established in his kingdom, the wife of this poor man was advised to petition the king for

* Barbour, B. iv. pp. 364—459.

† Stephen Kirkpatrick, styled in 1278, Dominus Villa de Closeburn, filius et heres Domini de Kirkpatrick, militis, chartulary of Kelso.

some favour, and in her modest desire, she sought no more, than that the toft should be secured to her husband, and the privilege of pasturage for a very few cattle of different kinds, on the hill, and over the neighbouring range. Her modest request was secured to her family by charter; and although the privileges have been long lost in the lapse of time, yet this family, more ancient than rich, still continue, by lineal descent from Brownrig and his wife, to possess the croft, and, it is said, still retain the charter.*

He was, indeed, at this time reduced to great want and misery, and the chronicle writers of that remote age, say that King Robert “drank of that blood, the drink of Dan Waryn,” who betook himself to the forest, naked and mad, and, like a wild beast, ate the grass; and so ungenerous were they in their wishes, and so little did the English writers of those days, sympathise with those who espoused the cause of freedom, that they wished Robert the Bruce, and all his kind, the same fate as they read of Dan Waryn in his book.†

* MS. History of the Presbytery of Penpont, in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh.

† “And well I understood that the King Robyn,
Has drunken of that blood, the drink of Dan Waryn.

During the winter the king had remained among the islands, particularly Rachine, where he was kindly entertained, and supplied with provisions, by a noble Lady Christiana, of the isles, probably the wife of Angus, Lord of Cantire, who had before furnished him in his needs.* From thence, in the course of a few days, he went to the island of Arran, with all his faithful followers.† The royal party was carried to Arran in thirty-three small boats, and upon meeting with a female, he inquired if there had been any military arrivals recently on the island? "Surely, Sir," she replied, "I can tell you of many who lately came thither, discomfited the English governor, and blockaded his castle of Brodick. They maintain themselves in a wood at no great distance."‡ Believing that it was Douglas of

Dan Waryn he les towns that he held,
 With he made a res, mist crying of scheld.
 Sithen into the forest he gede naked and wode,
 Also a wild beast, eat of the grass that stood.
 Thus Dan Waryn, in his buke men rede,
 God give the King Robyn, that all his kynd so speed.
 Sir Robynet the Brus he durst none abide,
 That they made him restus, bath in moor and wudside,
 To while he made his train, and did umwhile outrage."

Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 336,
 8vo. London, 1810.

* Fordun, B. xii. p. 12.

† Barbour, B. iv. pp. 364, 459; or 81, in another edition.

‡ Barbour's Bruce, B. iii. B. xv. pp. 14, 15.

whom she spake, after the woman had conducted him to his woody retreat, he dispersed his men and blew his horn; at the first blast Douglas heard with joy the well-known sound; at the third, he was recognised by Sir Robert Boyd, which was answered by Sir James Douglas, who knew the sound of the bugle of his sovereign, and when they approached, the king kissed them for joy. Anxious to learn how Carrick, his patrimonial inheritance, stood affected, he privately despatched Cuthbert, a messenger, into these parts in Ayrshire, and if his reception should prove favourable, he was instructed to make a signal, by kindling a fire upon a certain day, on an eminence near the castle of Turnberry's Nuke.* This castle projects on a point into the sea, which breaks upon the lower wall of the castle; which is by no means considerable. Upon the arrival of Cuthbert, the English were found to be in possession of Carrick, which had been granted by Edward to Sir Henry Percy, who occupied the castle with a strong garrison of nearly three hundred men; and so dispirited were the people, and so few dared to say good of his master, that he ventured not to make himself known, or raise the appointed signal.

* Barbour, B. iv. pp. 364, 459; or 81, in another edition.

The king, meanwhile, had been anxiously waiting to hear from his messenger, and about noon, thinking he perceived a fire on an eminence, he prepared the boats; but night overtaking them, it was long before they reached the opposite shore, owing to contrary winds and stress of weather. The men were, however, in high spirits, and eventually confident of success, perhaps from the predictions of a seer, an old woman with whom the king had lodged, who, meeting him on the beach as he was about to embark, pronounced many blessings on his cause, which was that of humanity, assuring him that his authority as king would one day be established, after he had undergone many hardships; and, as an earnest of her belief, sent her two sons along with him, to be rewarded when he had recovered his kingdom: an incident which greatly encouraged his men, and produced no inconsiderable effect on their minds.* “Ye pass now forth on your voyage,” says she, “to avenge the harm and the outrage, that Englishmen have done to you, but ye wat not what fortune you may drey in your waring; within a short time ye shall be king, and have the land at your liking, and that ye fail not in your enterprise,

* Barbour, B. iv. pp. 632. 774.

my two sons I shall send with you, for I wot well, they shall not fail to be rewarded, when ye come to your kingdom."

Upon meeting the messenger on the shore, he told them that there was no hope, that the country was dispirited, and his friends in thralldom. "Traitor!" exclaimed the king, "why then did you make the signal?" "I made no fire," replied the affrighted messenger, "but observing a fire upon an eminence, I feared that it might deceive you, and hastened hither with all speed to undeceive you and prevent disaster."* The king was somewhat staggered by this reply, and the perils of his critical situation, but the bold mind of his brother Edward at length confirmed him in his wavering purpose, who was desirous, like a knight-errant, to follow up the adventure; and he magnanimously resolved to hazard all dangers, rather than again commit himself to the ocean, and return to exile. The resolution was a momentous one, for upon it depended a kingdom, or his life and ruined fortune.† Near Culrean castle is the mouth of a romantic cavern, called the cave of Colean, in which Bruce and his followers concealed themselves immediately upon

* Barbour, B. v. pp. 41—60.

† Barbour, B. v. pp. 66—70.

their landing, until they should arrange their plans.*

Learning that a great party of the English, who never suspected any danger, were carelessly settled in the town of Turnberry, the same night, for it had not yet dawned, he with three hundred men made a bold attack, and put them all to the sword, to the amount of two hundred men, with the exception of a single individual, Macdowell, who made his escape to the castle.† The garrison, already apprized of the attack by the uproar and confusion which they heard, were afraid to sally out under the night; and Robert, carrying off the spoil, among which were the war horses and household plate of the governor, retired to a romantic green hill, yet known by the name of the "Weary Neuk," where he and his party are said to have rested after the assault of the castle, and he withdrew, after three days' refreshment, to the mountainous part of the country, waiting for some reinforcements which he then expected.‡ While, proud of his success, he was indulging in the pleasing reflections which this triumph gave rise to, and partaking

* There is a tradition to this effect in the district.

† Barb. p. 92. Matt. Westm. p. 456. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 235.

‡ Barb. B. v. pp. 89—120.

of the enjoyment of his troops, he received some accounts which threw a damp over the spirits of his little army, and served to neutralize all the happy effects of the victory. By the arrival of a lady in the camp, a relation of his own, who, in conjunction with other noble females, seems to have taken a deep interest in his fate, he learned the melancholy fate of his friends whom he had sent to Kildrummy, the captivity of his wife and daughter, the relentless cruelty which Edward shewed towards his friends and relations; and although to a person in the situation of the king, it might have led to a most ample retaliation, beset on all sides by his enemies, he shewed a mind far above the caprice of fortune; and in the most magnanimous manner spared every captive who fell into his hands, but vowed that the death of his brother, and Good Christopher de Seton, should be avenged. The romance in real life which accompanied every movement of the king, was calculated to excite the sympathy of the female heart, and command their interest. From this lady, who again left him, he received a necessary supply of money, with a small reinforcement of forty men.*

Robert, in consequence of the privations and hardships to which he was exposed, since

* Barb. B. v. pp. 133—176. Trivet, p. 344.

he unfurled the standard of liberty, had been subject to a scorbutic disorder, for which, while in this district, on some occasion, he is said to have derived considerable benefit from a medicinal spring, about a mile to the north of the town of Ayr, afterwards known, in consequence, by the name of the "King's Ease." When he established himself upon the throne, he founded the priory of Dominican monks, every one of which was bound to offer up a prayer every week-day, and two every holy day, for the recovery of the king; and after his death, masses for his soul. Houses were built around the well of King's Ease, for eight lepers, and a certain sum of money and meal settled upon the lands of Fullarton for their support, together with a drinking-horn for each of them, which is still payable; and in compliment to Sir William Wallace, the deliverer of Scotland, the descendants or relatives of that knight were invested with the right of placing the lepers upon the establishment of the King's Ease. This was secured by charter, and the leper's charter-stone, of an elliptical shape, and weighing an Ayrshire boll of meal, has been handed down to modern times; a mode of conveying property of a singular and very ancient description.*

* The lepers had settled upon them eight bolls of

During the persecution which took place after the battle of Methven, when many of the Scottish nobles were put to death, and others, whose fidelity was suspected, were enjoined to swear allegiance to England upon two crosses of Scotland, which were deemed most sacred, on the consecrated host, the gospels, or the relics of the saints, on pain of excommunication ;* Thomas and Alexander, a deacon of Glasgow, the two brothers of the king, had sought an asylum in Ireland, probably in Ulster, the province to which the queen belonged. Thither they had been again despatched, Feb. 9th. when they succeeded in raising a band of adventurers, particularly in the neighbouring isles, amounting to about seven hundred men, with whom they endeavoured to land at Lochrin, in Galloway, in

meal, and twenty-eight pounds, Scotch money, annually, which are now payable by the Duke of Portland, the proprietor. The farm of Shiels, in the neighbourhood of Ayr, supplied a certain quantity of straw for the leper's bed, and thatch to his house; the horns were hereditary. The power of naming the lepers continued in the family of Craigie, till it was sold along with the lands of the late Sir Thomas Wallace; and the burgh of Ayr purchased the right of applying the donations of "King's Ease" to the support of the poor-house of Ayr. The charter-stone lay beside the well till it was broken by some English dragoons, but its fragments are preserved by the freemen of Prestwick. There was a similar charter-stone at the village of Old Daily, on the estate of Carrick, called the Blue-stone.

