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THE
SERVANTS OF INDIA
SCOTTISH HEROES

IN THE DAYS

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WALLACE AND BRUCE.

BY

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IN SCOTLAND.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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SCOTTISH HEROES.

BOOK II.—*continued.*

CHAPTER IV.

ROBERT THE BRUCE.

THE Scottish King took the opportunity of this truce to consolidate his government, and put down faction; to extend his local influence over the country, and bring together those discordant bodies of which the states general were composed, which had been dispersed by the power of faction and the long continuance of the war. The most considerable accession of power, which the success of Robert, and the weak and fluctuating councils of England, had thrown into the scale of Scottish independence, was Walter, the Stewart of Scotland, who had succeeded his father, and soon after joined the patriots, anxious to distinguish himself amongst those who deserved well of their country. The accession of the Stewart to the cause of his

country was an event of no small importance. He was a nobleman of great influence; as steward of Scotland he exercised great authority, and wielded a power in the kingdom which belonged but to few, having not less than five hundred gentlemen, if not all bearing his name, at least united to him by the ties of kindred. He was brave, full of energy, and worthy of being steward of Scotland.

This truce was, however, but ill observed by both nations; each having been guilty of deliberate breaches of the peace. The Scots made several successful inroads into England, and some of the English garrisons made reprisals upon the adjacent country where they were situated; and not a few skirmishes having taken place in this way,* Edward openly charged the Scots with an infringement of the truce, yet candidly acknowledging, in private, that the injuries had been reciprocal. Scarcely had a month expired, when Edward issued summonses for a thousand men to meet him at Newcastle, from York; four hundred from Northumberland, and three hundred from Durham; and cited the Patriarch of Jerusalem, (for the famous Anthony Bec, Bishop of Durham, had, by Pope Clement V., been created Patriarch of Jerusa-

* *Scala Chronica* ap Leland. vol. ii. p. 545. *Fœdera Angl.* vol. iii. p. 192.

lem,)* together with two hundred from his property of North Tindal, to assemble at Berwick, on the Feast of Michaelmas; and appointed commanders for the different stations in Scotland, to oppose Robert the Bruce.†

It being more especially for the good of the English nation that the truce should be prolonged, in order that he might be able to pacify his barons, who had in some measure usurped the royal authority, and claimed the privilege of naming all the great officers of state, the Earl of Ulster was empowered to treat with Robert, and renew the truce. Sir John de Menteith and Sir Nigel Campbell were appointed commissioners on the part of the Scottish King, whose claim to the crown was purposely passed over on this occasion, the letter being addressed publicly to the Earl of Carrick; but Sieur de Variennes, the French ambassador, having in secret sent despatches addressed to the King of the Scots, Philip of France, on the remonstrance of Edward,‡ appointed Lewis Count Devereux, his brother, and Guy the Bishop of Soissons, as his ambassadors, and recommended to the English King a negotiation for a continuance of the peace.§

* Et hoc, quia erat dives Episcopus et Papa pauper. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 216.

† Rymer, 157—160.

‡ Fœdera, vol. iii. pp. 150, 163.

§ 29th Nov. Fœdera Angl. vol. iii. p. 192.

The truth is, Robert, not trusting to the fidelity of the English, or anxious to extend his power and influence, the truce having apparently ended, interrupted the peace by renewing the siege of the Castle of Rutherglen, in Clydesdale; while the English king sent his nephew, the young Earl of Gloucester, with his army to raise the siege. The Scots, however, obtained possession of it.* At this period, indeed, Edward II. shewed the most vacillating temper, issuing commissions, and immediately withdrawing them; resolving on expeditions, and then suing for a truce, and by endeavouring to please all men, gained neither party.†

The English King was too much immersed in pleasure, to attend properly to the serious duty of state affairs; the absence of Piers Gaveston, whom he had been obliged to banish to Ireland, on account of a combination of nobles and prelates, who charged him with insolence and extreme rapacity, he could no longer support; and this favourite, for whom he expressed the most sincere attachment, was recalled from that country, and received at

* It is not mentioned among the castles belonging to England May 12, 1309.

† Hemingford, vol. i. p. 246. *Rotuli Scotiae*, Ed. II. m. 8, dorsc. p. 71, vid. MS. Instrument in the Register Office.

Chester in the most gracious manner, and with feelings of delight which he could not restrain.*

Robert de Clifford, and Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, were appointed guardian, and Captain General in Scotland, and were invested with such authority, that his Chancellor, Bevercotes, was instructed by his sovereign to acknowledge and give obedience to either the one or the other, who might assume the reins of government in Scotland. During next month the same office of chief captain of the king's forces, on both sides of the Scottish sea, was filled by the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, while the guardianship of the kingdom was committed into the hands of I. de Segrave.† With a vacillation which betrayed the weakness of his government, these appointments were superseded by the restoration of Lord Clifford to the regency of the kingdom, and the nomination of the Earl of Gloucester to the captain generalship.‡

The next step taken by Edward, was to despatch Lord Henry Beaumont to Berwick, that he might defend this important town; but

* In June, 1309.

† Hemingford, p. 246, December.

‡ Hemingford, p. 246.

§ October, 1309. Hemingford, p. 246.

the Scots spread themselves over the borders and the northern parts of England, and committed great devastation, and reduced several places : so that the king was most desirous of concluding a truce, and averting the torrent of invasion.*

The army with which the Earl of Gloucester proceeded to the north, had been levied in Wales, and in various parts of the kingdom, as detailed at great length in the Scottish Rolls ; and Edward, determined to bring to the test the sincerity of the Scottish

Sept. 14. patriots to observe the truce, sent him to Scotland, against the renowned patriot king. †

The English soldiery passed through the north of England, where they provided for the protection of the marches near Carlisle, Hertford and Robert Lord Clifford conducting the defences against the Scots ; † but, whether afraid to shew their forces to the victorious prince, or anxious to renew the truce, or recalled by their capricious sovereign, they seem to have struck their flags, and returned inglorious again to England. § The King of

* Rotuli Scotiæ. 3. Edw. II. m. 7.

† Hemingford, p. 246.

‡ Rotuli Scotiæ. 3 Edw. II. mem. 7. Sept 14, 1308.

England was, however, more anxious to conclude a peace than protract a cause in which he found little success; and the treaty which had been proposed, was at last concluded by the commissioners, who had been appointed for the purpose.

The Knights Templars, a military order of monks, had, by their extreme affluence, the accumulated wealth and donations of centuries, the laxity of their morals, which brought a disgrace upon the church, their merit as a military body, and their haughty demeanour and carriage, excited the envy and indignation of the secular authority; and means were generally taken, with the concurrence of the holy see, for reducing and suppressing this once distinguished order of men. A safe conduct was granted to the nuncio of the Pope, who was opposed to this order.*

John de Saleres, the papal legate, was sent to the Abbey of Holyrood, and received the assistance of Lamberton, in collecting evidence sufficient to justify the suppression of this order; † but the pope, who afterwards viewed as an infringement on his privileges the seizure of their property, abrogated the order in a

* *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, Edw. II. m. 10. p. 71. *Fœdera Angl.* vol. iii. p. 201.

† *Wilkin's Concil.* vol. ii. p. 302.

general council, held at Vienne, and bestowed all its wealth on the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, afterwards distinguished as the knights of Malta.* Many of the chief Scottish castles were at this time in possession of the English, among which were Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, and Kirken-tolawe, which were under the direction of John de Segrave, warden of Scotland; the Castles of Carlawerock, Dumfries, Dalswinton and Thybres, of which Robert de Clifford was governor; Lochmaben, defended by Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford; Boteil, commanded by John de St. John; Jedburgh, of which Henry de Beaumont was governor; Dunbar, the residence of the Earl of Dunbar; Dirlton, which was assigned to John le Vallious, and the Castles of Selkirk and Bothwell, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke,† which were kept at a great expense;‡ Perth, Dumfries, and Banff,§ are also included among those which were provided with corn, malt, peas, beans, and wine, by England and Ireland. It was in the course of this and the preceding

* Du Pin cent. 14th, c. 2. Fœd. Ang. vol. iii. pp. 150.—215.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 80.

‡ Wardrobe accounts, No. 48. Illustrative Documents, Chronicon de Lanercost.

§ Rotuli Scotiæ, m. x. p. 63.

year that the foundation was laid of the grandeur of that potent family, which exercised such authority in Scotland, and identified itself with its liberty and independence of the nation.

After the conclusion of the truce, which extended to Feb. 24, 1310. Christmas, and afterwards to Midsummer,* in which Robert was included, and designated by Philip of France, King of the Scots;† an assembly of the estates of Scotland took place at Dundee, where several important resolutions were passed at this convention; where the Lord of Annandale, the late competitor of the crown, is acknowledged to have had a preferable claim to Baliol; where they reorganised the coronation of Robert Bruce, and undertook with their lives and properties to defend his rights, and the liberties and independence of Scotland. And while the representatives of the abbots and priors did homage to him in that capacity, by a pastoral admonition which they issued, they recommended him to the faithful of the land, as the chosen king, who, alone, could rescue the kingdom from the

* Tyrell. p. 235, Vid. Rotuli Scotiæ, third Ed. vol. ii. m. 4, p. 30.

† Fœdera Angliæ, vol. iii. pp. 150—215.

hands of the English, who had betrayed and enslaved it.*

A council of the prelates and clergy was, at the same time, held in the same town, in which, in accordance with the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom, they drew up a similar declaration in favour of the rights and claims of Robert the Bruce, as their lawful sovereign, if this was not one and the same meeting; a measure which greatly strengthened the cause of Robert I., and the liberties and independence of Scotland. They engaged to defend the privileges and liberties of Scotland, against all of whatever degree, and held as guilty of treason and liable to punishment, every one who should attempt to violate them.†

The most consummate wisdom was indeed displayed by the Scottish King, during his arduous struggle with England and the pope, in enlisting in his cause the clergy; and as he had already defied the fulminations of the papal see by means of these; by the same instrument he was enabled successfully to resist the power of England, and foil its king.

* Anderson *Indep. Ap. N. 1.* This happened on 24th February, in the end of the year 1309, according to the old computation of time.

† Instrument in the General Register House, Edinburgh.

Walter Mowbray and the friends of the Cumyn family, interceding with Edward about this period, he agreed to exchange Mary, the sister of Robert, who, with other illustrious ladies, had been ordered to be confined in cages; Mary in the Castle of Roxburgh, for William Comyn, or Walter Comyn, then a prisoner in Scotland; and Henry de Beaumont, the constable of Roxburgh Castle, was instructed to effect the exchange.*

The brave king had already inspired the nobility with the spirit of liberty in some measure, and their vassals had always been disposed to espouse the cause of their country, had not the selfishness of their master, and the terror of the English arms, prevented them from espousing the cause of their injured country. The strongholds and castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, Stirling, Edinburgh, Banff, Perth, Dundee, Caerlaverock, Ayr, and Dumfries, † were well garrisoned and provided with all kinds of stores and armour. The castle of Forfar had been taken by the patriots, but as it appears not to have been dismantled, it had again fallen into the hands of the English in 1308. ‡ Provisions of all kinds, corn, malt, peas, beans, and wine, had been sent to these

* *Fœdera Angliæ*, vol. iii. p. 204.

† *Rotuli Scotiæ*, m. 10, p. 63.

‡ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 3rd Dec., 1308. It was then in their possession.

garrisons during the truce;* and an article then abundant in Scotland, salmon, of which three thousand had been sent salted to the army of Edward I.†

Meanwhile, Robert, who had never paid much regard to the truce which had been renewed, was making active preparations for besieging Perth, deemed at that time the capital of Scotland. The English monarch, who took the alarm, made great preparations to throw succours into the English garrison, which

June 15. was commanded by Sir John Fitz Marmaduke; sent a fleet under the direction of John de Caunton, to be drawn up under the command of Simon de Montague, in defence of the town,‡ the order for which is contained in the calendar of Patent Rolls, and in the Scottish Rolls;§ appointed the Earl of Ulster to the command of a detachment of Irish troops, which were to assemble at Dublin; and ordered the whole military array of England to meet him in arms at Berwick;|| while Alexander de Abernethy was appointed by Edward, lieutenant in Scotland, over that

* Rotuli Scotiæ, 12th May, 1309.

† Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 99.

‡ Fœdera, Angliæ, vol. iii. pp. 211—213.

§ Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium, 4 Edw. II. 7. m. Rotuli Scotiæ, 15th Jan. 1310.

|| Fœdera, iii. 222. Rotuli Scotiæ, 3 Ed. II. m. 4, 11th Nov., 1310.

part of the country which lies between the Forth and the Grampians, extending from Dunotter on the east coast, Loch Rannoch on the west; and John de Caunton, admiral of the fleet in the Frith of Tay,* which was necessary to co-operate with the English army.

The season of the year was, however, too far advanced for executing all these military arrangements, and the plan of raising an army in Ireland was entirely abandoned; and even in England they repaired but slowly to his standard, owing to the unpopularity of his measures, and the quarrel which he had with the nobility. At the head of a considerable army, he began his march to Scotland, attended by the Earls of Gloucester and Warrene, and the Lords Percy and Clifford, the Earl of Lincoln being appointed to the office of guardian.† Abandoning the usual route through Lothian, in which, with the co-operation of his fleet, he might have harassed the Scottish army; he passed by Roxburgh Castle, through the forests of Sle Kirk and Biggar to Clydesdale, and Renfrew;‡ from thence he returned through the

* Rotuli Scotiæ, 3 Edw. II., m. 1, 2, 15th June, 1310. This range was called the Cairn of Mounth.

† Hemingford, vol. i, p. 247. Malmesbury 106.

‡ Fœdera, Ang. vol. iii. pp. 223—230. Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 103. Fordun, lib. xii. 18.

Lothians and Lammermoor to Berwick, without any certain object in view, and
Nov. with none of those important consequences which such an army, under an able general, was calculated to produce.

Robert had prudently driven the flocks and herds to the Highland glens and valleys; and all the property of value belonging to the inhabitants was removed into safe keeping. The destroying of their lands, and the burning of their houses, were the only privations which the Scots suffered from this inglorious and fruitless expedition; and Robert, unwilling to hazard the fate of the nation on a single battle, which might have rendered useless all his former conquests, judiciously protracted the war, that during the inclemency of the weather the heavy armed cavalry, on which the English placed their chief dependence, might be rendered useless, and prevented from taking the field. For this purpose he was satisfied with ordering detachments to hover upon the flanks of the English, to intercept their convoys, to make sudden and violent attacks upon their enemies under cover of the woods, mountains, and morasses of the country, in one of which three hundred Welshmen were slain; and in this manner, he cut off several bodies of the English and Welsh, with no loss

to himself; and, at last, had the satisfaction to see the army of Edward retreating to Berwick, without having struck a single blow for enslaving the people of Scotland, who were now united under the command of a prudent and heroic sovereign, in whom they placed the most implicit confidence.*

Upon the retreat of Edward, the Scots left their fastnesses and glens, and poured down upon the Lothians.† This protracted warfare, and the distracted state of the country, during which the nation was entirely governed by the power of faction, greatly excited the minds of almost all men. The sources of industry were dried up; people neglected to till the ground, which, like a bountiful parent, yields us all the comforts of life; and great scarcity and dearth of provision were the consequences, which seldom fail to appear either in the train of foreign or civil war.‡ This famine is not to be traced entirely to the ravages of the enemy, seeing that England was at the same time afflicted with want;§ and no doubt, the inclemency of the season, regulated by God Almighty, and favourable or unfavourable to

* *Fœd. Angl.* iii. 283. *Hemingford*, 248. *Fordun*, lib. 12, c. 18. *Mon. malm.* p. 106.

† *Chronicon de Lanercost*, vid. *Tyrrel*, p. 239.

‡ *Fordun*, xii. 18.

§ *Trivet cont.* 8.

the sustenance of man according to His sovereign will, as well as the effects arising from the invasion of the English, contributed to that scarcity of provisions, which constrained the people, in many cases, to feed on the flesh of horses and other unclean animals.*

This dispensation of Providence, which, in the nature of things, must have taken place, no forage having been procured, † gave a severe check to the progress of Edward; and was one of the chief causes which induced him to sound a retreat to England, almost without having struck a single blow, when those stores and other resources of modern times were then unknown. But the case of the independents was not yet so deplorable, for while the feuds and discontent of the English nobility weakened the hand of their sovereign, they strengthened that faction in Scotland which it was the interest of the English to put down; and it is a circumstance which admits of little doubt, that Robert was supplied with arms, provisions, and horses from England, which Edward at length discovered, and prohibited under the highest penalty of the law. ‡ The Earl of Flanders was complained of for the

* Fordun, xii. 18.

† Hemingford, i. 248.

‡ Fœd. Angl. iii. 233.

similar offence of intercepting English ships on their way with provision to his army;* but the greatest error of which he himself was guilty, was in raising his favourite Gaveston to the chief direction of affairs; an unworthy minion, who excited the jealousy and hatred of one of the most powerful aristocracies of the age. Meanwhile, Edward, fearful of the swords of the patriots, returned a second time into Scotland at the head of his army; but the same policy of the Scottish leader led to the same results; and he retired to his own country, covered with shame and disappointment. The direction of the war was now abandoned to his favourites, and he himself hung up his inglorious sword in the hall of his brave father; whose ashes disturbed not the repose of the Scots, nor did his bones terrify them, as he himself, while yet alive, had anticipated.

The Earls of Gloucester and Surrey next tried their luck at the lance and the spear; and preferring a different route, they advanced into the forest of Selkirk, where for a time they set up the idol of their royal master, and for a short period held this province in subjugation.† The Scottish chief

* *Fœd. Angl.* iii. 230.

† *Chronicon de Lanercost*, vide *Tyrrel*, p. 239. August 1310.

had suffered grievously under the tyranny of the English King, the first Edward, who may have been a consummate politician and a most chivalrous knight, but behaved with a cruel policy towards Scotland. His brother and dearest friends had been put to death while prisoners, under circumstances of extreme cruelty, his wife and child carried into captivity; and he willingly indulged his troops in ravaging the fair fields of England, and carrying war into their country.

The cruelties exercised by Edward I. in his Scottish wars, not so much in the heat of battle, and in personal conflict, as in the deliberate atrocities inflicted by royal command on the persons of his prisoners, or those who fell into his hands, led to a line of conduct on the part of the Scots, which greatly exasperated their feelings, and added to the ferocity of their character. In these days of ignorance and superstition, when the moral obligations of men were but imperfectly understood, if known at all, revenge became sweet to those who had grievously suffered from its merciless hand, and retaliation almost a duty.

Feb. 2, 1311. Berwick was now considered the head quarters of the English King, from which he despatched Gaveston, now Earl of Cornwall, with the command

of a fourth battalion of two hundred men-at-arms, into the north, in the hope that he might gain some laurels, which would raise him in the estimation of his peers; but meeting with no determined resistance, for the Scots were playing the same game, he returned after he had crossed the Forth,* crowned with as little glory as his royal master,† and remained at Roxburgh.‡ His object in sending Gaveston north was to intercept or prevent the Scottish King from collecting an army south of the Friths, who was believed to be on his way against Galloway; and he extended the protection of England to those who lived between the Scottish Sea, or Firth of Forth and Clyde, and the mountains, as the Earl of Warenne had done to the foresters of Selkirk.§ Edward, fearful of the discontented nobles, who had already joined in confederacy against him, under Lancaster, the first prince of the blood, a turbulent and factious person, and had bound themselves by oath to expel this unworthy foreigner Gaveston,|| continued in a state of inactivity at Berwick for several months, neither taking any serious

* Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 214.

† Malmesbury, 105, 106. Hemingford, 247, 248.

‡ Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 214.

§ On 24th. Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 214.

|| Trivet, cont. p. 5

steps to put down the confederacy in England, nor to establish the right to the Scottish throne to which he laid claim.

Edward, in the meantime, determined to pursue the reduction of the north, which he had hitherto greatly overlooked. He despatched letters to the papal court, urging the necessity of preventing the Bishop of Glasgow, at that time in Rome, from returning to his diocese, where he had already fomented the quarrels with England;* issued orders for the principal barons of the north to meet him

under array at Roxburgh;†
 May 20. and collected his fleet for the purpose of invading Argyle and Inchgall, or the western isles, which was intrusted to the command of John of Argyle;‡ the English barons being bent upon their own designs, disregarded the royal authority and remained at home, and were too intent upon their favourite object, the ruin of Gaveston and his measures, to attend to the royal mandate, and this invasion was suffered, therefore, to pass quietly into oblivion.

Robert, by no means ignorant of the state

* *Fœdera Angl.* vol. iii. p. 241.

† *Rotuli Scotiæ.* Edw. II. 20. *Maii Fœdera Angl.* vol. iii. p. 271.

‡ *Fœdera Angl.* vol. iii. p. 265. *Rotuli Scotiæ.*
 † *Edw. II.*

of England, the insubordination of the nobles, the unpopularity of the premier, and the indecision and fluctuating councils of Edward, resolved again to transfer the seat of war from Scotland, the greater part of which, with the exception of Lothian, Merse, and Teviotdale, acknowledged his authority to this country, at that time the hotbed of civil dissension and domestic feuds.

Robert was not unmindful of the inroad of Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, however fruitless, in the end of the year; and now entered England by the Solway, burnt the territory of the Lordship of Gilelesland, the town of Hantewysel, Aug. 12. and a great part of Tynedale; and after the merciless spirit of the times, giving them a week of revelry and plunder, he retired, carrying with him great herds of cattle, but put to death few, unless those who opposed him and resisted his progress.

The bishopric of Durham felt the weight of his power: no doubt irritated at the treatment of his wife and child, and the cruelty with which his friends had been used; where the Scots breaking into his dominions, as Edward observed, in a letter to the Pope, "with the fierceness and rapacity of wolves,* perpetrated the most horrible ravages, depredations,

* *Fædera*, vol. iii. p. 283.

burnings, and murders in the border counties of our kingdom, but more especially in the bishopric of Durham, not sparing the innocent youth or the female sex, and paying no respect, alas! even to the immunities of ecclesiastical liberty."* After he had taken severe retribution on England for the wrongs which she had done to his house, and the perfidy which was shewn, when his father trusted to his wisdom and honour, he returned, † loaded with spoil, with an army confident of its own valour and success.

The Scots, now thirsting for spoil, after they had tasted the first fruits of a predatory war, again returned to England, overran the dis-

trict of Redesdale, as far as September. Cortridge, destroyed Tynedale and Hattotel, Halistan and Northumberland. ‡ The Scots had many injuries to avenge, and they seem to have given rein to all the turbulent feelings of their nature, the fierceness and rapacity of ancient times, and marched home with their spoil, after a license of fifteen days. §

Robert, without delay, laid siege to Perth, to which Edward had promised to send speedy support, and all the munitions of war. ||

* Fordun, lib. xii. c. 18. Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 284.

† Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 283.

‡ Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 116, 117. 1311.

§ Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 283.

|| Rotuli Scotiæ. Edw. II. m. 4, p. 105. October 9. Barbour, vol. ix. p. 333—336.

The English sovereign, beset on all hands with his nobility at home, who refused, many of them, to follow his standard; and the Scottish patriots, under their gallant King, Robert I., on the frontiers of his kingdom, desirous of peace, charged Gilbert de Bohun, in his constabulary camp, at Lochmaben, with full powers to sound the Scottish chief, and conclude a treaty of peace with him.*

William Olyphant was at this time governor of the village of Perth, as it is termed, on whose walls the English flag still waved triumphant, and Peter Lyband still held out the camps or fortresses of Edinburgh and Linlithgow,† to whom, as well as Perth, Edward promised succours of men and provisions, charging them to resist with vigour the attacks of the Scots, and not to sully the renown which their countrymen had acquired in arms.‡ The town of Perth was the more easily protected from the valour of the Scots, that the Earl of Athole was in the English interest, and at this time engaged in the siege of Lochandorm.§

Perth, a strongly fortified garrison, which with ample provision might have defied a

* Chronicon de Lanercost, pp. 216, 217. Rotuli Scotiæ. 5. Edw. II. m. 5. Oct. 8, 1311.

† Linliscu. Ibid.

‡ Rotuli Scotiæ. 5 Edw. II. p. 105. m. 4.

§ Rotuli, m. 4.

numerous army, was at this time commanded by the Earl of Strathern, who had fought with Robert in the unfortunate engagement of Methven, together with Oliphant and Moffat ; but Strathern's son was in the king's army. The fortress was enclosed by a lofty wall and towers, surrounded by a deep moat, filled with water, which set at defiance the utmost efforts of the Scottish army for several weeks ; and by a feint he raised the siege, struck his tents, and departed to some distance ; but after eight days, when least expected, in the silence of the night, he approached, unperceived, to the foot of the rampart, fortified at intervals by round towers, and walking up to his throat in water, in complete armour feeling his way, with his spear through the moat, he seized a ladder, with which he was the second to mount the walls : a piece of gallantry and resolution, which produced a simultaneous effect upon the Scots.*

“What shall we say to our lords,” observed a French gentleman in the army, when he saw the king behave so gallantly, “who spend their days in good cheer and mirth, while a knight so worthy hazards his life to win a wretched hamlet ?” With this, he gaily threw himself into the water, followed by the rest of the Scottish army, to share the glory of the king ; and scaling the walls, the town was

* Barbour, p. 182.

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ROBERT THE BRUCE

SERVANT²⁵ OF

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soon taken, and every Scotsman who had joined the English was put to the sword. The king remained with a considerable body of reserve, in a strong position, while the rest of the town was soon reduced by the army, or burnt to the ground; but, with noble clemency, the patriot chief saved the lives of the inoffensive people, who laid down their arms. The siege lasted during the space of six weeks.* Malise, the Earl of Strathern, who turning with the tide of prosperity, had gone over to the English, was now taken prisoner by his own son, and renewed his allegiance, and had property restored to him again.†

Dundee still held out under its governor, Alexander de Abernethy, and had been strongly fortified by William de Montefixo.‡ Edward, in the meantime, before he left Berwick, find-

Feb. 3, 1312.

ing that many of his principal barons had forsaken him, had appointed John of Argyll to the command of the fleet, and had summoned, principally from the northern districts of his kingdom, thirty-eight barons to meet at Roxburgh, with their military array, on Midsummer day; but, as they failed to appear at that

* Barbour, p. 182. Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 222, dates its capture, Jan. 10, 1313. Fordun, p. 1006, differs a little in his account of the slaughter.

† Barbour, vol. ix. p. 435.

‡ Rotuli Scotiæ, 5 Edw. II. m. 3. Feb. 3.

time, it was now changed to Lanmas, when they were cited to appear.*

The governor of Carlaverock Castle, Eustace de Maxwell, was charged to adopt every means for the defence of a place, the acquisition of which, as well as its fortifications, had cost England much. The Scots had the meanwhile directed their efforts against the castle of Dun-

March 2. dee, and William de Montefixo or Montfichet, its governor, was so greatly pressed that he had agreed to surrender the town, together with a number of Scottish prisoners, within a certain time. When this was reported to Edward, at York, who had not the same high sense of honour and chivalry as his father; he issued orders to the commander to violate the truce, under pain of death and confiscation of estates, to warn the Scots that if any of the English prisoners or hostages should suffer in consequence, he would bring out to instant execution all the Scottish prisoners in England; he flattered the officers of the garrison, and thanked them for their services, and even the mayor, bailiffs, and community, encouraging them still to hold out; and, as Sir David de Brechin, the king's nephew, who had fought against his uncle, who had been taken prisoner and pardoned, had again gone over to the enemy, he was associ-

* Rymer, p. 265—271.

ated in the command as joint warden with Montfichet, and new reinforcements of ships, provisions, and soldiers, sent to Dundee from Newcastle and Berwick.* This treacherous person was a man strongly influenced by his malignant passions, and was unworthy of his connection with the intrepid patriot, as he certainly possessed none of his spirit.

Edward, fearful of losing every advantage which he had gained in Scotland, threatened with rebellion by a powerful aristocracy, and rendered timid by the success of his enemies, endeavoured again to renew a truce with the Scots and break off hostilities. These fearful inroads by which the Scots enriched themselves, frightened Edward; the cries of the miserable reached him even on his throne; and distracted between the mutiny of his nobles who were combining against him, and the nearer approach of a foreign enemy, he complained loudly of the merciless rapacity of the Scots, and besought the interference of the holy see.†

So fearful were the inhabitants of the border of these repeated inroads of the terrible Bruce and his army; and such was the pusillanimity of the English monarch, that the Lords of the Marches were happy in being able to purchase,

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 5 Edw. II. m. 2, p. 108. March 2, 1311-12.

† *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 283-284.

by a considerable sum of money, a momentary truce from his victorious sword, and merciless followers, in favour of the Northumbrians, as we have seen.*

David, Earl of Athole, who had obtained possession of two manors in England belonging to the Knights Templars,† Adam de Gordon, Alexander Abernethy, and the Earl of March; to whom was joined William, Bishop of St. Andrews, were vested with full powers to negotiate, and received a safe passport to the Scottish king to proceed to Newcastle on the Tyne, Roxburgh, or any other place in Scotland.‡ A safe conduct was also given to Thomas Lancaster, Hereford, Essex, Gloucester, Richmond, Clifford, and Henry Percy, on the part of England, to repair to these commissioners unarmed at Markeyate;§ but as a secession of arms would have been serviceable to Edward alone, who scarcely had the power remaining of raising an army, the Scottish king was unwilling to give up such a favourable opportunity of reducing the English garrisons, consolidating his power, and strengthening his party.||

The English king, in his mission to the Ro-

* Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 216, 217.

† Fœdera Angl. vol. iii. p. 203.

‡ Rotuli Scotiæ, 5 Edw. II. mem. 3, p. 108.

§ Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium, 6 Edw. II. p. 74. M. 7.

|| Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 301.

lish See, urged the Roman Pontiff to retain Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, his enemy, in honourable durance at Rome, where he was then on a visit;* and anxious to conciliate as much as possible, now solicited the pope in favour of William Sinclair, the bishop elect of Dunkeld, whom he had formerly opposed;† and was most assiduous in attaching to his interest those Scottish noblemen whom he had either doubted, or who favoured the cause of England, in encouraging the English governors who complained of his neglect to continue faithful, and particularly the island prince, John of Argyle, whose fleet annoyed King Robert in no small degree, and whom he charged to prosecute the war during the winter. The cause of the patriots was every day identifying itself more and more with the interest of individuals; and the authority of Edward being slighted and despised in his native country, his adherents in Scotland shewed a strong inclination to follow the disaffected. Sir John de Monteith, who held the impregnable fortress of Dunbarton, more solicitous about aggrandising himself than advancing the interests of England, agreed to surrender the stronghold into the hands of Robert,

* *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 245. February 8.

† *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 303.

on condition of receiving the Earldom of Lennox, which its possessor generously concurred in giving up.†

It was this recreant knight, whose idol was gold, not valour, who had basely betrayed his friend Wallace, the deliverer of his country, into the hands of the first Edward, the bravest patriot and warrior of which Scotland could boast; and Robert looked with some degree of suspicion on the forwardness and conduct of this man. Mutual agreements were speedily exchanged and confirmed by oath, a day was appointed for the surrender, and the king proceeding on his way to take possession, through the forest of Colquhoun, was warned by a person of the name of Rolland, that Menteith had a considerable number of Englishmen under arms concealed in the cellar. Robert was in the meantime received by the knight in the most courteous manner and splendidly entertained; but, upon receiving the keys of all the offices, he demanded that of the cellar, which was, under various pretences, refused, and breaking it open, the treachery of Menteith, who had agreed to convey Robert a prisoner on board a vessel in the river Clyde, and deliver him over to the King of England, was discovered, and he himself secured, together

* Fordun, lib. xii. p. 18.

with those whom he had placed in ambush.* Successful in reducing these strong holds, he again turned his arms Aug. 15. to the south, and made an incursion into the north of England, where he plundered Northumberland, destroyed the towns of Hexham and Corbridge, burnt a great part of the town of Durham during a night attack, † put many to the sword, with the exception of the noble abbey, or cathedral, and castle which resisted him. During this period he took up his head quarters at Chester le Street, and despatched his generals in various directions, who subdued the country wherever they went, and accumulated a vast variety of booty, destroying more than they preserved. ‡

Douglas, with a strong detachment, laid waste the country as far as Hartlepool, the property of Bruce, where he had a market and an assize of bread, and a sea-port, where keel dues were taken, and returned to Chester again with many burgesses and their wives as prisoners. §

The inhabitants of Durham, August. alarmed at those dreadful inroads, agreed to purchase a truce for two thousand

* Fordun, lib. xii, p. 18.

† Chron. Lanercost, p. 220. Hemingf. vol. i. p. 262.

‡ Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 220.

§ Hemingford, vol. i, p. 241.

they were moving slowly to the foot of the wall in this manner, they heard two English centinels on the walls remarking, "that the farmer had left all his oxen out no doubt, forgetful of his charge amidst his merriment, and that the Douglas may soon save him the trouble of taking them in." When they perceived that the lure had taken, they approached close to the walls, and raising their ladder, "the cruchet" was soon fixed on the "Kyrneill" or crib-stone; and Syme, tenant of Ledehouse, "a crafty man and curious,"* mounting first, was challenged by the centinel of that ward, who attempted to tumble him down, but, grasping his knife, he silently made a thrust at him upwards, and warned his comrades that all was safe. While they were mounting, Ledehouse was observed standing alone by a centinel, who challenged him with the password, and being well armed, he rushed upon him, despatched the Englishman, and threw him over the wall, before he could give the alarm; and another centinel who came to his rescue shared the same fate.† In the meantime several of the patriots had reached the top of the wall, and proceeded to the feudal hall, where the English were celebrating

* Barbour's Bruce, pp. 201, 202.

† Barbour's Bruce, p. 200. Chronicle of Lanercost. Tyrell, vol. iii. p. 257. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 262.

Fastern's eve with great mirth, while the rafters of the hall rung again with the boisterous noise of the revellers; but changed was the tone and ominous the pause, when the shout of "Douglas! Douglas!" mingled with the sounds.

The intrepid chieftain appeared in the hall with his trusty followers before the astonished revellers, who were amusing themselves with singing and dancing. Being not completely armed, and unprepared, the English, in general, made a feeble resistance when the terrible shout of Douglas was raised; but Gillem de Fiennes, the warden, retiring to the great tower or donjon, with a few chosen men, did not surrender until the next night, when mortally wounded, and was allowed to depart in safety into England, where he died of his wounds.* The brave yeoman, Syme, tenant of Ledehouse, was forthwith despatched to the king with the joyful intelligence, who rewarded him for his courage and valour, and sent Sir Edward, his brother, who, according to his usual policy, levelled castle, tower, and donjon with the ground.†

After Robert had received this important acquisition, no longer able to defend them-

* Fordun, lib. xii. p. 19. Barbour, Book x. p. 204. Jamieson, Edit: Leland, vol. ii. p. 546, calls him by the name of Gilleminge de Fenigges.