* *Fœdera*, t. ii. p. 1022.

eight ships and galleys, accompanied by Lord Reginald de Crawford, a certain Irish regulus, and a lord of Kintire.* Duncan Macdowall, a powerful chieftain of this country, some of whose ancestors exercised regal and princely authority,† suddenly collecting his followers, to the amount of between three and four hundred, attacked the Irish in disembarking; and some of them being slain in the open field, some in leaping from the ship, others in fight, and many of them being drowned, succeeded in dispersing and putting to the rout the whole body,‡ many of whom escaped in two galleys. The heads of two Irish reguli, and of Malcolm McKail, Lord of Kintire, who were executed in a summary manner, were carried to Edward, at Carlisle, by this barbarous chief; and Sir Thomas and Sir Alexander Bruce, the king's brothers, with Lord Rannald de Crawford, a brave soldier, and the near relation of Wallace, who being all grievously wounded with lances and arrows, were taken prisoners, and carried to Carlisle; when they were there ordered to instant execution, by being first tied to the tails of horses,

* Chronicon de Lanercost.

† Chronicon Manniæ Antiquitates Celto Scandicæ. Monasticon, vol. ii. pp. 105—7.

‡ M. Westminst. p. 458

and quartered in this manner, then hanged, Feb. 17. and afterwards headed, while, with cruel mockery, their heads were affixed upon the castle, and the gates of the town.

Along with these two princes, one of whom, Alexander, the deacon of Glasgow, had been educated at Cambridge, and made extraordinary progress in literature, whose fatal end was deeply regretted by all classes of men,* Sir Brice Blair, another of the patriot association, is said to have been taken and suffered death.† The remains of this little army of Irishmen were surprised by Macdowal, in Galloway, as they were returning from divine worship on Ash-Wednesday, by whom they were either totally destroyed or dispersed.‡ All who were taken in arms against Edward were ordered to be put to death, and those who had taken part in the murder of Comyn, to be hanged and drawn.§ Thus perished the hopes to which Robert seems fondly to have clung, of being re-

* Langtoft, vol. ii. pp. 336, 337.

† According to Barbour, B. iv. pp. 36—38, he was executed at Ayr.

‡ Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 337.

§ Thomas was executed in this manner, and the other two were hanged and headed.—Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 205, fol. 212. Documents in Treasury, N. 158, p. 361.

inforced by this detachment from Ireland and the western isles. His situation was certainly one of imminent danger. Surrounded on every hand by his enemies, he wandered a fugitive among his native hills with a few followers, unable to rouse the vassals of his house, amid morasses and woods, in which he found his only safety, as he was beset on all sides.*

While he was endeavouring to raise the ancient adherents of the family in Carrick, the trusty Douglas retired to Douglasdale, his patrimonial estate, attended only by two trusty followers, to summon his vassals; † and Edward Bruce, the king's brother, had passed into Galloway for the same purpose. ‡ The guardian of Scotland, Pembroke, was now apprised of the re-appearance of Robert, supposed to have been either slain or lost, who immediately despatched Sir Ingram Umfraville to Ayr, at the head of a considerable force, to oppose him. § The fortress of Turnberry was garrisoned by Henry Persy; but he was afraid to make head against Robert, and Sir Roger St. John proceeded from Northumberland, with a thousand troops to his relief;

* W. Hemingford, t. ii. p. 337.

† Barb. B. v. p. 225.

‡ Barb. B. v. p. 467.

§ Barb. B. v. pp. 472—484.

so that, under his protection, the remains of the garrison were enabled to leave Turnberry, and retreat to England.*

Douglas had already succeeded, by the good offices of a trusty friend, Thomas Dickson, who had been the firm friend of his father, with whom he took up his abode, in raising a select band of faithful adherents, who pledged their fidelity and services to him in the most solemn manner. They met their lord at night, under the shades of darkness; he proposed their deliverance from slavery, and the restoration of their farms.

With these he concerted a plan March 19. for surprising the English at Douglas Castle, which, together with his hereditary properties, had been bestowed on Lord Clifford, while the garrison went in solemn procession to the neighbouring church of St. Bride. His followers entered the church along with them, with arms concealed under their garments, and at a preconcerted signal, they set upon the unsuspecting party, who had come to the church to worship, and bear their palms on Palm-Sunday. Douglas, disguised in an old cloak, passed to St. Bride's, with a flail on his shoulder, the better to conceal himself; and one of his party

* Trivet, p. 344. Barb. vol. i. p. 95.

crying "Douglas! Douglas!" which was the signal, he then drew his sword, and for some time the English defended themselves in the chancel, until two-thirds were slain, when the rest were taken prisoners. Douglas having sent six of his men to secure the gates, took possession of the castle, and regaled himself and his troops at a plentiful entertainment, which they found already prepared.

The reciprocal injuries which were committed in that age, taught men to treat each other with great cruelty, and the hard fate which awaited those who had then the misfortune to fall into the hands of the English, had irritated the Scots to so great a degree, that, shutting up their prisoners, whom they had previously killed, in the store-room of the castle, where malt, corn, and staved casks were piled up in one heap, they set it on fire; so that meal, and malt, and flour, and wine, ran together in a most unseemly manner, and in the savage pleasantry of this warlike age, the place was long known by the name of Douglas' larder.* After dismantling the castle, burning it to the ground, and poisoning the well with salt and dead horses, Sir James and his men retired to their lurking-places, where

* Barb. B. v. pp. 257—410; or 96, a different Edition.

they continued for some time. But Clifford returning again with a strong reinforcement, rebuilt the castle, and fortified it with men and victuals, and leaving one of the Thirwalls captain, retired again to England.*

Robert, the Scottish king, was by this period reduced to great straits, and underwent some very narrow escapes, which appear very romantic, and yet seem established upon good authority. Sir Ingram Umfraville, who had arrived at Ayr, soon became acquainted with the destitute situation of the king, who was endeavouring to revive the spirits of his vassals, and increase his faithful band; and having by some means thrown himself in the way of an inhabitant of Carrick, who, with his two sons, being a relative, was in the confidence of Bruce, and appointed as spies upon the motions of the English, bribed him secretly, to take away his life. This diabolical purpose the faithless peasant proceeded to put in execution; and knowing that the king was accustomed at an early hour every morning to retire for meditation, he concealed himself and his two sons till he approached the place, attended only by a single page, who carried his bow and arrows. Robert being previously warned in some mysterious manner of this

* Barb. Buk. Seyd. p. 103. Edit. 1820.

mischievous plot,* laid hold of a bow and arrow which his page had in his hand, and requested the attendant to retire to some distance; for, observed the king, "if I vanquish these traitors, you will have a sufficiency of arms, and if I shall fall, you can flee for your life."

The traitors, sure of their prey, drew near, with the view of making a united attack upon their sovereign; upon which he charged them with treason, observing, that he was intimately acquainted with their evil intentions, and could divine their secret movements. But the father, regardless of this command, and professing the greatest attachment to his person and fidelity to his cause, approached with his hand on his sword, followed by his two hopeful sons, the one with a sword in one hand and a battle-axe in the other, and the second armed with sword, spear, and shield. As he drew near, the king discharged an arrow, which hit the father in the eye, upon which the son drawing his battle-axe, rushed to the combat, but missing his blow and his footing, which the king parried, stumbled, and Robert severed his head in two at a stroke. The only remaining antagonist rushed upon him with his brandished spear; but the

* Barb. vol. i. B: v. pp. 537—543.

gallant king, with a stroke of his sword, cut off the steel-head of the spear, and laid him dead at his feet, before he had an opportunity to close with him and draw his sword. When the page approached to congratulate the royal knight on his success, he found him wiping his good sword, and he observed to his attendant; "that these would have been three gallant men, had they not fallen victims to covetousness." *

In this destitute situation, attended by few followers, not amounting to more than sixty, Duncan M'Dougall, or Dougal, who had dispersed the Irish recruits, and received the lands of Robert Boyd and Brice de Blair, and one hundred pounds to distribute among those who were present when the brothers of Bruce were taken, † raising a party of two hundred men, with blood-hounds, to ferret them from their hiding-places, endeavoured to surprise and cut them off, under cover of the night. Bruce, warned by his sentinels of the approach of an enemy, withdrew his small band across a rivulet, into a strong position, under shelter of a morass, and committed them to the charge of Gilbert de la Haye.

* Barb. B. v. pp. 472—656.

† Documents in the Treasury, N. 143, p. 318, § 1, 2, 3.

With only two men he went out to reconnoitre; and while they took their rest, hearing the cry of a blood-hound, in an instant the Galloway-men made their appearance at the narrow ford, seen by the light of the moon, for it was now nightfall, from which he found it more dangerous to retreat than remain. The king was now in a most perilous situation, with Pembroke's troops in front, whose movements he had watched, and the Highlanders, who had surprised him, in the rear. A steep path led up from the deep and rapid mountain stream to the summit of the brae, about the distance of two bowshots, and the king stationed himself in the gorge, where he could not be surrounded. The two guards he despatched with all due speed to give the alarm to De la Haye; and the nature of the ground admitting only one person to pass at a time, being completely accoutred, he slew five of the assailants upon the first attack, the passage being blocked up with the first man and horse who had been transfix'd with his long spear,—and as they were mounted, and very imperfectly armed, he had the advantage. He valiantly defended the pass till his own men came up to his assistance, and cut them down with his terrible sword, the greater part of the enemy being ignorant how many they had to

contend with. And in this situation, keeping them at bay, he slew several men before the party of De la Haye came to his rescue, when the Galwegians immediately took to flight,* and left him in possession of the field, after he had slain by his dreadful sword fourteen of his enemies, who were found piled in the gorge, men and horses above each other. The remainder of his party had scarcely come up, when they found Robert sitting on a bank, with his helmet off, to enjoy the freshness of the night air, and wiping his brow with his hand.