† Barbour, p. 204.

selves, the inhabitants of Teviotdale, for the most part, submitted to the patriots, who now marched towards Edinburgh, the capital of the country, which had not yet submitted to the prince, who lost no opportunity of extending his boundaries and conciliating the disaffected. The English nobility, who had a quarrel with their sovereign, had already conversed with their armed followers, and compelled him to devolve on a chosen junto the royal authority, which framed ordinances, removed evil counsellors, and banished Piers Gaveston, the premier, from the king's dominions for ever. As these resolutions, among which were many favourable to the better administration of justice and the welfare of the nation, were extorted from fear by his rebellious subjects, and from the same principle received a parliamentary sanction; the king secretly entered his protest against them,* revoked these ordinances, and removing to York, where he no longer remained under the impression of terror, sent for Gaveston to Flanders, and reinstated his chief favourite in his former state and authority.† The nobles, without any hesitation, raised an army which was committed to the charge of the Earl of Lancaster, and proceeded to York, which Ed-

* Ryley's Plant. Parl. pp: 530—541.

† Brady's Append. No. 53. Walsingham, p. 98.

ward had left for Newcastle ; from whence he embarked with Gaveston for Scarborough; where the favourite was deposited in a strong fortress, deemed almost impregnable. The king returning again to York, made a fruitless attempt to raise an army, and the Earls of Pembroke and Surry being sent by the confederates to besiege the castle of Scarborough, while Lancaster intercepted all communication between Edward and that town ; Gaveston was soon obliged to open his gates and surrender himself prisoner, on condition of personal protection. The castle of Dedington, near Banbury, was chosen as an asylum for his safety ; but a party of the aristocracy under the direction of the Earl of Warwick, removing him from thence, in the absence of Pembroke, to Warwick Castle, regardless of the pledges given by that nobleman, with the concurrence of Lancaster, Arundel, and Hereford, gave this unhappy minion into the hands of the common executioner, who beheaded him.*

The castle of Linlithgow, which was of more consequence to the English, that it was situated half way between Edinburgh and Sterling, and had been strongly fortified, was surprised by an admirably-constructed strata-

* Trivet Cont. pp. 4—9. Walsingham, p. 101. Rymer, vol. ii. p. 324. T. de La More, p. 593.

gem, of an obscure yeoman, William Bonnock, or Binny, which he executed with great gallantry. Being well acquainted with the situation of the Peel, as he had been accustomed to supply the garrison with provender; after having communicated his scheme to several neighbours, he posted a small party of his friends in ambush at no great distance from the gate; concealed eight resolute men under a load of hay, which his servant drove into the gateway, he himself walking carelessly by its side, when the soam of the wain was loosed by a sudden blow of an axe. The signal was then given, "Call all! call all!" upon which the concealed party sprang from the cart, and falling upon the porter and guard, who could neither remove the wain nor drop the portcullis, they soon despatched them; and the soldiers who lay in ambush instantly rushed in, put the garrison to the sword after a desperate struggle, and took possession of the place. When Robert was informed of this gallant exploit, he rewarded in a handsome manner the intrepid yeoman;* and not being in a condition to spare any troops for his garrison, with his usual policy, he dismantled Linlithgow, which had been built by Edward, and rendered defenceless.†

* Barbour, Book x. pp. 137—255.

† Fordun, lib. xii. p. 10. Rotuli Scotiæ.

Meanwhile, the effect of Robert's arms had a powerful influence upon his countrymen, many of whom now returned and swore allegiance to their sovereign. Among these, was Randolph of Strathdon, the nephew of the king,—a brave and courteous knight, of comely stature, broad visage, and a countenance which was the index of munificence, justice, and candour; a man jovial in company, devoted to the fair sex*—who, having been some time received into favour, took possession of the earldom of Moray, which was conferred upon him:† marched with his vassals into Lothian, against Edinburgh—anxious to atone for his late defection, and to signalize himself in the eyes of his sovereign. His castle was commanded by Sir Piers Labund,‡ a Gascon knight, March 14. whose fidelity being suspected by the garrison, he was committed a close prisoner to the keep or donjon of the castle,§ and the command given to one of their own nation.

Randolph, being alarmed at the tedious progress of a blockade, and despairing of ever being able to take this fortress,—then deemed impregnable by assault,—after a siege of six

* Barbour, pp. 197, 198, different edition.

† Barbour, p. 204.

‡ Monachi Malmesbriensis vita Edwardi, p. 144.

§ Barbour, pp. 325—335.

weeks, he learned from his soldiers that a person of the name of William Frank, or Fransoys,* who, when a young man in the castle,—of which his father had been constable,—had been in love with a woman who lived in the city; this young man was acquainted with a secret, though intricate path, to this fortress, amidst frightful precipices, by which he had been accustomed, when all was quiet within, to visit his mistress. With thirty of his bravest men, Randolph proceeded through this labyrinth, with the utmost hazard. The passage being intricate and precipitous, by grasping the tufts of ivy, gorse, and grass, which hung over the rugged cliffs, they reached half way up the rock, where they heard the round on their nightly parade, challenging the watch; and although one of them from the top of the battlement, at that interesting moment called out, “ Away, begone! I see you well,”—and throwing a stone over the precipice, which rolled over their heads,—the watch moved on: while the Scots, in deathlike silence and anxiety, reached the foot of the wall without being observed, which now overhangs Prince’s Street Gardens, where there is a fragment of ruin called Wallace’s Cradle. The rope-ladders were now fixed by iron crochets on the crib-stone; a death-like silence prevailed,

* Barbour, buke sewynd, p. 205, new edition.

and their faithful guide was the first to ascend the scaling-ladder, over a wall twelve feet high, followed by Sir Andrew Grey and the Earl Randolph. The noise of the assailants on the ramparts now attracted the notice of the centinels before they had all got up, who, sounding an alarm of treason, commenced the attack. Some of the besieged were so surprised at the appearance of an enemy, that they jumped over the wall; but the constable, who had been alarmed, sprang forth from the castle with his armed bands, and the earl having by this time slain the guards, hastened to the keep, and a fierce and obstinate conflict ensued between them and the English, who greatly outnumbered them.

The constable soon fell a sacrifice to the swords of the enemy, together with many of his followers. The English began to waver; and the garrison, disheartened at the fall of their leader, quickly surrendered,—after one of the most brilliant exploits had been accomplished, which distinguishes the annals of history. Luband, the governor, who had been unjustly thrown into prison upon suspicion of treachery, being released, immediately joined the Scots, and received the lands of Garmilfin; and Robert, after his usual manner, ordering this strong fortress to be demolished, it was rendered useless, and razed.

to its foundation.* The king, who delighted in noble and heroic actions, conferred on William Frank, who acted such a prominent and meritorious part in this affair, the lands of Sprouston, in the sheriffdom of Roxburgh, as a reward for his valour and fidelity†—an enterprize which induced several chieftains to renounce their dependence on the English monarch.

In the chapel of the good Queen Margaret, a token was afterwards found, which had, no doubt, been left in commemoration of this romantic transaction,—a castle portrayed with a ladder attached, which is still visible and a man climbing it, with this French motto inscribed upon it, “Gardys wouys de Fransais,” probably in allusion to the name of the daring soldier, Frank, who first scaled the wall.‡ The Earl of Moray was highly honoured by his royal master after this memorable transaction, which ranked him among the most chivalrous knights of this chivalrous age, who bestowed upon him national honour and some lands as a reward.§

* Barbour, vol. x. pp. 506, 772. Fordun, vol. xii. p. 19. Leland, Collectanea, vol. ii. p. 546.

† Index of Charters amissing, p. 12, n. 54, and p. 15, n. 20.

‡ Barbour, pp. 211, 212, who attributes this to Queen Margaret herself.

§ Barbour, p. 212.

“In ancient times,” observed the biographer of the life of Bruce, “a more daring adventure in taking any fortress was never achieved, if we except the capture of Treile, into which Alexander the Great leapt headlong from the top of the wall into the midst of a number of foes, and bravely defended himself until Aristæus and his noble chivalry came to his rescue.”*

Among those who now joined the king, was David, Earl of Athole, who was gladly received into favour.† The patriots were now in possession of Edinburgh, which, although a town of great consideration, and every day rising into more, was scarcely yet accounted the capital of the country. Their royal leader, who, in the early part of the campaign, had to struggle with almost insurmountable obstacles and misfortunes, had for some time been attended with an uninterrupted, though well-merited, tide of success; many of his chieftains were animated with the most heroic sentiments and dauntless bravery; and the whole army, confident more in its cause than numbers, desired only to be led out to battle, when victory usually followed.

Edward, alarmed at the progress of the

* Barbour, p. 205, 210.

† *Fœdera Anglia*, vol. iii. p. 404,

patriot arms, and dreading an attack upon the northern frontiers,* and the castle of Caerlaverock, which had for some time resisted the whole English army, before it yielded to his father,—encouraged Eustace de Maxwell, its governor, to adopt every means of defence. He was the more willing on that account to listen to the mediation of France, between the belligerent powers, the king of which sent an ambassador to Scotland, chiefly at the instigation of England, to demand secession of arms,

May 17. but to no purpose.† Robert was anxious to foster and keep alive, by a series of active operations, that spirit of independence and military renown, which he had happily enkindled in the breasts of his countrymen; and, regardless of the pacific overtures of France, entered Cumberland, which he laid waste on every side, unopposed by Edward, who extolled the fidelity of his subjects, exhorted them to defend themselves with bravery, and passed over into France.‡

The city of Carlisle was afraid of a lengthened siege, or a vigorous attack from the Scottish arms; but Robert made but a feint in this quarter, to withdraw observation from a naval

* Fœder. Angl. vol. iii. p. 401.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, 7 Edw. II. Fœdera Ang. 411.

‡ Rymer Fœdera Angl. 416.

force, which he had prepared for a descent on the Isle of Man: Edward had, however, taken the alarm, and ordered the governor of Berwick to deliver Isabella, Countess of Buchan, who had been kept there in strict custody in a cage for seven years, to Henry de Beaumont, to whose care she was now committed, in a place of greater safety.* The Scottish King seems, however, to have been the more alert and expeditious, that Edward remained in a state of supine indifference and inactivity. Although the winter was now set in, with all the rigour of the season, in this northern climate, he projected an invasion of the Isle of Man, which during these troublesome times had been raised from a state of dependence on the Scottish King, to a state of independence, by Sir William Montacute, a descendant of the ancient kings of Man, and afterwards mortgaged by him to Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham.† The partisans of Robert, in this island, seem to have been overawed by the sheriffs of the western counties of England, who affording every necessary assistance to the steward of the bishop, succeeded in pressing onward this

* *Fœdera Angl.* vol. *iii.* p. 401. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, Edw. II. April, 1313.

† Camden, *Britannia*, p. 1060.

invasion.* The struggles of contending nations are most destructive to the human race, by the bloodshed and pernicious effects which they have upon society, and all the channels of industry and the arts; but it is only during such revolutions, that talent will find its level, when the mind is highly excited, and stripped of every artificial restraint.

Eager to enter into a treaty with the Earl of Ulster, the Scottish King sent an expedition into Ireland, where he left several galleys well manned with freebooters, to pillage the country; embarked a small force from Galloway, with which he reduced to order Dingway Macdowall, a turbulent chieftain, who had made prisoners of the King's brothers, several years before, at Lochryan, took the castle of Russin, and subdued the surrounding country.†

Edward, on his return from France, summoned a meeting of parliament, to concert measures for effectually reducing the Scots. This prince was but ill calculated to allay the jealousies and discontents of a turbulent aristocracy, his measures were generally ill timed, and badly concerted; and the nobles, who dreaded nothing more than the raising of a well-disciplined

* *Fœdera*, Angl. vol. iii. p. 238.

† *Chronicon Man. Ap. Britann.* p. 1057. Anno 1313. Fordun, lib. xii. p. 19.

and numerous army, with which they feared that the King might take occasion to revenge the fate of his favourite minister, refused to attend Parliament, and, in contempt of the royal authority, which was now reduced to extreme weakness, held a tournament for the purpose of collecting the forces of the disaffected under Lancaster and his associates.* The proud and haughty nobles refused to give their attendance in parliament for the purpose of opposing the Scots, and the second Edward of England, who wanted energy of character to mature or execute any plan which required either policy or vigour, was obliged to give up all hope of assistance from his barons, and have recourse to other unconstitutional means.

The Scottish leaders, who had not yet submitted to the patriots, and those who adhered to Edward, reduced to extremities, deputed the Earl of March and Adam de Gordon to lay the miseries of their condition before him, to excite in his royal breast some pity for the privations which they were enduring; to point out the rising power of Robert the Bruce, and the oppressive measures of the English ministers whom he sent into Scotland; and to crave speedy and effectual assistance from their sovereign, for whom they had already endured

* *Fœdera Anglia*, vol. iii. pp. 422—433.

so many hardships, that they must yield themselves his prisoners.* Edward, in answer to this mission, bestowed very high Nov. 28. praise on the valour and fidelity of his subjects, beseeching them still to continue constant in their duty and allegiance, and promised them a speedy deliverance from all their troubles.

Sir Edward Bruce the meanwhile took advantage of the inactivity of England, the disaffection of the nobility, and the weakness of their monarch, and reduced some of the remaining parts of the country, which had not yet acknowledged Robert's right to the throne, or his dominion as a conqueror.† Dundee had been frequently attacked by the Scots, which contained many Scottish prisoners; and at one period they had been so pressed, that the warden agreed, if not relieved, to surrender the place, together with the prisoners. Edward's notions of chivalry, if they were as extravagant as those of some of his brother knights at this period, disregarded the knightly agreement when reported to him, and enjoined him, on pain of life and forfeiture, to preserve the town and hold it out to the last;‡ but

* Rymer, tom. iii. p. 300.

† Barbour, B. vii. pp. 212, 213.

‡ Rotuli Scotiæ, 5 Edw. II. m. ii. p. 108. Mar. 2, 1312.

Sir Edward Bruce now laid it under siege, till the warden was obliged to surrender.*

Edward had again made a fruitless attempt at negotiation through the mediation of Umfraville, Earl of Angus, and the King of France, who sent his envoy, Monsieur Lowys de Cléremund, to the Scottish King. It appears that at this time the Scots were victorious in several skirmishes with the English, who were beaten back; and that they were making so great encroachments upon the borders, that Thomas de Multon de Gillesland and Antony de Lucy were appointed keepers of the marches in Scotland, in the adjacent parts of Cumberland, while all the country north of this appears to have fallen into the hands of the conqueror, after the reduction of the castles of Roxburgh and Edinburgh.† However desirable he was for terms of peace with his northern adversaries, he seems to have failed in his object, although he had soothed his faithful liegemen in Scotland with the prospect of peace; and he now strengthened his navy, appointed John Sturmy and Peter Bard to the chief command of the fleet; charged Radulph, the son of William, with the management of

* Barbour, buke sewynd, 1213. Edit. 1820.

† *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, 6 An. Edw. II. M. 5 and 6.

affairs in Berwick, replenished his navy with mariners, levied a numerous body of troops from Ireland and Wales, sent a considerable levy of additional cavalry, troops, and provisions into Scotland, and showed a disposition to procure by the sword what he could not effect by negotiation and other means. He also conferred lands and bestowed feudal privileges on those who were favourable to his cause, among whom were William de Lowe, whose chief seat was Wiggmore Castle, in the manor of Lowe, and district of Salop, who appears to have received the lands of Whittington, Kenefare, and Dunneslegh, in the county of Stafford, for services rendered to the crown.* Yet although Edward was active in providing against a defeat, the Scots were not less diligent in defending their liberty, than he was in attacking it.

Sir Edward Bruce had distinguished himself like a true and chivalrous knight; there

* Will'us de Lowe, Lowe terr' Ibi^m. Wiggmore Castr'. Salop.—Calendarium Inquis ad quod Damnum, Ed. II. n. 170.

Will'us de La Lowe, Whittington, Kenefare et Dunneslegh de messuag' et terr. ibid. Kenefare Maner. Stafford.—Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum, Ed. II.

This family seems to have been distinguished during the reigns of Edward III. and IV. ; and in the time of Henry IV. the manor of Lowe was bestowed on the convent of Wiggmore.—Calendarium Inquis ad quod Damnum, p. 365.

was no danger which he feared to encounter, and few obstacles which he had not surmounted. He had subdued the whole of the province of Galloway and Nydysdale, where he levelled the castles and fortified walls with the ground. He then sat down before the Peel of Rutherglen, which he soon won by the sword.* The castle of Sterling, which was ably fortified by nature, contained a strong garrison of soldiers, was well provided with stores of all kinds, and capable of enduring a lengthened siege.† The brave Sir Edward Bruce endeavoured to take the castle by assault, and advanced with great fury; but Sir Philip Mowbray, who had the command, defended himself with bravery, and the impetuous Edward, unable to make any impression on this strongly-fortified castle, yielded to an interview with Sir Philip, the governor, who dreading the decay of his stores during a lengthened blockade, generously consented to a truce to the ensuing Midsummer; upon which Sir Philip Mowbray agreed to meet him on equal terms in the plain, if he received assistance from England, or if not, to surrender the fortress. The unguarded warrior signed this

* Barbour's Bruce, Book vii. p. 214, Quarto. Edit. Jamieson.

† Barbour, pp. 788—813: *Rotuli Scotiæ*, Edward II.

impolitic treaty, and raising the siege, drew off the Scottish lines, and joined his brother at Perth.*

The Scottish king heard Edward joyfully relating his treaty with great surprise. "Fond man," says he, "thou hast sealed thy country's fate. Long have we toiled midst hoary mountains, cold and heat, girt with foes during the wakeful night and the tedious day, to shake off the fetters of England, and regain our liberty. By patience and suffering we have acquired part of our independence, and conquered by delay, while our plains were depopulated, our barren soil became still more barren, and our country was torn by faction; but by one rash word thou hast spoiled our labour, ruined our prospects, and compelled us to fight all our battles over again. The power of England is already overgrown. Yon proud monarch's sway extends not only over Britain to her most distant shores, but ancient Cambria acknowledges his sceptre. The fertile valleys of Ireland, the distant parts of France, and the beautiful plains of Flanders, and even Europe trembles at England's mighty name; and shall we, with our feeble bands, among whom disaffection is not ashamed to lift up

* Fordun, lib. xii. p. 20. Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 482. Barbour, B. x. pp. 819—828.

her head, be able to abide the mighty army which time will organize against us, aided by numbers from foreign shores, and those recreant Scots who have turned their back on their country's liberty and independence? Say, then, whence shall we our faithful troops prepare, and meet this dreadful array, which time will leave our enemies to mature? Edward, who could but ill bear the frown of a beloved brother, swore by the powers that inhabit the distant heavens, that dauntlessly he would face dangers in the field, and gallantly meet the dreadful array in the plain, although Europe should pour her millions in the strand; and that Scotland might witness his fall, but never should she reproach him for basely deserting the cause of liberty and his country."

The monarch, who knew the dauntless spirit of Edward, and who had learned to appreciate such romantic bravery, pressed the warrior to his breast, and although he was not ignorant what a sacrifice he was making to an unpopular prince, whose conduct in violating the truce in the case of Dundee he scorned to imitate,—who, by the disaffection of his nobles, was almost stripped of sovereign power, agreed to ratify the treaty which he had rashly made, and bade him haste to collect their loyal friends

around their standard, by the day when heaven would determine on the just right.*

Gaveston, who had excited the jealousy of the nobles, and who had raised among them a spirit of disaffection which was not easily allayed, no longer existed as an obstacle in their way, but had fallen a sacrifice to their envy and implacable revenge; and since that period all parties seem to have been more and more united, and to have offered a chance for the speedy termination of the war. Sir Philip de Mowbray hastened to England, to lay before his sovereign the terms of the truce, and urged him to redeem Stirling, or cede Scotland for ever. Edward did not fail to take advantage of such an opportunity for reducing Scotland to obedience, and putting a period to this fatal contest; nor could he with honour decline the enterprise, being right glad at the favourable conditions. He endeavoured to raise subsidies of money to carry on the war; he now summoned all the feudal array of England and Wales, to meet him at Berwick on the 11th of June, 1314. He collected upwards of twenty thousand infantry in the northern towns and counties of England, who were to assemble at Werk; summoned ninety-three barons, with horse and arms, to the

* Barbour, pp. 216, 217.

amount of forty thousand cavalry ;* invited Eth O'Connor, the acknowledged chief or prince of the Irish, who appeared with twenty-six Irish chieftains, and all his Irish subjects who could bear arms, under the command of the Earl of Ulster, together with a body of foreigners from Gascony, Provence, Languedoc, Poictou, Germany, and Brittany.† The Earl of Hainault appeared at the head of the chivalry of Gascoyne and Almany ; Pontayne, Aquitaine, and Rayonne poured forth her soldiery, the mountain warriors of Wales followed the pennon of her ancient chiefs ; and the hardy sons of Erin attended England's king to the battle-field preparing in the north.‡ And in order that he might afford every opportunity for fitting out his army, and for laying in the necessary provision, and at the same time that he might put a stop to Scottish commerce, and prevent the patriots from receiving any supply of foreign armour, he afforded protection to merchants from all quarters, but prohibited them from entering Scotland.§

Edward could not, however, draw out the Earls of Lancaster, Warwick, Arundel, and

* *Fœdera Anglia*, vol. iii. pp. 463. 482.

† *Barbour*, B. xi. pp. 83, 102.

‡ *Barbour*, B. viii. pp. 218. 220.

§ *Rotuli Scotia*, 7 Edw. II., 5 Jan., 1 Apr. m. 86.

Surrey, as they maintained that he had not stood by his engagements; and yet they mustered their vassals, and sent them to join the standard of their sovereign in great numbers.

March 26. A rich supply of provisions was provided for this numerous armament, with artisans of all kinds, carpenters, smiths, and armourers, for supplying them with accoutrements and necessary utensils, and numerous waggons and carts for conveying their baggage, tents, and camp furniture. Such was the variety and richness of their provisions, that in the article of poultry alone they had sixty carts loaded,* and so great was the number of carriages connected with the commissariat, that if drawn up in one line, they would have reached for a distance of sixty miles.† The comely knights with their sturdy steeds, arrayed in richest weed, with their helmets, and habergeons; shields, spears, and pennons, were drawn up as if they would bid defiance to Scotland, and vanquish the world.‡

This noble array amounted to the vast number of upwards of one hundred thousand men, which consisted of all the chivalry§ of

* William of Malmesbury.

† Barbour, pp. 217, 218.

‡ Barbour, p. 219.

§ Rotuli Scotia, vol. i. p. 116; 7 Edw. II. m. 8. p. 115; 7 Edw. II. m. 9.

England, of which there were forty thousand cavalry completely armed, including three thousand having their horses covered with plates of mail, and fifty-two thousand archers, besides the retainers of the army.

The numerous writs and orders for the equipment of troops attest this fact, and give proof that this army far exceeded in numbers and accoutrements any army which ever left England.* The Earl of Pembroke, Aymer de Valens, who had acquired considerable experience in Scottish affairs, was appointed by Edward guardian and lieutenant in that kingdom;† and it appears from the Calendar of Scottish Rolls, preserved in the Tower of London, and never as yet quoted by any writer on Scottish affairs, a document of high value to the historian, that Edward at the same time bestowed upon Robert de Hastings manors and hereditary feudal rights to the amount of three hundred marks a year.‡ He had already applied to the clergy for grants of money, to enable him to raise troops for the reduction of Scotland; and for this purpose those of York met there, on the festival of the

* Rotuli Scotias, p. 121, m. 7; p. 120, 25th March, 1314.