The castle of Douglas had again been put in a state of defence by the English, and a new garrison, with every accommodation, left for its defence.† The terrible Douglas sending a few of his men to a herd of cattle under the walls of the castle, Thirlwall, the governor, deeming this a great indignity, instantly drew out a great portion of the garrison, and without putting on his helmet, placed himself at their head. The party retreated, till the English, who pursued in an irregular manner, were drawn into the ambuscade which had been prepared for them; upon which the Scots, raising a loud shout or war-cry, started up from their hiding places, soon put them to

* Barbour, vol. i. B. vi. pp. 32—378.

† Barbour, B. v. pp. 447, 467.

fight, and during the skirmish, cut off Thirlwall and a great part of the garrison, and pursued the rest to the gates of the castle, which they shut against them. By this means the Scottish King, who had been joined by all his adherents, amounting to a mere handful, had taken up his head-quarters at Cumnock, in Airshire, from which Umfraville with his troop had retreated, upon the failure of his base purpose of assassination.* Here he was soon after joined by Sir James Douglas and his steady adherents.†

The Earl of Pembroke, who had failed in taking the King by the hand of the assassin, an unworthy plot, which leaves an indelible stain upon his character—by the attempts of Sir Ingram Umfraville and the men of Galloway, repaired himself to the western parts of Scotland, at the head of a considerable body of English forces, and a detachment of eight hundred highlanders, under the command of John of Lorn, the eldest son of Alexander, Lord of Argyle. These men were eminently calculated for the desultory mode of warfare which was carried on in the higher districts of Scotland. In order to facilitate their search among the rugged mountains and morasses of Carrick, Lorn carried along with him a saga-

* Barbour, B. v. pp. 472, 456; vi. pp. 379, 463.

† Barbour, B. vi. pp. 379, 463.

cious blood-hound which belonged to Bruce ; and being much attached to him, was not easily to be diverted from the scent. Among those Scottish chiefs, who had sold their country's independence, and were serving in the English army, was Randolph of Strathdow, the nephew of Robert, who treacherously bore arms against his uncle. Bruce, and the patriot army, amounting to the insignificant number of four hundred men, concealed themselves warily among the unknown defiles and fastnesses of Ayr, near the source of the Nith. The Earl of Pembroke kept the low grounds, with his troops, under the strictest discipline and order. Lorn with his highlanders took to the hills, and at length gaining a position in the rearward of Robert, which he anxiously sought, they approached the patriots. Pressed on either side by two hostile bodies of troops, either of which was vastly superior to the small handful of Scots ; in this awkward predicament they were divided into three bodies, and quickly retreated.

The blood-hound proved of great use to Lorn on this occasion, which having discovered the route of the King, his master, pursued so closely, that he subdivided his men a second time into three parts, and was at last obliged to dismiss them—a mode of warfare which he

frequently adopted with success, when each consulted his own safety as he best could. Attended only by a single individual, his foster-brother, who refused to leave him, he fled with great precipitation, five men being despatched after him by Lorn, who, with the aid of the blood-hound, which had been fed by his own hand, and would follow him anywhere, had discovered him at a distance, and still continued to advance in his track. So nearly had the King been taken, that Randolph during this pursuit had obtained possession of his standard.* Robert asked his foster-brother, "what assistance he could give him?" for observed the King, "we must soon stand on the defensive." "The best I can," answered his foster-brother. Meanwhile the dog was outrun by the five powerful highlanders, three of whom the Bruce took to himself, leaving two to his companions in arms. As the first approached he cleft him through the skull, with one stroke of his weapon, and seeing his foster-brother in danger, while the two had sprung backward a little, stunned with the sudden death of their companion, he severed the head of one of the assailants from his body, leaving his follower to combat the other, and, returning to his place, he quickly laid his two enemies dead at his feet, while his companion

* Barbour, vol. i. B. vii. iii. Ibid.

was still engaged. The King graciously thanked his foster-brother for the aid which he brought him. "It likes you to say so," said this friend, "but you yourself slew four of the five."

The exercise of Bruce and his companion had been keen, and the excitement high; but there was not a moment to lose, for Lorn and his pursuers were on their trail, and bounding with haste to a neighbouring forest, they came to a small rivulet, and Bruce threw himself on the ground, overcome with fatigue, declaring he could go no farther. The cry of the fatal dog, however, came upon his ear, and his faithful companion entreated him to save his life. "I have heard," said the King, "that whosoever will wade the length of a bowshot down a running stream, shall make the slouth-hound lose his scent."* Lorn soon came up to the scene of the skirmish, and stopped to gaze on the dead bodies of his vassals, by which he had learned that they had come up with the King or a few of his adherents, and following the track of the blood-hound, they came to the stream which the King and his companions had entered, and passed down the stream a considerable distance.

During the delay which the skirmish with

* Barbour, vol. i. pp. 125, 132.

their five pursuers occasioned, they gained upon them considerably; almost every chance of escape seemed to be blasted, and they saw no prospect but of falling into the hands of their relentless enemies. "Were it not for yon devilish hound, I should care nothing for the rest," said the King. The hound bounded up and down the stream, but having lost all scent of the King, his pursuers gave up the chase, and retired in a vain pursuit after their prey.* Other accounts are, that his foster-brother, who accompanied him, being an excellent archer, after he had traversed the stream in the valley, hid himself in a thicket, and when the dog came up, shot him; when both fled in safety, and made a narrow escape for their lives.†

From this hasty pursuit he made his escape in a miraculous manner; but he was preserved from the blood-hounds of Lorn only to fall into

* "The King Edward with hornes and houndes him sought,

With men on fote through marris, mosse and myre,
Through wodes also and mountains, wher thei fought,
And euer the Kyng Edward hight-men great hyre
But thei might hym not gette by force ne by train,
He satte by the fyre when thei were in the rain."

Hardyng's Chronicle, pp. 303-4.

Argyle was in his pay, Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i., and also Macdowall.

† Barbour, vol. i. pp. 125, 132.

greater danger. The history of Robert the Bruce is certainly of a most romantic description, and being himself a chivalrous knight of considerable strength and matchless valour, the simplest narrative acquires the interest and embellishment of romance.

For some time he joined himself with three freebooters, pretending to be friends of the Scottish king; but Bruce suspecting the fidelity of his companions, who had not the openness of the freebooter, who dwelt in the forest, desired them to walk before, at some distance. "We seek the Scottish king," said the strangers; "you need not mistrust us." "Neither do I," replied Robert, "but until we are better acquainted you must walk thus." When they came to a ruinous hut in the recess of the forest, they dressed part of a sheep, and sent it to the wanderer, who insisted on a separate fire being kindled in the other end of the house, and when he had made a hearty meal, he felt the drowsiness of sleep stealing over him, after the labours of the day. But ever alive to their safety, he requested the companions of his wanderings and danger to watch while he laid him down to sleep.*

It was in this hut, or upon a similar occasion, that, while, on the authority of tradition,

* Barbour, vol. i. pp. 125, 132.

he was resting upon a handful of straw, and seriously considering whether he would establish by force of arms his undoubted right to the Scottish throne, or abandon an enterprise attended with so great danger, and, so far as human probability went, all but hopeless, an incident occurred, which, however trivial, seems, in some measure, to have given him confidence, and to have determined his future career. While he lay deliberating upon the alternative of passing over to the Holy Land, and ending his days in the wars with the Saracens, or fighting his way to the throne in Scotland, his attention was arrested by the movements of a spider, on which his eye rested on the roof of the hut in which he had taken shelter, who, in order to fix its tiny web on the rafters, was swinging itself from one eave to another. The King was amused with the exertions which the little insect made to reach a couple, but all in vain; no less than six times it made the attempt, and failed; and while he compared his own hopeless condition to that of the spider, and found that he had fought six times against the enemies of his country, he felt deeply interested in its movements, and resolved that his resolution should be taken or abandoned, according to the failure or success of this indefatigable small insect. The next

effort of the spider to attain its object succeeded; and Robert the Bruce resolved that he should obtain his crown, at whatever hazard or danger, and exertion either of body or mind. Upon so little, in the providence of God, does often the greatest event turn, that the King's resolution was strengthened by this trifling incident; and he had made so many wonderful escapes from destruction, that he believed Providence had in store for him something great, and that he might yet achieve the liberty of his country, and attain the object of his wishes.

It is hence esteemed ungenerous, as well as unlucky, for a Bruce, at the present day, to kill a spider.

The King was, however, aroused from his reverie by the approach of the three villanous freebooters, with their arms in their hands, to assassinate him and his foster-brother.

Fatigue, however, overcame this faithful attendant, and his traitorous hosts, from whom he had concealed his rank, thinking this a fair opportunity of enriching themselves with the reward offered by the English King, and suspecting that he was not what he appeared to be, disturbed his rest by their hostile approach, when he immediately laid hold of his sword, walking heavily over his foster-brother, to awake him.