† Rotuli Scotias, vol. i. p. 119; Rymer, pp. 475, 478.

‡ Calendar. Rotulor. Patentium, 5 An. Edw. II. m. 13, p. 73.

Nativity of John the Baptist, and those of Canterbury on the day of the last Ascension of our Lord, to consult together concerning the state of the church and kingdom, and the expedition into Scotland.* A considerable fleet was also assembled for invading Scotland by sea, amounting to twenty-three commissioned vessels and thirty other ships,† such as those which were ordered to be fitted out by the men of Barton against the Scots,‡ under the command of John Argyle, with his own fleet, who was appointed Lord High Admiral of the Western English fleet,§ while John Sturmy and Peter Burd commanded the rest. The cinque ports were summoned to send their proportion of shipping, and to perform their services; for without the assistance of the fleet, the army could neither be furnished with provisions nor warlike stores of any kind.|| Robert also prepared for the approaching contest, with the alacrity of a youthful though experienced warrior, on which his military and well-earned renown not only depended, but a crown and kingdom, which had belonged to

* *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, 7 Edw. II. m. 8, p. 11.

† *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 7 Edw. II.

‡ *Rotuli Calend. Patenti*, 6 Edw. II. m. 20.

§ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 7 Edw. II. p. 121, m. 7, 25th March, 1314.

|| *Fœdera Anglia*, vol. iii. pp. 463. 475. 478.

his ancestors, the independence of his country, and the well-being of a whole nation.

Every feudal vassal who held of the Scottish king was summoned to repair to him in arms at Torwood, a place situated between Falkirk and Sterling, which was fixed upon as the rendezvous of the Scottish army, in order to cover the castle of Stirling, and prevent it receiving that succour, which England might be inclined to throw into it. The brave Sir Edward Bruce appeared first at the head of a goodly company of hardy and well-armed troops. Next came Walter, Stewart of Scotland, a beardless boy, with a rout of noblemen; he was followed by the good Lord of Douglas, with his followers hardy and brave, and well skilled in fighting. Then advanced to Torwood the battalions of the Earl of Moray from their highland glens, with many other barons and knights at the head of their respective followings.* Each of the private soldiers was furnished with light armour, which a sword could not easily penetrate; they had each an axe at his side, and carried lances in their hands, and moved so closely, that they resembled an impenetrable hedge.†

The Scottish army, when collected in the

* Barbour, pp. 221, 222.

† Monachi Malmesburiensis, p. 149.

plain, amounted to about thirty thousand fighting men,* all inured to danger and fatigue, many of whom were rendered desperate by their situation, and had already distinguished themselves in battle; besides upwards of fifteen thousand unarmed followers of the camp, of both sexes, consisting principally of waggons and sumpter boys, who, according to the practice of the times, were to be found in the rear of every army.† A council of war was immediately called, and as it appeared that the Torwood could be easily burnt by the English, who might in this manner relieve the castle, it was unanimously resolved, therefore, to await the arrival of the enemy at Bannockburn, in the new park, within two miles of Stirling, which, as it was protected by a small hill on the right, and an impassable morass on the left, the New Mill bog, and encumbered with many masses of trees, which would prevent the free movements of the English cavalry, then deemed most powerful, was of all others the place best situated for making a formidable stand, and deciding the fate of the kingdom.‡ They left their encampment at Torwood, and took possession of the new park. The Scots,

* Buchanan, vol. i. p. 323.

† Barbour, B. xi. pp. 212. 239. 420. 425, Pinkerton edition.

‡ Barbour, vol. ix. pp. 230, 231. 425, Pinkerton edit.

it must be observed, were far inferior to the English in cavalry, whose light horses were by no means a match for the heavy chargers belonging to that people, and utterly unable to contend with them; nor were they equal to the South Britons in the number of expert archers, which were at that time accounted the best in Europe, or in the quality of their armour, which, on account of the poverty of the country, was far inferior to that of the English. The Highlanders, who were badly disciplined, and all armed with a short bow and a rude arrow with a head of forked iron, were the only archers which Robert had to oppose to the famous English yeomen, who were trained to this exercise from their infancy, and could draw a long bow of six feet, with a cloth-yard shaft, with great skill and effect.

Bruce, in his long experience and numerous encounters with the English, had learned, in his necessity, to appreciate the importance of infantry, and observed, particularly in the battle of Falkirk, that the compact and serried masses of infantry could successfully resist the tremendous shock of England's heaviest steel-armed cavalry, and that men-at-arms were no match for pikemen, and those armed with long spears.*

* *Scala Chronicle*. Leland, tom. i. pt. 2, p. 547. *Malmesbury*, p. 152.

It was, no doubt, necessity and experience that taught Robert the modern discovery, which has since been amply verified, that infantry was of more value than cavalry, for, amongst the other disadvantages which he laboured under, several potent feudal barons in the southern part of the kingdom, and more in the north, refused yet to acknowledge his sovereignty. They maintained a tumultuous independence, which occasioned him to rely on infantry, of which, together with his handful of horse, his utmost exertions could with difficulty raise thirty thousand. But what they wanted in natural resources, the inferiority of their numbers, and the poverty of their equipments, they possessed in fearless courage, natural hardihood, and a resolution which the oppression and tyranny of the English had wound up to the highest pitch. Although the greatest part of the Scottish army consisted at first of cavalry, Robert, who had carefully examined the ground, resolved not to hazard them in the battle, but to charge on foot; and for this purpose he drew up his army into a line, consisting of three square divisions, facing the south-east. The right wing, which was committed to the care of Sir Edward, his brother, extended up the steep and woody banks of the rivulet of Bannock, running to the eastward between broken if not

precipitate and rugged banks. It was protected by the marshes of Melton and Halburt, and rested on a deep marshy hollow, which extended round the base of an eminence called Coxehill, and by rows of pits dug in the firm earth. The vaward or centre, which reached nearly to the neighbourhood of St. Ninian's, was commanded by Randolph of Strathdon, Earl of Moray, and included in its numbers the borderers. The main battle, or reserve, consisting of the king's own vassals of Carrick, extended from north to south; and fronted the east; while the men of Cantire, Argyle, and those of Bute and the isles, were led on by the king in person, along with the main battle, who made choice of his station in the second line, at the head of a separate or fourth division, behind the centre and his own vassals.* He was attended by his faithful friend, with whom he had entered into an alliance, Angus, Lord of the Isles, and a body of five hundred well-armed cavalry, commanded by Sir Robert Keith, the Marshal of Scotland, and had taken up his position in the second line, that he might the more easily see what was passing in the divisions of the first line.† Between the

* Barbour, vol. xi. pp. 302. 347.

† Et tertia sequeretur in qua erat Robertus. Chronicon de Lanercost.

first and second lines, in front of the main battle or reserve, he raised the standard of Scotland, in a large stone, on the top of a small eminence, called Brock's Brae, to the south west of St. Ninian's, where the hole and stone in which the staff was fixed is still preserved, a monument of Scotland's glory, and the restorer of her liberty, Robert the Bruce.

The left wing of the first line, which, with the whole front, occupied nearly the line of road from Stirling to Kilsyth, was confided to the joint command of Douglas, and Walter, the high steward of Scotland,* and rested on the Bannock burn, at a bend where it runs through a deep ravine in front of the enemy, which could not readily be passed by them. The left wing and centre consisted each of seven thousand border men, who, from the frequent skirmishes which they had with the English, were accounted skilful and steady warriors; and of three thousand Redshanks or Highlanders, whose impetuosity and fierce valour was counteracted by the regular though unflinching courage of the borderers.†

In the rear of the army there is a consider-

* Barbour, B. xi. pp. 302. 347.

† The Chronicon de Lanercost divides the first line into two battles, with a third division of reserve, under the command of the king. Chronicon de Lanercost, pp. 215, 216.

able height, now known by the name of ~~Glenn~~ Hill, which is divided in the middle by a valley, in which the king drew up his camp-followers, and placed his baggage, it is said, amounting to upwards of fifteen thousand, which, being undisciplined, would rather have been found an encumbrance than a support to the regular army. In this situation they could easily, in case the Scottish army should be defeated, make a safe retreat to the glens and mountains, and cover the retreat of the vanquished army; and should the God of battle crown them with victory, their appearance and co-operation might render it decisive.

The rivulet of Bannock, which separated the two armies, was clothed with steep and irregular banks, partially wooded, with few narrow passages or fords; but towards the Forth, near its influx into the river, the declivity became more gentle, and was consequently more interspersed with marshes and patches of wood. In order to make the passage of this small rivulet more difficult and dangerous, the king commanded a number of pits, two or three feet in depth and one in breadth, to be dug in a field near by, extending from Halbert's Marsh to the hollow which protected his right wing, where the cavalry must make their attack, so that the

field, with its numerous intersections, presented the beautiful appearance of a honeycomb, while these were so carefully covered over with slight brushwood, with the green sod laid over them, that the pits were invisible to the enemy. In some places sharp stakes or spikes appear to have been driven in, and a few calthrops of iron were thrown up, for the purpose, as would seem, of entangling the horses' feet, and creating confusion by frightening them.* In this tolerably strong position, the New Park, the king drew up his army, which was most judiciously arranged, had not the flank of the left wing, which was unprotected, but for this precaution of making pits for the cavalry, been exposed to an assault from the garrison of Stirling; and in the neighbouring valley, behind Gillie's Hill, to the rear of the army, he left the baggage with the attendants of the camp.† But had they not relied upon the knightly honour of Moubray, the left wing might have been exposed to a sally from the castle of Stirling, as the ground was favourable for the action of cavalry, and was fortified in this manner in consequence.

* Barton the Carmelite. Fordun, B. xii. pp. 22. 53. 56. Buchanan, vol. i. p. 324.

† Barbour, B. xi. pp. 360. 373.

Sunday, the whole army of Robert heard mass, and committed themselves into the hands of their Maker, by which service their courage seems to have been greatly increased and confirmed.* They confessed themselves in the most solemn manner, and as it was the vigil of St. John, they took no dinner, but kept their fast on bread and water; and when the royal proclamation was made, that he who did not feel sufficient confidence in himself might retire: such was the trust that they placed in their leader, and their zeal in the cause of liberty, that they answered with one accord, that they would either conquer or die.† The king now rode around his troops, in the most encouraging and courteous manner, urging them to stand forth with courage and resolution in defence of their lives and fortunes; and, what is still dearer to the heart of man, their wives and children, their liberty and independence.

Douglas, and Sir Robert Keith, the Marshal of Scotland, who had returned from reconnoitring the English army, reported to the king the innumerable squadrons of Edward,

* Fordun, b. xii. c. 21.

“ And a short prayer there made they
To God, to help them in that fight.”

† Barbour, b. x. pp. 374—409.

which darkened all the plain,—their warlike preparations, and their apparent confidence of success ; but he, being afraid of the effect which this representation would produce upon the spirits of his troops, gave out that they were advancing in a disorderly manner.*

* Barbour, p. 229, new edit.

CHAPTER V.

THE principle of honour was, in that age of chivalry and romance, one of the most powerful which actuated the human breast. One might violate the most lasting ties of nature, infringe the claims of justice, and disregard the sacred voice of religion, if it then existed; but he who violated his honour, when the solemn pledge had been given, was accounted a despicable and mean wretch,—unworthy of the privileges of his race; and it was a wise provision of Providence that, in the absence of religion and high moral principle, those of chivalry and honour, in some measure, supplied their place. The Scottish king, true to his word, had faithfully observed the truce; and Edward of England, like a faithful knight, came, on the eve of St. John the Baptist's feast, to relieve the castle of Stirling, or fight Robert on the plain.