After a fierce conflict, with the assistance of his companion, who fell in his defence, he succeeded in overpowering these faithless robbers, whom he left dead on the spot. For some time, he concealed himself in these barren wilds, lamenting the fate of his faithful foster-brother, deserted, as appeared, by all the world; and after several narrow and romantic escapes, he proceeded to the place of rendezvous, where he found already assembled, Edward, his brother, and Sir James Douglas at the head of a hundred and fifty men.*

While Pembroke, who imagined that Robert, reduced to such extreme misery, without an army, or even a single attendant, was less vigilant under this impression than he was accustomed to be, the Scottish chief, at the head of his small troop, undercover of the night, attacked an advanced guard of two hundred men, lying in a small town at a little distance from the English camp, put the most part of them to the sword,† and returned again to his fastnesses. While engaged in the chase, which was one of his most agreeable recreations, and in some measure necessary for his support, he made a narrow escape from some men who broke in upon his sports and pursued him. He was

* Barb. vol. vii. pp. 105—282.

† Barb. vol. vii. pp. 297—348.

again surprised by Pembroke and some of the enemy, while employed in hunting the deer at Glentrucle, who had suddenly set out in pursuit of him, with a troop of horse, from Carlisle; but when he heard that he was so employed, Pembroke marched on foot with his men, led on by a female, who undertook to bring certain intelligence of the situation of the Scottish king; and had not the woman, who was taken prisoner, discovered the approach of the English to Robert, they would have fallen into their hands, like the deer for which they had laid their snares. Seizing their arms, they drew themselves up in the most advantageous position, to the amount of three hundred men; and hardly waiting the approach of the English troops, which amounted to fifteen hundred, they assailed them with great fury, put them in confusion, beat them back from the wood, and plied them so closely, that after some loss and a considerable sacrifice of men on the part of Pembroke, they abandoned the enterprise, and retreated to Carlisle.*

Robert, whose situation had hitherto been most desperate, and who, had he not been possessed of an energy of character, which belonged to no ordinary man, would have sunk under these accumulated hardships, soon

* Barb. vol. i. B. vii. pp. 494—635.

began to assume more courage, and abandoned his timid measures. Naturally of a bold and hardy disposition, he surmounted obstacles and braved dangers, at which other men would have stood appalled. The romantic nature of his adventures, the chivalry of his character, the magnanimity with which he supported his adverse fortune, and his success in every personal struggle with the enemy, inspired those who had united themselves to his fortunes, with a confidence which was rarely misplaced, and gave a uniformity and success to his movements, which they could not otherwise have attained. In consequence of his success in these skirmishes, and his indomitable bravery, which attracted kindred spirits, his ranks were daily filling. He now, in his turn, overran Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham, in Ayrshire, a large district of country, receiving the homage of those whom he had subdued, and appointing in the stead of the English adherents, who were in possession of castle and strongholds, those in whom he could confide.* A detachment of a thousand men, under the command of Sir Philip Mowbray, was sent by Pembroke, who endeavoured to obstruct the progress of Robert from Bothwell into Kyle, and viewed it with alarm, which

* Barb. vol. i. B. viii. pp. 1. 14.

was attacked in a deep morass impassable by cavalry, and dispersed or cut off by Sir James Douglas. Concealing a party of forty men in ambush, he attacked them as they crossed the Nether Ford, on their march to Markyrnoch, their commander only having escaped by the fleetness of his horse to the English garrison at Innerkype,* with the loss of his sword, belt, and brand; with more than sixty men, the rest having fled to Bothwell.

The government of Pembroke had, on account of these and other circumstances, fallen into disgrace, and being alarmed at the defeat of Mowbray, he advanced into Ayrshire himself, at the head of nearly three thousand men; and, according to the chivalric practice of that age, acquainted Robert, who lay at Galstoun, near Loudon, and not far from Irvine, that he intended to pay him a visit in his quarters. The Scottish king,

May 10. who lay entrenched at Loudon-hill, with about six hundred men, accepting the challenge,† prepared himself for the contest, and took every precaution that his small force should not be surrounded and overwhelmed by the superior army of Pembroke.

* Barb. pp. 105—106.

† Barb. vol. viii. pp. 123—150. Trivet and M. Westmin. p. 458, say that it was fought after Easter, which happened on the 26th March.

Robert, when he rode out from Galston, where his little army lay, to survey the field, by the road at that part of Loudon-hill, where he resolved to meet his enemy, found that the hay was lying on the "fayr field, even and dry," which extended five hundred yards in breadth. The position which he took up was well calculated for the purpose, being a small level field, protected on either side, by extensive and deep morasses, and was rendered more impregnable, by drawing across the flanks, three parallel lines of deep trenches, leaving sufficient room for his own troops to act, but rendering the evolutions of cavalry difficult. In this fortified plain, he watched with no small anxiety the enemies' approach in the morning, having stationed the camp-followers with the baggage on a hill in the rear; watching the wood of Pembroke's spears, which amounted to three thousand, and the splendid and waving gonfanons in the rising sun.* They calmly received and repulsed the spirited charge of the first line of Sir Aymer's cavalry, which approached at full gallop, with heads bent, and spears in rest, and driving it back on the second, they were broken into a hundred parties; and Robert plying them valiantly, threw the whole into full rout and

* Barb. vol. i. p. 155.

disorder. He now, in his turn, charged, after many of the cavaliers had been unhorsed, with his six hundred followers, armed with the long Scottish spear, so effectual against cavalry; and the steady advance of the spearmen soon made them reel and waver, and compelled Pembroke to fly and retire, to the castle of Ayr.* Three days afterwards, he routed Ralph de Monthermer, the Earl of Gloucester, with great slaughter, and compelled him also to take refuge in a castle in Ayr, to which he laid siege.†

The English, rendered desperate by the bad success of their arms, and smarting under the former defeats which they had sustained, advanced to the monastery of Paisley, which was in no state of defence, and burned it to the ground.‡ Adomar, or Aymer de Valens, the Earl of Pembroke, was so ashamed of these repeated defeats, that having eluded the besiegers, and made his escape from the castle of Ayr, he passed into England, and gave up to the king the wardenry of Scotland.§ Edward had never entered heartily

* Barb. Edit. 1820. B. vii. p. 160.

† Math. Westminster. Leland, Collect. vol. ii. p. 543. Trivet, p. 346. Hemingf. vol. i. p. 237. Scala Chronica, p. 132.

‡ Fordun, B. xii. 14.

§ Barb. B. vi. p. 162. Jamieson, Edit. 1820. †

into this expedition, being himself prevented from taking the command on account of bad health. As the queen accompanied him on his journey to the north, and as he was obliged to be transported on a litter, his progress was so slow, that he did not reach Carlisle till the month of July,* where Patrick de Dunbar did homage and swore fidelity.† The inveteracy of his complaint having somewhat abated, he offered up his horse litter in the cathedral church of Carlisle; and impatient to wipe away the disgrace of defeat from his tarnished glory, he mounted on horseback, and proceeded as far as the Solway,

The fierce spirit of Edward I. had not yet been quenched, for the ruling passion which occupied his reign was unprincipled ambition; and the subjugation of Scotland to his tyrannical administration, had been his favourite object during his whole reign. For the accomplishment of this object, he had spared neither the treasures nor the blood of his subjects, which he shed without remorse; he had put to death, in a most relentless manner, many of the Scottish prisoners of rank, the conquest of his bow and spear; and had

* *Fœder. Angliæ*, t. ii. p. 1005—1058. Heming. vol. i. p. 221.

† *Chronicon de Lanercost*.

doomed to the gibbet and the stake, men who owed him no obedience, who were not born his subjects, whose only crime was the love of their country, and dutiful allegiance to their rightful sovereign. He had involved two nations in a most exterminating war, carried on, on his part, in a spirit of savage ferocity, which had lived in friendly intercourse, enjoying commerce, and mutual benefits for nearly a century; and his latter end is calculated to teach a lesson to succeeding ages, for he was now summoned by the sovereign King of Heaven, to whose power he, and every king and subject, must bow—in the sight of Scotland, which he would have subjugated to a state of vassalage to England. Here

July 7. he was arrested in the midst of his career, and next day expired at Burgh-on-Sand, after he had collected a great army, and was prepared to pass the border, in order to chastise the Scottish nation.*

On his death-bed, he expressed a wish that his heart might be carried to the Holy Land; with the chivalric spirit for which his life had been distinguished, appointed a hundred knights to perform military service in honour

* Trivet, p. 3427. Langtoft, vol. ii. pp. 332. 339. *Calendarium Rotulorum. Patentium*, p. 35, Reg. Edit. Primo, p. 66. "Apud Burgum Super Sabulones . . . July 7, 1307."

of the cross for one year, and left as a legacy to his son, his enmity against this devoted people, charging him with the execution of the enterprise, from which he wished him not to desist until he had entirely subdued Scotland; and with his dying breath, ordered his remains to accompany the army into Scotland, and to continue unburied until the enemy was wholly subdued.* He caused his son, sometime before his death, to swear in the most solemn manner, by all the saints of the Calendar, that upon his demise he would boil his body in a cauldron, separate the flesh from the bones, and bury the former in the earth, but carry with him the latter, to inspire the army with courage, as often as the Scots rose against him.†

* M. Westminster, p. 458. Froissart, vol. i. p. 27.

† Froissart, vol. i. p. 27.

CHAPTER III.

THE death of Edward I. gave a new impulse to Scottish affairs; the thoughtless young Edward, instead of availing himself of the mighty preparations which his father had made for the conquest of Scotland, and obeying his dying commands, advanced no further than Cumnock, on the frontiers of Ayrshire. After the burial of his father, which took place at Westminster,* being averse to the grave and dangerous occupation of war, and everything which intermeddled with the amusements of youth, and thinking that the sight of his father's bones would not greatly frighten the Scots, and that it was idle to carry his heart to the Holy Land, he had his body interred at Westminster, where crosses had been superstitiously raised, that the people might pray

* Froissart, vol. i. p. 25.

for the soul of Queen Eleanor of Castile, his first wife.*

This savage, but brave English king, whose soul was filled with war, whose success inspired his enemies with terror, and his friends sometimes with fear, whose dying request was an index to his mind and character, was, on account of the decided success of his arms, and the grinding nature of his policy, called the "Hammer of Scotland." On his tomb, which is still visible at Westminster, was inscribed the not inappropriate inscription, "Here lies Edward I., the hammer of the Scottish nation." † He lighted the torch of war, and engendered, by his implacable enmity, a spirit of strife and hatred between two nations, whose peaceful intercourse had lasted for several ages; a demon, which could only be quenched with blood, and which could not be allayed, or altogether expelled, for a long series of years. Such is the influence of decided character, for good or for evil, on the destiny of nations. ‡

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 498.

† Edwardus Primus, Satorum, Malleus hic est. Factum serva.

‡ I prot [tut] Scot, for thi strif!
Hang up thyn hachet ant thi knyf
Whil him lasteth the lyf,

With the longe shankeas."

A cotemporary ballad. -

The dissolute young Piers Gaveston, the son of a Gascon knight, who, by the elegance of his manners, his agreeable behaviour, and other frivolous arts, had so insinuated himself into the good graces of his son, that the late king, fearful of the consequences, had banished him from the kingdom, was immediately invested with the earldom of Cornwall, which had belonged to Edmund, a son of the Roman king; he gave him in marriage his own niece, sister of the Earl of Gloucester; disbanded his army; and returned again to England.* He advanced from Roxburgh to Dumfries, Cumnock, Tinwold, Dalgarnock, and returning by Carlisle, he proceeded through Yorkshire to the south, having met on his way Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, who knelt and swore homage to him. By this inglorious retreat of the English King, by which he lost all the advantages which his father had dearly purchased for him, Robert and his partisans, who had suffered severely under the hardships of their condition, were rendered still bolder; and this fatal step of Edward II. threw a damp upon the English army, with whom the tide of prosperity had already begun to recede, from which they never recovered.

* Tyrrel, vol. iii. b. ix. pp. 179. 224. Hemingford, vol. i. 238.

Thinking that his prospects were now more cheering, and with the view of taking advantage of the inactivity of Edward II., he partitioned Scotland into three divisions for conquest, and assigned Galloway to Edward Bruce, his gallant brother; the forest of Selkirk, with the adjoining country, together with the district of Annandale, as the portion of the good Sir James Douglas; while he reserved to himself the lion's share, north of the Grampian mountains, and east of Perth, including the highlands, and Buchan, on the eastern coast of Scotland. The success of this movement, shewed its judiciousness and wisdom.

Before the King of England passed over into France in the beginning of the year, he had, as we have seen, appointed the Earl of Richmond, whose salary, on the same terms as before, had been continued from Candlemas to Easter.*

But although Edward had retreated to the south, fearful of encountering the hardships incident on a war for liberty, maintained by a warlike and fierce people, he appointed Robert de Umfraville, Comes, or Earl of Angus, William de Ros de Hamelake,† and Henry de

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 450.

† *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, Sec. Pat. anno 1. Reg. Ed. Secund. M. 2, p. 68.

Bello-Monte, conjunctly and individually as keepers of the country lying between the village or town of Berwick-on-the-Tweed, Annandale, and the Frith of Forth; encouraged Robert de Clifford to defend Galloway; John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, to retain his district; sent strong reinforcements to the border and the town of Berwick, charging his faithful subjects and nobles in Scotland and the north of England, to use their utmost endeavours against Robert the Bruce, who threatened to overthrow their government in the north, and arrest from the English their dear-bought conquests.*

It appears from the ancient Scottish rolls, and the calendar of patent rolls, that this king did more for the protection and defence of the conquests which his royal father had won in Scotland, although he cheered not the exertions of his countrymen by his personal presence, than our modern Scottish, and other historians, seem disposed to allow.† In order more effectually to preserve his influence in the north, he issued protection to all who acknowledged his authority in Scotland, and entered into an alliance with John of Argyle, who accounted him-

* Rotuli Scotiæ, 2 Edw. II. 1308, p. 56, Mem. 4.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, 2 Edw. II., 16, 20 Aug. Sept. 14, Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium, 1 Edw. II., pp. 67, 69, &c.

self, if not an independent prince, at least a subject of Norway; and extended protection to his fleet and his army.* John de Weston was, at the same time, nominated receiver-general of the English King, in the kingdom of Scotland,† and Eustace de Cotesbache, the king's clerk, chamberlain and receiver of Scotland, from Michaelmas during pleasure; Robert Heyton, comptroller;‡ and the appointment of William de Bevercote, as chancellor of Scotland, with all his authority, was confirmed.§ It appears that the power of these several officers had, in some way, interfered with that of the chancellor, and he was a second time confirmed and invested with the full authority of chancellor.||

Several Scotsmen of rank now joined the standard of their King, among which was Sir Alexander Fraser, and his brother Simon, kinsman of the late patriot Simon, who had been executed at London,¶ from whom he learned

* Rotuli Scotiæ, 2 Edw. II., Mem. 13, 14, 4th October.

† Calend. Rotulo: Patentium de anno secund. Edw. II. M. 12, p. 69.

‡ Rymer, vol. iii. p. 11.

§ Rotul. Calend. Patentium, Edw. II., Mem. 3.

|| Witus de Bevercote Cancellarius Scotiæ ac ejus potestas vid. 3 M. Calend. Rotul. Patenti, A. 2d Edw. M. 18.

¶ Barbour, B. viii. p. 395, ix. 9.

that Buchan and Sir David de Brechin were assembling their vassals. Sept. 8. Edward II., with a capriciousness, and headstrong humour, which marks the early part of his reign, after he had confirmed Pembroke in the guardianship of Scotland, appointed John de Bretagne, Earl of Richmond, his cousin-german, to that office, with a household guard of sixty men at arms, and full authority to supersede the late protector, a situation which he had formerly filled.* The Earl of Dunbar, Robert de Keith, who had at one time been one of the English governors of Scotland, Henry de St. Clair, Alexander de Baliol, Alexander de Abernethy, and other Scottish barons, were summoned to join the English army which had been assembled, by the writs of the sheriffs of Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland, and ordered to march upon Galloway.† The keepers of the King's peace, in the northern counties of England, were instructed to be in readiness to obey the Earl of Dunbar, but were ordered not to leave their counties, unless necessity required it.‡

Edward now lost all that he had acquired,

* *Calendarium Rotularum Patentium*, M. 28, p. 69. *Fœdera*, Angl. vol. iii. p. 10.

† *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 14, 16.

‡ *Rymer*, vol. iii. p. 16.

or his father had subdued by his arms, and Robert Bruce unmolested perambulated Scotland.* Upon the retreat of Edward from Scotland, Robert advanced more openly into Galloway, which was defended by English troops, under the command of John de St. John, and the new guardian, who hastened to his assistance, accompanied by a great army; and many of the English and Scottish nobility.† The sheriffs of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, and Lancashire, were commanded to assemble the whole military array of these districts, and the Earl of Dunbar, Alexander Abernethy, and Robert de Keith, were ordered to join the English army.

Upon this expedition they carried with them every article of necessary provision, cordage, and a number of balistæ, a kind of cross-bow for discharging arrows feathered with copper, some of which upon a larger scale, and used by machinery, were afterwards used in Scotland as springalds for defending towns. This great armament seems to have done little, beyond taking a survey of the country; for, with the exception of one English account, an anonymous writer, all the authorities are silent on the subject of any attack made by the English,

* Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 210.

† Fœdera Angliæ, vol. iii. p. 14.

or any encounter between the Scottish and the English armies, upon this occasion.*

Robert the Bruce was unable, in an open manner, to combat a force of such strength, and contented himself by surprising any detached parties, which he cut off. But, in the mean time, he resolved to retire into the northern part of the kingdom, and reduce those clans which had acknowledged the sovereignty of Edward I., as all those had done who had received from him grants of land belonging to the ancient inhabitants, who would endeavour to retain them, and adhere to his interest. In this expedition, he was joined at the cairn of Mounth by Sir Alexander and Simon Fraser, sons of that gallant chief, who had so much distinguished himself at Roslin; and they informed their sovereign, that it was the purpose of John Comyn, Earl of Buchan; his own nephew, Sir David Brechin, and of Sir John Mowbray, to proceed as rapidly as possible to attack him, at the head of their vassals.†

Richmond proceeded into Galloway, where the King's brother, Sir Edward Bruce, retaliated, in some measure, the cruelties and

* MS. Chronicle, quoted by Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 225. It mentions that he was attacked by the English about Martimnas, and put to flight.

† Fordun à Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1004. Barb. p. 172.

devastation of the English King; but in no condition to encounter them in battle, Robert retired northward,* in order to reduce the barons in these districts to his authority, and ascertain the number of his friends, which he was able to accomplish with little opposition.† While the King crossed the cairn of Mounth or Grampians, Sir Edward Bruce, Sir Gilbert de la Haye, Sir Robert Boyd, and the Earl of Lennox, were engaged in reducing Jedburgh and the forest of Selkirk.‡ On this expedition, which appears to have been suggested by the approach of John de Bretagne with the English army;§ he advanced as far as Inverness, which he reduced, with many other castles and fortalices on the north and east coast, among which was Slenath or Slains, all which, according to his usual practice, he dismantled.||

When he lay at Slains, the Earl Dec. 25.
of Buchan, accompanied by Sir John de Mowbray and Sir David Brechin, appeared at the head of a considerable force, and made some knights, while the archers were engaged in skirmishing; but the Earl was afraid to attack the King, who unmolested proceeded

* Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 25. Chronicon de Lanercost.