The English army had rested on Saturday at Edinburgh, and the night before, they ap-

peared at Falkirk. It was after dinner when the English army approached the wood of Torres:* the sun was bright, and shone clear, and the burnished armour of the English host, which appeared to cover the country as far as the eye could reach, left the land in one gleam of light.† The white banners and the red floating in the air, the pennons flying, and the splendid effect produced by the polished steel, and the various-coloured flags of all shades and hues, the bright living mass moving on in its confidence,—might have appalled an army more numerous than that of Bruce; and the contrast is sufficiently striking, when we consider that this sun was not to go down, till more than one half of all that appeared on either bank of the Bannock were to lie dead in the plain.

This immense array was followed by a vast body of retainers and carriages, with espringolds or cranes, a projectile machine, and every species of instrument necessary for carrying on a siege; and so confident was the English king of success, that he portioned out the country among his followers, carrying along with him every thing necessary for a

* *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 225, fol. 215-16, 23rd June, A. 1314.

† *Barbour*, xi. 154, 159.

colony or settlement.* Upon the approach of the English, who were drawn up in ten divisions, each containing upwards of ten thousand men,—one of the most formidable, numerous, and best equipped armies that ever left England,—Randolph was particularly charged not to allow any succours to be thrown into the castle of Stirling, lest Edward might decline battle, and refuse to surrender the place, had the stipulations of the treaty been abrogated in this manner; and while Lord Robert Clifford was detached from the van of the English army for this purpose, and was making a circuit to the east and north of St. Ninian's church, with eight hundred cavalry, the king, whose eagle eye perceived the movement, from the dust, and the glancing of the bright armour in the sun, rode up to Randolph, pointing out to him the circumstance, and reproached him smartly for his negligence.†

“They have passed where you kept ward,” observed the king, “and a rose has, indeed, fallen from your chaplet.”‡ Randolph, stung with reproach at the remark of his sovereign, immediately advanced into the plain, and drew up his small band in close column, so that

* Malmesbury, 147.

† Barbour, p. 228.

‡ Barbour, p. 231.

they presented a front on all sides, with spears firmly fixed: and was met by the English, who wheeled round to attack him. The Scots were encamped in the wood of Torres: and the English approaching it, their advanced guard, under the command of Lord Clifford, wished to surround the wood, lest the Scots should escape without fighting. The Scots, as they believed, permitted this, until Clifford's battalion was fairly separated from the main army, when they showed themselves, and under Randolph, intercepted them from the rest of the army.*

The enemy, far superior in numbers to the troops of Randolph—amounting only to five hundred at the first onset,—lost Sir William Daynecourt,† an English commander of note, who was killed; but the faithful Douglas, observing their danger, requested permission to assist him, which was refused by the king, who was unwilling to alter the order of battle. “In truth,” said Douglas, “I cannot, noble prince, stand by and see Randolph perish; and with your leave, I must aid him.” Now, with the king's consent, he hastened to the rescue of his friend, who received the

* Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 225, fol. 215-16, 23rd June.

† In Barbour, p. 234, named Schyr Gilyame de Amecourt.

repeated charges of the English cavalry with cool and steady valour,—the front line kneeling on the ground, the second stooping, and the third standing upright. Halting to witness the fight,—as he saw many horses without riders galloping off, and beheld the gallant body of spearmen receiving firmly their opponents,—at length he had the satisfaction of seeing the English army repulsed and put to flight. The brave Randolph's little battalion stood like a rock amidst the waves,—the English being unable to penetrate the Scottish column, or carry succour to Stirling castle, or take them by surprise in the wood of Torres. "Hold!" said the faithful Douglas, "let us not lessen the victory they have gained, by affecting to claim a share of it."*

The English, meanwhile, had assailed the Scots on every side: surveying them leisurely round about, and then charging furiously, but succeeded not in breaking their line; and in their turn, the front rank, rising from their knees, and charging in a body, throwing their spears and darts, and furiously wielding their battle-axes,—for which the swords and maces of the English cavalry were no match,—the flower of the English cavalry were slain, or

* Barbour, xi. 562. 567. 630. 655. xii. 125. 154.

sent backward on the centre of the army, and Randolph returned in triumph, with trifling loss, while the English were greatly disheartened.*

The English army at length made their appearance, slowly advancing in battle order, and, in full view of the Scots, made a dead halt,—in order to hold a council of war, as to what was to be the mode of attack; but Gloucester, with a large troop of barbed steeds, ignorant of the command, and impelled by youth and glory, marched in good order for the New Park, with the design of commencing the attack. Robert, who in the meantime was riding leisurely along the front of the Scottish line, inspecting the arrangement of the troops, meanly mounted upon a small palfrey, with a hat and coronet above his bassynet, to distinguish him from the rest: and issuing orders to his officers,† observed Sir Henry Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford, armed at all points, riding furiously against him, with his spear in hand; and parrying the blow, which was aimed against his life, with the spear, and avoiding the shock of the charge, he rose in his stirrups, and at one stroke cleft his adversary to

* Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 225.

† Barbour, xii. 388.

the chin with his battle-axe*—an incident which greatly excited the minds of the Scots, who raised a great shout, and inspired them with heroism.

After this noble display of individual prowess, the vanguard of Gloucester, the nephew of Edward, dispirited at the death of the knight, fell back, and retreated in great confusion.† The attempt was rash, and full hardy, and the leaders of the army blamed their king for fruitlessly exposing his life. He answered not the remonstrances of his brave companions, but looking at the broken shaft which he held in his hand, regretted the loss of his good hand-axe.‡

The English army, at break of day,—which, after the disastrous omens of the preceding one, had been drawn off to the low grounds on the right of the former position,—was observed in motion, and both sides prepared for an obstinate engagement. Robert charged his troops to abide firm in their ranks, and on no account to endanger the firm and close array of the army by individual prowess; to remember the

* Barbour calls him "the Boune."

† Barbour, B. xii. pp. 29—74. *Scala Chronic.* apud Leland Collecta. t. ii. p. 546, which ascribes this action to Pers Monfort, an English knight.

‡ Barbour, p. 237.

than risk an engagement on the level plain.* The English were not, however, negligent in providing a mode of access to the Scottish lines, and it appears that they had found the means of communication with the garrison of Stirling Castle, which furnished them with doors, windows, and other articles, which were by the besieged brought to the camp during the night, by which they erected bridges, and other communications, over the ditches and low swampy grounds which lay between them and the Scots.†

The troops passed the night in arms in the field. In the meantime the royal standard was unfurled, and planted in the stone erected in the centre and highest part of the field, around which many a gallant knight and faithful clansman rallied. The van of the English army, composed of lancers and archers, was placed under the command of Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and the Earl of Hereford, the Constable of England; the main body, from the admirable position of the Scottish army, had not sufficient space to form the usual line of battle, but was obliged to advance to the charge in a scheltrun or compact column, with small intervals between the remaining

* Leland, Coll. ii. p. 547.

† Barbour, p. 246.

nine divisions, and the rear was brought up by Edward, who commanded this most formidable of England's armies, glittering with polished steel, and covered with the banners of chivalry, and attended by Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, the late guardian, and Sir Giles de Argentyne, of Rhodes,* or St. John of Jerusalem, a foreign knight of renown, as his two esquires, who rode by his bridle-rein, followed by a body-guard of five hundred barbed steeds.† When the English King beheld the firm array and ominous stillness of the Scottish army, turning to Sir Ingram Umfraville, he asked him whether he thought they would fight? who advised him to feign a retreat, in order to ascertain the point, which would have the effect of breaking the formidable array of the Scots, who, in spite of their leaders, would retire to plunder the English camp. But Edward, despising this excellent stratagem, because it came from a Scotsman, whom he little believed, trusted to the superiority of his troops, and their wonted valour, for an easy victory.‡ Meanwhile, the rolling host advanced, and the Abbot of Inchaffray calling upon the Scots to raise their hearts to

* *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 441.

† *Barbour*, B. xii. pp. 172—179.

‡ *Barbour*, B. xii. pp. 445—474.

Him who can strengthen the feeble arm, and turn the tide of battle,—and confessing the King, ascended an eminence,—celebrated high mass in the most solemn manner, ignorantly absolving every penitent soldier from his past sins,—and encouraging them to use their best efforts in defence of their liberty and their country. He bore aloft a holy crucifix in front of the army, walking barefooted, and moving slowly along the lines; while they knelt down to offer up their supplications to heaven, and receive the benediction of the abbot,* making a short prayer to God, that He would protect and help them in the fight. “See!” exclaimed the English monarch, “they crave mercy—on their bended knees they crave it!” “Yes,” says Umfraville of Angus, “but they ask it from a heavenly, and not from an earthly monarch;” upon which he sounded to the charge. While the troops were receiving some refreshments, the King of Scotland conferred the honour of knighthood upon Douglas, the high-steward, and several other of his brave companions in arms, as a reward for their past services, and an encou-

* *Cum autem duo exercitus multum appropinquassent, posuerunt se omnes Scotti in genibus suis dicendo, “Paternoster et recommendaverunt se Deo et de Cælo auxilium petiverunt, quo facto audaciter contra Anglicos processerunt.”*—*Chronicon de Lanercost*, vol. i. p. 225.

agement for others to distinguish themselves in the approaching contest.*

Both armies drawn up on the banks of the Bannock, in as strong and advantageous a position as the nature of the ground would admit of, waited in breathless anxiety for the signal of either king, to commence the deadly struggle for independence or slavery, life or death. The moment was one of anxious suspense for both armies; and, at length, the signal was given by Edward, which secured the liberty of Scotland, and confined England within those legitimate bounds, by which her happiness and prosperity were best preserved.

The battle was commenced by the vanguard of archers and lancers, under the command of the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, which approached within bow-shot, while the remaining nine divisions, which followed at a little distance, were so compressed together by the advantageous nature of the ground made choice of by Robert, that their unwieldy form rendered them less active and efficient in the battle. Gloucester felt the repulse which on the previous day he had sustained, no less than the biting remarks of the King, and insisted on leading the van, a position which of right belonged to Hereford, as constable

* Barbour, vol. xii. pp. 407—424.

of England, and which he was by no means disposed to give up.

Gloucester, however, at the sound of the trumpet, with his forty thousand horsemen, moved at full gallop, with their spears in the rest, upon the Scottish troops, directing his course upon the right wing, under Edward Bruce, without being supported by the rest of the van. The centre division of the Scottish troops, as well as the right wing, stood manfully to the charge, under the command of Randolph, the first rank kneeling to receive the cavalry. The shock of the first charge of England's cavalry is said to have been dreadful, and being received on the spears of the Scottish infantry, the crash was heard at a great distance, and dashed many knights from their saddles, whose horses were stabbed and rendered furious by their wounds.* The centre division, under the gallant Randolph, stood in a steady body to receive the charge of the English, and when their thousands were spread out in front of the centre, the Scottish squares, which attacked them with great bravery and intrepidity, although ten to one, were lost among the English, as if they had plunged into the sea. The compact squares of the Scottish army were well

* Barbour, p. 251.

calculated to break the masses which were opposed to them, and they suffered from no attack more than the arrows of the archers. The battle raged with great fury; the English cavalry charged with the greatest impetuosity, and endeavoured to pierce through the phalanx of the Scottish spearmen; but they received them like a wall of iron, and they receded from the shock like broken waves, which had spent their fury on the rocks.