† Barbour, B. viii. pp. 391, 408.

‡ Barbour, p. 162. New edition.

§ Chronicon de Lanercost. Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 14

|| Fordun, vol. xii. p. 12.

to Strathbolghy, where he remained some time. Upon this journey the Earl of Buchan, with a considerable array of Scots and English, encountered the royal troops in some skirmishes; Bruce, who had joined his brother in the north, deeming it prudent not to hazard an engagement upon the present occasion. Edward, as the troops were in low spirits on account of the health of the king, entrenched himself in a stronghold near Slains. Robert, so long exposed to cold and hunger, and every privation to which men are subject in northern climates, had long braved every danger, and displayed a spirit which set him above all his hardships and misfortunes; but his strength being gradually impaired, he was seized with a violent disease of a scorbutic or herpetic nature, at Inverury, Aberdeenshire, beautifully situated on the Urie and Don, which paralyzed his strength, and destroyed his appetite. It was then that he retired to Strathbolghy, carried on a litter.*

Although Edward retreated from the scene of war, he supported those who were favourable to his rule; and Comyn, Earl of Buchan, who had received English reinforcements, advanced with between one and two thousand soldiers in all, to Old Meldrum, while Sir David de

* Barbour, pp. 170, 171.

Brechin placed himself at the head of some of these light troops, and proceeded to Inverury, where he attacked and repulsed a few of the patriot troops, who had bivouacked in the suburbs of the town,* having, little doubt, heard of the illness of Robert, who had been transported on a litter.† The gallant king was so stung with this reproach upon his bravery and vigilance, that he instantly left his litter, in spite of the entreaties and remonstrances of his friends, gallantly mounted his war-horse, although so infirm as to require the support of two men, observing that “the insults of the enemy had wrought his cure;” led on his followers to the charge, not exceeding seven hundred; attacked the Earl of Buchan, whose combined forces he put entirely to flight, pursuing him with great slaughter as far as Fivy, which even then appears to have been a considerable stronghold.‡

The Bruce had not forgotten the defeat and cruel death of his two brothers, and the captivity of his wife and family; and the patriots, with many injuries to avenge, inflicted

* Barbour, B. ix. pp. 240—279. The Earl of Buchan's forces amounted to 3000, according to some accounts.

† Barbour, pp. 170, 171.

‡ Fordun, vol. iv. p. 1004, a Hearne.

severe retribution on the country of his mortal enemy, carrying fire and devastation into every corner, stripping it of its most valuable property. The sturdy oaks themselves yielded to the devouring enemy, fire, with which they were scorched or burnt; and the devastation and burial of Buchan was long remembered in the north of Scotland,* its effects being visible at this day, in the sterility of the soil, the deep moss, and large charred oak trees, which are found deeply imbedded in it. When they laid waste, in a fearful manner, the northern districts of Scotland, the Earl of Buchan, with Mowbray, despairing of the cause, fled into England; and Sir David Brechin, together with Angus, hurried forward to his castle of Brechin, which was soon after invested by the Earl of Athole, whose father had been cruelly executed in England, and surrendered to that nobleman.

In order to commemorate this victory, which had a happy effect upon the spirits and health of the king, he is said to have erected, by charter, Inverury into a royal burgh; and held out such encouragement to the citizens of Aberdeen, that though Edward, enraged at

* Barbour, vol. ix. pp. 279, 280. The oaks turned up in the morasses at this day appear to have been burnt.

the success of Robert, had ordered a fleet to be furnished from the different sea-ports, to co-operate with his army,* they took the castle belonging to the town by storm, headed by Sir David Brechin, the nephew of Robert the Bruce, who was par-
 done, and again received into favour, † slew the English garrison, and razed the fortifications. ‡

The fate of Wallace, and the fame of his renown, had deeply awakened those whose native liberty had not been altogether extinguished; and Philip, King of France, who had heard of the success of Robert the Bruce, sent a commission of inquiry unto the nobility of Scotland, with a view to discover his position with his countrymen, and perhaps yield some aid against the aggression of England. The nobility of Scotland met at St. Andrew's, and returned an answer to King Philip, shewing how highly they esteemed the valiant Bruce, for his undaunted courage, and his steady perseverance, in delivering the Scottish nation from the thralldom and tyranny of England; and amongst those who attached

* Edward addresses a letter for the relief of Aberdeen, 10th July, 1308. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 55, m. 14.

† Fordun, vol. xii. p. 7.

‡ Fordun, vol. xii. p. 7.

their seals and adherence to the declaration, were Malcolm, Earl of Lennox; William, Earl of Ross; and William, Earl of Sutherland.*

Robert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus; William de Ross, and Henry de Beaumont, who had formerly been in a subordinate office, now exercised the office of guardians of Scotland; † and Edward II., who had passed over to France, to be united to the Princess Isabella in marriage, encouraged his Scottish adherents to prosecute the war in Scotland, till his arrival at Carlisle, in the month of August, when he intended to relieve them with an army. ‡ The victorious Caledonians proceeded southward, proclaiming liberty to the captive, and freedom to the brave; and detaching a party to the castle of Forfar, which still mounted the English flag, led on by Philip, the forester of Plataire or Plater, near Finhaven, it was taken during a night attack by escalade, the strong English garrison put to the sword, and the walls demolished. § This family seem to have become extinct in the reign of Robert II., for, upon the resignation of David de Annand, Alexander de Lindsay

* 1308. 3 Robert I. St. Andrew's—a deed amongst the public registers.

† Rotuli Scoti, Edw. II. m. 14. p. 56.

‡ Rotuli Scotiæ, Edw. II. m. 14, p. 56.

§ Barbour, p. 175.

was appointed forester of Plater, and received a grant of the lands of Fithnevyn. The inhabitants of Perth, who still adhered to the cause of England, and whose attachment Edward extols in a letter, charging them to continue faithful, began to fortify the town, and prepare for the arrival of the Scottish king.*

In the meantime, Sir Edward, the king's brother, invaded Galloway, and defeated the inhabitants in an engagement, which took place near the river Dee, where Sir John de St. John, and Sir Aymer, Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Ingram Umfraville, which last having by his undaunted prowess attained the summit of chivalric honour, had always a red bonnet carried before him on the point of a spear, proceeding to the scene of action, advanced to oppose the Scots, at the head of twelve hundred men. The patriots met them with great spirit near the water Cree, and after the English had lost about two hundred men, for they were compelled to give way before the irresistible attack of the Scots, Sir Roland of Galloway was slain;† and the English being put into disorder and dispersed, Umfraville and John de St. John fled to Butel, a castle, on the sea-coast of Galloway.‡ Um-

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 3 Edw. II. m. 14. p. 56.

† *Rolandus Galwalensis Dominus*. Rymer, vol. i. part ii. p. 772, new edit.

‡ Barbour, p. 183.

fraville was aided by Donegal or Dougal, a descendant, probably, of the Lords of the Isles, who were lords of Galloway, including Annandale and Carrick, and cherished against Bruce a deadly feud, in consequence of the heiress of Annandale, in Galloway, being bestowed on the Norman baron, Brus, by David, the youngest son of Malcolm III., who then possessed Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the whole tract south of the Forth and Clyde. The impetuous attack of the Scots bore down everything before it, and, in the pursuit, the Lord of the Isles was taken prisoner.*

Sir John de St. John, who was too brave a soldier to be so easily worsted, together with Sir Aymer, left his retreat, and returning from England with fifteen hundred cavalry, intended to surprise Edward Bruce: but this intrepid youth, who with a chivalrous spirit, for which he was eminently distinguished, supported by Sir Alan de Cathcart, his companion, having entrenched his infantry in a strong position in a valley, fortified, not by the hand of man, but by nature†—gained the rear of the English under cover of a mist in the morning, at the head of fifty chosen horsemen, fell upon their

* Rymer, vol. i. part ii. p. 772. Fordun, p. 1005. 29th June, 1308.

† Barbour, p. 183, different edition.

disordered ranks with a shout, and made a bold attack upon the large and well-mounted detachment of the English. His object seems to have been to wait the attack of his infantry by St. John, and with this gallant band of knights and gentlemen, to fall upon them in the rear; but the mist clearing away, he was compelled to retreat; or make a desperate effort, which he did against so great odds, and unhorsed many of their cavalry. They had not discovered the insignificant troop of their assailants, when Sir Edward made a second charge, and soon after a third, with such intrepidity and sharpness, that he soon put the enemy into irretrievable disorder; and believing this was merely the advanced posts or van of the army, they retreated, and were entirely put to the rout.*

This narration, which was given by an eyewitness, Sir Alan de Cathcart, to the historian, a knight, who himself was actively engaged in the affair, was, in those days of warlike exploits, deemed a very heroic feat of war, and a right fair point of chivalry.†

In the mean time Sir James Douglas was actively engaged in the south, in dispersing the enemy, and overrun the mountainous and

* Barbour, p. 183. Fordun, xii. 17.

† Barbour, p. 183. - By Sir Alan de Cathcart.

beautifully wooded country of Etterricke forest, which he cleared of all who acknowledged the rule of England.*

While the English king was at
August. feud with his barons, Edward Bruce, and Alexander de Lyndesey, Robert Boide, and Sir James Douglas, with the feudal array, which were drawn chiefly from the remote isles of Scotland, now overrun Galloway, on which they imposed taxes, and exacted tribute; put to death many of the higher ranks or nobles of Scotland in one day, who had espoused the cause of the English; and subdued the whole of that province: so that those who could, fled into England, and compelled those who remained to swear allegiance to the king.† Edward II., who suffered much from the contentions and feuds of the nobility, and their unusual demands, was at this time most desirous of concluding a peace with Scotland, and, it is said, of forming a junction with Robert the Bruce, if he could, that by his assistance and counsel, he might subdue his rebellious earls and barons. And it seems to have been only a parliament, which was held soon
Sept. 29. after, by which concord was again restored, which prevented him

* Barbour, p. 162.

† Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 212.

from pursuing this policy; by which, had he succeeded in his attempt, a speedy termination would have been put to the war, and the effusion of much christian blood spared.*

Meanwhile Donald of the Isles, who was descended from powerful Highland chiefs, who exercised a kind of regal power in the Highlands, and looking upon the Norwegian king as their sovereign, although, in 1266, the western Isles were surrendered to the crown of Scotland by the Kings of Norway, still affected, so far as he was able, to maintain an independent rule, and resist the power of the Scottish crown. His grasping ambition extended to Galloway, which he was desirous of preserving, as it had been added to the Isles; and drawing into his confederacy Sir Roland, Lord of Galloway,† probably a grandson of Roland, Prince of Galloway,‡ and other wild chiefs of that district, and no ways daunted at the defeat which they already sustained, he appeared at the head of a more numerous force than he had yet raised, and stole upon the patriots through the impenetrable ravines of that mountainous country, on the banks of

* *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 212, fol. 213.

† *Quondam militem nomini Rolandum*. Rymer, v. i. part 2, p. 772.

‡ *Rolandus Galwalensis dominus*. Rymer, v. i. part 2, p. 772. New Edit.

the Dee. Sir Edward Bruce, proud of the success which he had already obtained, and eager to meet in battle the great rival of his family, stood firm against the Highland charge; converted the attack into a repulse, and bearing down upon them, with all the skill and magnanimity of his knightly companions, it ended in a fatal and complete rout, in which the Prince of the Isles was taken, and Roland and many other chiefs were slain.* At the head of his small but heroic band, he then traversed the whole country, and challenging one castle and fortress to surrender after another, dispersed their garrisons, set their captives free, and the standard of liberty and of Scotland, was seen to wave from the battlements of the numerous fortresses, with which the western parts of the kingdom were studded.†

The Macdougals were, in all probability, the descendants of the Lords of the Isles, who paid a mere nominal submission to the King of Norway, and therefore lived in a state of regal independence. The earldom of Ross, and the earldom of Argyle, which comprehended the ancient district of Dala, had hitherto continued in the full and undisturbed possession of the power exercised by the an-

* Fordun a Hearne, p. 1005.

† Barbour, p. 186.

cient Maormors; but when the line of the ancient Earls of Athole had become extinct, there were none in the Highlands to dispute the authority of the Earls of Ross, save those families who claimed the rights and power of the Lord of the Isles, of which the Macdougals seem to have been one, and the Maormors, or Earls of Argyle. Had the Macdonalds been a united clan, they might have proved a very formidable power to the Scottish kings; but the hereditary enmity which subsisted between the two great tribes of Ross and Argyle, prevented them from uniting together against the crown; and the male line of the ancient Maormors, or earls, having universally failed in the Highland districts, still more subdivided the clans, and thus rendered them powerless, while the Highland law of succession had its usual effects on these districts.

The bold heart of Edward Bruce, who was usually more actuated by bravery than foresightedness, eagerly laid hold of this opportunity, to subdue what was called the kingdom of Galloway, for Ananderdale and Carrick were both situated in that district; and the proud Galwegian princes, considered the Bruces, as well as the maternal family, as strangers, who had intruded upon their domain, and seized part of their dominions. This accounts for

the determined resistance which the patriots met with from these Highland clans, who, since they failed in 1161, in placing William, the boy of Egremont, a lineal descendant of Malcolm Kenmure, on the throne, on which occasion the ancient Earls or Maormors of Moray were crushed, had never ceased to oppose the Scottish king, usually supported by the Norwegian Earl of Orkney, the greater part of the northern chiefs, and almost an united Celtic population.

Edward Bruce, one of the most chivalrous knights of the age, who had overcome and slain Sir Ronald of Galloway, and taken prisoner Dougal, or Donald of the Isles, who had entertained a private feud against De Brus, since their family had been united to the heiress of Annandale, in Galloway, had reduced these turbulent chiefs, and expelled all the English from their district; and during this year so rapid had been his movements, that with a very inconsiderable force thirteen castles and places of strength were reduced or destroyed, and the English expelled.*

Such was the rapid progress which the cause of patriotism was now making. The success of Robert the Bruce drew around him the

* But I wate, that in that yer

Threftene castellis with strenth he wan.

Barbour, Buke sewynd, p. 186.

faithful and the brave; the heroic efforts of his few, but tried friends, gave encouragement to others, and he still continued to hold his face to the torrent, and surmount every difficulty.

The faithful Douglas had not been less actively employed than Edward Bruce. By sending out fourteen veteran soldiers in disguise, with grass in their sacks instead of corn, who proceeded to Lanark, he drew Sir John de Webeton, or Wanton,* governor of Douglas castle, with his garrison, into an ambush which he had prepared. De Webeton had been betrothed to a lady, an heiress, on condition that he should hold the castle of Douglas a year and a day, as appears from a letter which had been found in his coffers; but in his grave he found his bridal bed, for he fell into the ambush prepared for him, and was, with his party, cut to pieces.† He surprised the garrison, slew the governor, and taking possession of the Castle, entirely destroyed its fortifications. In this manner Douglas again took possession of the seat of his ancestors and dismissed those whom he found within its walls to England, with sufficient money to bear their expenses.‡ Sir James soon left

* Rymer, vol. i. p. 630. New Edit. Barbour calls him Webeton.

† Barbour, pp. 164, 165.

‡ Barbour, p. 183. New Edit.

the castle of his ancestors, and betook him to the forest of Jedburgh, or Selkirk, where he found his greatest safety. Wandering on the waters of Lyne, he chanced to pass near a house where he heard high words, and an adjuration; or oath, made use of, when he drew near with his followers; and soon found that it contained, as he supposed, some armed cavaliers, who were addressing each other in the profane language of the day, Alexander Stewart, of Bonkill, and Thomas Randolph, of Strathden, the king's nephew, and Adam de Gordon. They had come to drive the Douglas out of the forest which he had reduced; but surrounding the house with his men, when he discovered the quality of its inmates, he took the two former prisoners; Stewart, his kinsman, being slightly wounded, but Adam de Gordon made his escape. Next day, after showing them all manner of courtesy and kindness, he rode to the king with his prisoners, and delivered to him his apostate friend. "Nephew," observed the Scottish sovereign, "you have hitherto been but too negligent of your duty and allegiance, but we must now be reconciled." "It is you," sternly observed the chieftain, "who have been forgetful of your allegiance; and have defied the King of Eng-

land, by taking yourself to ambuscades instead of taking the field like a true knight.”* Randolph, either on account of the language of defiance which he held with the king, calling him an outlaw, when he was required to do homage; or more probably with a view to save his life, if ever he should fall into the hands of the English, was for some time ordered into close confinement; but was afterwards released, and taken into favour: and this severe lesson was productive of the most salutary effects, for he became not only attached in a strong degree to the king, but for his magnanimity, bravery, and chivalry, was known as one of the most distinguished of his subjects.

The north and the south being now in a great measure reduced into obedience, the united troops of Robert and Douglas proceeded to the west, in order to reduce the proud Lord of Lorn and Argyle, and requite him for his former kindnesses. They made their appearance in the jurisdiction of the former; and Lorn having posted a body of two thousand men in a strong and narrow defile, or pass, on the side of Ben Cruachan, between Dalmally and Bunawe, a steep and precipitous mountain, upon the margin of

* Barbour, p. 188.

Loch Awe, which ran between high rocks on the one side, and a precipice overhanging the lake on the other; he lay out in his galleys at sea, intending to attack the king in the rear, or witness his overthrow. Robert, who had ascertained the exact position of the Highlanders from the common people, who were now favourable to his cause, detached Douglas, with a division of light armed troops and archers, to make the circuit of the hill, and

Aug. 23. hang upon the rear of the enemy on the high ground, while he led on the assault in the front.

The Highlanders raising a loud yell, rushed on the party of Bruce on his approach, hurling stones and darts upon them; but the king met them fearlessly, and Douglas plied them so smartly with arrows from the side of the mountain, up which they had pressed, that they fell into some disorder, and were retreating, when he sallied upon them, sword in hand, from behind, assisted by Sir Andrew Gray, Sir Alexander Fraser, and Sir William Wiseman; and being now caught in their own snare, and pressed in front, flank, and rear, they were struck with fear, fell into confusion, and afterwards took to flight, suffering a complete defeat.* The natives then attempted to destroy a bridge

* Forcun xii. Barbour x. pp. 96. 104.

which crossed the deep and rapid river, but the patriots passing the bridge, completed the rout. After this signal victory, which the chief beheld with dismay from his galley, Robert overran this wild Highland district, laid siege to the castle of Dunstaffnage, whither the chief Macdougall had fled, which is beautifully situated near the bay of Oban, on the shore, reducing it to obedience; and receiving the homage of its lord, he left in it a garrison to keep the country in awe, and preserve the royal authority.* His son, John of Lorn, fled, however, to England with his ships, and continued faithful to the English king; † and having entered into a treaty with Edward II., ‡ was of much service to him in a naval capacity.

John of Argyle, who had hitherto exercised all the power of one of the ancient Celtic maormors in the kingdom, and who was opposed to the pretensions of the Norman race, of which De Brus was descended, entertained a jealousy against the other Highland chiefs, and con-

* Fordun says, Alexander of Argyle fled to England; but from Barbour, pp. 191, 192, it appears Lorn did homage to King Robert.

† He served Edward II. with his naval forces. Barbour, pp. 191, 192.

‡ John of Lorn "sent treyteris to the king, and became his man." Barbour.

sequently did not join with them against the descendants of that Robert De Brus who received from David, the youngest son of Malcolm III., when he possessed Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and the whole of Scotland south of the Forth and Clyde, the heiress of Ananderdale, in Galloway. He seems to have clung for support rather to England than to any other source; and in consequence of an alliance

Oct. 4. which he entered into with Edward II., rendered him good service with his men and ships against the patriots, and thus preserved an independent power.*

In this manner Robert, by a series of well-contested engagements, in which no ordinary degree of skill as a general was displayed, and the greatest bravery and personal courage, succeeded in wresting his much-injured country from the hands of the English; while Edward II. was guided in his counsels by the most whimsical and childish versatility. Edward, who was but an irresolute and weak prince, and too much under the direction of favourites to retain the confidence of the people, or hold with a steady hand the sceptre of England, had shewn his usual caprice in recalling the Earl of Richmond from the go-

* October 4th, 1308. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, m. 13, p. 58.

vernment of Scotland, and appointing the Earl of Angus, and William de Ross de Hamelake, and Henry de Beaumont as joint guardians,* as we have seen; but these were in a few days superseded by Robert de Clifford, who became sole guardian, or Warden of the Marches.†

Edward, who now began to feel the difficulty of his situation, and was obliged to have recourse to every expedient, in order to soften the opposition of his nobility, who had combined against him, was under the necessity of satisfying every demand which they made; and with this view appointed Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, as captain-general in Scotland;‡ and soon after re-established Robert de Clifford in the office of guardian.§

With the caprice, for which the early part of his reign was distinguished, Edward II. appointed John de Crumbavell, in whose mi-

Dec. 3. litary talents he had great confidence, to the command of the detachment sent to the assistance of the troops, and the siege of Rutherglen.¶ And yet in a

* 21st June. 16th August. *Fœdera Angl.* iii. pp. 94, 160, 161.

† *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 2 Ed. II.

‡ *Fœdera Angl.* iii. 175, 193.

§ 15th Dec. *Fœdera Angl.* iii. 195.

¶ *Rot. Scotiæ*, 2 Ed. II., m. 11. 10th March, 1309.

few months after he despatched to Scotland John de Segrave, as keeper or governor, with a plentiful supply of victuals and provisions of all kinds, to the towns and fortresses in possession of the English.* But Robert, who carried on the siege of Rutherglen with vigour, seems eventually to have carried it.

This vacillation of the English king, and the numerous changes which took place in the government, tended greatly to weaken, as it always does, the administration of the king; while the steady councils of Robert gave him an advantage over Edward, which not only encouraged his own supporters, gained him new adherents, but placed him in a favourable position for defeating his enemies, and achieving the liberty of his country. In less than one year, commissions were granted to not fewer than six governors in Scotland; which, instead of strengthening the English interest in Scotland, tended to weaken, and bring it into contempt.†

The civil arm of England was at this period sufficiently powerful and despotic, but yet the church was possessed of a higher authority; and even the mighty Edward, who had put to death nobles and princes, dared not to imbrue

* Rot. Scotiæ, 2 Ed. II., m. 10—11.

† Rymer, Fœdera, vol. iii. pp. 94, 160, 161.

his hands in the blood of a son of the church ; merely committing the clerical delinquents to prison, for what he termed rebellion. William de Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, who, since the fatal battle of Methven, had remained in prison, was first admitted as a prisoner at large in the county of Northampton ; and upon taking the oath of fidelity to Edward upon the consecrated host and the cross of Gnaith, was again admitted to favour, and engaged to excommunicate the King of the Scots and his adherents ;* and was permitted, probably for this purpose, to return into Scotland. It was through the influence of Sir Adam de Gordon, John de Moubray, Alexander de Abernethy, Robert de Keith, and others, that the bishop was released from prison, who became sureties for his return and good behaviour.†

A destructive war had now continued for several years, which was most ruinous for both nations ; the administration of justice was neglected, a spirit of cruelty, of rapacity and bloodshed was encouraged, the fields were not sown, industry and all its arts were overruled ; and above all, the indefatigable perseverance

* *Fœdera Angliæ*, iii. 84, 98. Barbour, 192. He engaged to do this on 11th August, 1308.

† Rymer, *Fœdera Angliæ*, iii. pp. 84, 98.

of Robert was making its way to an independent throne, in spite of all the power and efforts of the English king. Edward, while in France, recommended these things to the notice of Philip, the king, and beseeching his good offices with Robert the Bruce, who already appeared to be such a formidable enemy, Oliver de Roches was sent as envoy, attended by Gilbert de Hall, the serjeant-at-arms of Edward, to treat with the King of the Scots; and the Bishop of St. Andrews, Lamberton, who acted in a double capacity, seems not, upon this occasion, to have entirely deserted the cause of the patriots; but had frequent confidential intercourse with Robert, to whom he recommended the mission of the French king's envoy, and acted his part so well, that he still appears to have retained the confidence of Edward II.*

Edward was unwilling to allow the title of king to be conceded to Robert the Bruce; and when the Sieur de Varreues, Philip's ambassador at the English court, sent his despatches into Scotland, he openly addressed Bruce under the title of Earl of Carrick, but committed to the hands of the envoy a letter addressed to the King of the Scots. This letter was intercepted and shewn to Edward,

* *Fœdera Angl.* iii. pp. 277, 308, 332.

who was dissatisfied with his French ally; but rather than put a stop to the treaty, he dissembled his displeasure, and satisfied himself with complaining against this uncandid mode of proceeding and duplicity of the ambassador.* By the King of France he was styled King of the Scots.†

The King of England, anxious to enlist in his service the Papal influence, since the arrival of the nuncio on the subject of the truce, had a new sentence of excommunication read in his parliament against Robert de Bruce, whose title to the throne of Scotland he still continued to dispute; and this sentence was directed against all who either afforded him assistance, counsel, or favour, yet he appears not to have been able to have it executed in Scotland.‡

Philip the Fair had entered into a strict alliance with Edward, but notwithstanding that he had married Isabel, his daughter, he seems to have been jealous of the rising power of England; and taking advantage of the residence of the Pope Clement in France, he bespoken his favour, and interested him in the noble efforts of De Bruce in struggling to

* Rymer, vol. iii. p. 150.

† Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 215.

‡ Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 213.

emancipate his country from the power of England; and by the mediation of one or both of these, the subject of peace with Scotland was recommended to Edward: too much bent upon his own pleasures, and too indolent to prosecute a war of aggression, or preserve his conquests. It was the near approach of the Scottish army to the border which alarmed Edward II.; and that political and intriguing churchman, Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, who persuaded the king that he might

March 4. be of use in the negotiations, was set free from his prison, and allowed to return to Scotland, while Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, a man more honourable and candid, was still kept in close confinement. Oliver de Roches, a messenger from the King of France, who was sent to Robert, King of Scotland, and this prelate, was probably the cause of his liberation from his imprisonment; and Edward, in order to do honour to the envoy of his father-in-law, sent Gilbert de Hall, his serjeant-at-arms, to attend upon him, on his mission and return from Scotland,* to treat with Robert the Bruce on matters preparatory to a reconciliation or peace.

In the meantime Robert, who had fully re-

* Rymer, iii. 50.

covered from his illness, made great havoc in Northumberland,* which, no doubt, hastened these negotiations; for he was dissatisfied with Edward because he neither recognized him as king, nor treated him as a sovereign.

While Edward appeared in Scotland, with the sword in one hand, he presented with the other the olive branch of peace. At the request of the King of France, who appeared upon this occasion "as the king's father and friend, and not as an ally of the Scots," power was also conferred upon Umfraville, Earl of Angus, and others, among whom were the Earl of Hertford, Lord Clifford, and the Bishop of St. Andrews, and Earl of Gloucester,† to treat with Robert the Bruce, who, as an inducement, received a certain sum of money,‡ and many protestations of kindness.

As Scotland had been greatly harassed with

* Hemingford, i. 245.

† It appears from the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, that Gloucester was appointed Captain-general of Scotland, 3rd Dec. 1308. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 2 Ed. II., m. 11; and also sent on an expedition the succeeding year, 14th Sep. 3 Ed. II., m. 7, *Rotuli Scotiæ*: So that there is no mistake in Rymer when he says, *Gilbertus comes Gloucestrie, Capitaneus pro expeditione Scotiæ*, 3rd Dec. 1309, as Mr. Tytler supposes; for he was sent against Robert Bruce in the end of that year.

‡ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. 3 Ed. II., 4, p. 80. Hemingford.

war, and had suffered much in the struggle for independence, through the intervention of the Pope's nuncios, the French envoy, and English ambassadors,* Robert consented to a truce between the two countries, to be observed to the ensuing feast of All Saints,† or the morrow of Hilary;‡ which, though short, brought a most seasonable relief to both nations, wearied and distressed with continued war. This treaty seems to have been procured by the influence of the Pope, in conjunction with the King of France, who sent his nuncios to the King of England and Robert de Bruce, commanding a secession of hostilities.§

* 23rd January. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 245.

† Nov. 1. Fœdera Angliæ, vol. iii. p. 147.

‡ Hemingford, p. 246.

§ Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 213.

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