Nor was the left wing, which was led on by Walter the Stewart, and the brave Douglas, slow to take its part in this national struggle; and as both parties were exasperated with mutual injuries, and the Scots animated by the favourable circumstances which had already occurred, they received the tremendous and repeated charges of the English cavalry with firmness and intrepidity, defending themselves with their pikes, and gaining ground upon them slowly. When both armies joined battle, the great horses of England rushed upon the Scottish lances, as if upon a thick wood, and one mighty and horrible sound arose from the breaking of the lances, the shock of falling horsemen, and the shrieks of the dying.*

Robert now encouraged his fellow soldiers,

* Chronicon de Lanercost, fol. 215.

and assured them of a glorious victory, if they should make one simultaneous charge and stand firm, while he advanced with the main battle, or reserve, to the front, which he did, and filled up the vacancies,* the four battalions being now engaged.† Unable to turn the flanks of the Scottish army, and pent up in a narrow column, the vast superiority of the English in number and in cavalry proved of little avail; and the battle raged from wing to wing, the repeated charges of the heavy horses being received by the impenetrable front of the Scottish spears, and the vacancies which were occasioned by the flights of arrows from the Scottish archers were filled up. The battle now raged in every part; like two stormy seas, the sons of the mountain and the English met. The flight of arrows darkened the air, and the Scottish archers, who by the discomfiture of the English yeomen were brought into action, now told on the ranks of the enemy; and when they had discharged their arrows, which exasperated the horses, they followed up the attack by their short battle-axe, a weapon not used by the English archers, which hung by their side. The knights sung

* Barbour, p. 251.

† Barbour, B. xiii. pp. 112—130.

their war-cries and rushed on to the charge, groom fought like squire, and squire like knight, and yet Scotland's lion waved proudly over her bands, while the English banners rose and fell, and were many of them deeply dyed in blood.

Robert dreading the flights of arrows which fell among his men like showers of hail, occasioning great havoc, found it necessary to despatch Sir Robert Kirth, the marshal, around the right wing of the Scottish army, by Miltoun-bog, with five hundred light horses, who fell upon the left wing of the English archers, who had annoyed Sir Edward Bruce with incessant flights of arrows, and soon disabled, overthrew, and dispersed them back upon their own troops, as they had not weapons or spears to defend themselves; and although they again attempted to rally, yet they did not succeed in doing so, but were dispersed on every side, and carried disorder and dismay into the ranks of the English army.* Part of them fled to the main army, which endeavoured to compel them to rally, and make head against their pursuers; but they were so completely under the influence of fear, that nothing could induce them again to join battle.† The Scot-

* Walsingham, p. 105.

† Barbour, pp. 255, 256.

tish leaders were taught by the success of the English archers, the importance of this body; but although every subsequent battle which the English gained, was decided by the archers, the Scots seem never to have learned the lesson, and to have estimated fully their value.

Gloucester and Hereford, who commanded the English cavalry, charged not with that steady valour so characteristic of the English soldier. A jealous rivalry possessed the two chieftains, which made them advance with imprudent precipitation; and Gloucester, anxious to save the post of honour which belonged to his rival, the constable of England, had spurred past him not duly supported; and his cavaliers, who charged again and again, were received on the Scottish spears, many knights being unhorsed, and their horses killed in this tremendous shock, the noise of the crossing spears being still heard at a great distance. It does not appear, however, that the cavalry attempted to charge over the fatal ground prepared for them; but in their flight many lost their lives in these pits and ditches.

The archers of England, who always excelled in this mode of warfare, followed up the attack made by the cavalry at first with great success;—they encountered those of Scotland,

and after many on either side had been wounded, and not a few slain, forced the Scottish bowmen, who were inferior in number, to retire backward.*

The Bruce encouraging Angus, the Lord of the Isles, who commanded the Highlanders, by making an appeal to his valour and constancy; he lost no time in taking advantage of this impression, and the Highlanders shouting their war cry, he charged briskly with his battle reserve; disjoined the wavering array of England, and drove the front battalions back upon the rear. At every charge the English lost space, and got into greater confusion from the nature of the ground. The Scottish squares presented always a firm front to the enemy, and being lightly armed, could change their position at pleasure. The chivalrous war-cries were sung by the knights; the horses maddened by the flight of arrows, or the deep wounds inflicted, plunging with their mailed riders, fell heavily on the ground; the clash of the battle-axe or sword, mingled with the groans of the dying, and the shouts of victory were heard afar; the ground was covered with rivulets of human blood, heaps of slain and broken armour, and the banners were seen rising and falling like the waves of the ocean; but the royal standard of Scotland con-

* *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 225.

by Pembroke, the guardian of Scotland, who laid hold of his bridle reins, retreated, and fled to Stirling Castle in consternation. Sir Giles de Argentyne, his squire, who had signalized himself in the crusades, and who was accounted one of the first warriors and most chivalrous knights of the age, unaccustomed to turn his back on the foe; solemnly bade the king farewell, after he had seen his personal safety, galloped against the division of Edward Bruce, crying his war cry, "An Argentyne! an Argentyne!" and fell bravely in the midst of his enemies.* Such was the chivalrous and romantic spirit of the age, that a foreign knight, who had no interest in the quarrel, and who only sought military glory and renown, sacrificed his life in a desperate cause, rather than retreat with the rest of the army and save himself.

This brave knight had been on an expedition in the holy war in Palestine, as it is called, had thrice fought against the Saracens, having slain two enemies in each encounter; as he himself used to observe, "That one Christian knight could easily dispose of two Pagan dogs;"

* Barbour, B. xiii. pp. 282. 308. Scala Chron. ap. Leland, vol. ii. p. 547.

"Nobilis Argentin pugil inclyte, dulcis Egidi,
Vix scieram mentem, cum te succumbere vidi."

Baston the Carmelite. Fordun, B. xii.
pp. 22. 111, 112.

and returning from the wars of the emperor, Henry of Luxemburgh, he ended his career on the field of Bannockburn, being assigned by fame the third rank in the honour of knight-hood, the other two being Henry of Luxemburgh, and Robert the Bruce, who lamented his death. Sir Giles de Argentyne was a hero of romance in real life.*

The waggoners and followers of the camp, who had appeared so formidable to the English troops, now dispersed in pursuit of them, and committed great slaughter among the fugitives. Sir James Douglas, with about sixty horsemen,† rode after Edward, who made for Stirling Castle; but afraid of a lengthened siege, he passed the round table and fled to Linlithgow, while the knight was joined at the Torwood by Sir Lawrence Abernethy, with a troop of twenty-four horse, who, when he learned the fate of the English, exchanged sides, and rode on with Douglas in the pursuit. The English monarch continued his flight with his five hundred barbed steeds; Douglas overtaking them beyond Linlithgow, was in no condition to hazard an engagement; but cutting off the stragglers, continued still to

* Barbour, p. 263. *Scala Chronica*, vol. ii. p. 547.
Baston the Carmelite.

† Barbour, p. 265.

pursue, and once or twice rode past them, near Wenchburgh, following close on the rear of the king, as far as Tranent. Edward owed his safety entirely to the speed of his horse, which carried him to Dunbar, a distance of sixty miles, before he stopped, where he was received by Patrick, Earl of March, and soon afterwards passed over to Berwick, by Bamburgh.*

In this manner the Scots achieved one of the most glorious victories recorded in the annals of the two nations, the greatest indeed since the Norman Conquest; and routed and dispersed an army more than three times the number of their own, one of the most numerous and best equipped which was ever raised in England. The small rivulet of the Bannock, which was so encumbered with the dead bodies of men and horses, as to allow a passage upon dry ground, had changed its pure and limpid stream into blood; numbers were also drowned in the Forth, rushing forward in terror and despair;† and on this fatal field the loss of the English, according to the account of some writers, amounted to upwards of thirty thousand men,‡ which was deemed one of the greatest overthrows that the English nation

* Baumburgh, Barbour, B. xiv. p. 275. Leland, vol. ii. p. 547.

† Barbour, B. xiii. p. 340.

‡ Barbour, B. xiii. pp. 397. 463.

had sustained since the Norman Conquest. Among the prisoners or slain were found some belonging almost to every noble family of England, the most distinguished of which were Gloucester, Sir Gilbert de Clare, Lord Robert Clifford, Lord Payen Tibitot, William Le Mare-shall, Lord Edmond de Mauley, the seneschal, or High Steward of England, Lord John de Comyn;* together with twenty-seven barons and bannerets, whose banners and "ensenyas" were trampled in the dust; sixty knights, and seven hundred scutifers or squires, with a like number at least who were taken prisoners.† We may be able to form some notion how much the English chivalry had suffered in this engagement, when we are told that in rifling the slain, two hundred pairs of spurs, red with blood, were taken from the knights that were slain.‡ The only persons of rank belonging to the Scottish army who were slain, were Sir William Vipont, and Sir Walter Ross, the personal friend of Edward Bruce,§ who, in his wonted extravagance and strong attachment, declared, that he would have rather lost the battle than his friend.

* Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 226.

† Walsingham, p. 105.

‡ Barbour, p. 207. Edit. 1820.

§ Barbour, vol. xiii. pp. 470. 481.

Edward, with Lord Hugh De Spencer, who, after Peter de Gaveston, was his chief favourite, and Lord Henry de Beaumont, whom he had promoted to an Earldom in Scotland, with many other knights and attendants had fled, as our narrative proceeds, to Dunbar, under the direction of a Scottish soldier, who guided them through the most secret paths. But some stragglers were overtaken and slain by the Scots; and when they had reached Dunbar, the king, with a few favourite followers, threw himself into a bark opposite Berwick, and directed his course, sorrowfully, into England, which he reached in safety.* The Earl of Hereford, the Earl of Angus, and Lord John de Segrave, Lord Antony Lucy, Lord Ingelram de Umfraville, John de Giffard, John de Wilyngton, and Maurice de Berkeley, made their escape with six hundred knights and men-at-arms, one thousand infantry, and a considerable number more, and having fled for Carlisle, they were taken prisoners at the castle of Bothwell. The vicecomes, or warden of the castle, Sir Walter Gilbertson, who up to that period had held it in the name of the king of England, when he saw that his countrymen were successful in the battle, permitted those noblemen who had approached the castle to

* Chronicon de Lanercost. p. 227.

enter ; but when he had received them within its walls, he put them in ward, and declared for Scotland and her king.* The Earls of Hereford and Angus, the Lord de Segrave, Lord Antony de Lucy, and Lord Ingelram de Umfraville, and the other noblemen who had entered Bothwell Castle, were sent to Robert the Bruce, who was now acknowledged to be king over all Scotland, because by valour and arms he had gained it ; and, after being detained a considerable time in captivity, were returned to England at a great ransom. Many others were slain and taken prisoners who were found wandering about Bothwell Castle, which was reduced next day by Sir Edward Bruce ; and it is even said, that not a few were made prisoners by women.†

By the Scottish version of this affair, a contemporary authority also, or nearly so, which is the most probable of the two, the Earl of Hereford and party sought refuge in the castle of Bothwell, and were honourably received by its governor, Sir Walter Gilbertson ; but Hereford and the governor were soon after under the necessity of surrendering, with twenty-two other barons and bannerets and

* Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 228. Barbour, pp. 401. 407.

† Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 228.

sixty-eight knights, to the brother of the king, Sir Edward Bruce. The brilliant career of Robert secured peace and prosperity to Scotland, and it inspired his countrymen with a confidence and valour, which made them to be feared by their adversaries; and the swords of those who fought at Bannockburn were hung up in the halls of their descendants, and handed down to modern times as trophies of the liberty and independence which they had achieved.*

Roger de Northburgh, the keeper of the privy seal, which fell into the hands of the king of Scots, who returned it again to Edward, was taken prisoner.† The Earl of Pembroke and Sir Robert Barclay made their escape at the head of a large body of Welshmen, who threw off their upper garments, in order to facilitate their escape, but were for the most part slain; and the rock on which Stirling castle stands was entirely covered with the enemy, who were at length constrained to yield for want of provision, and surrender at discretion.‡ Many of the Scots became wealthy from the quantity of spoil

* The proprietors of the small estate of Deuchar, in the county of Fife, have handed down a broad sword from father to son, with this inscription—

“At Bannockburn I served the Bruce,

Of which the Inglis had na russ (boast).”

† Trivet, cont. 15, 16.

‡ Barbour, B. xiii. pp. 427—434, 439—

which fell into their hands—
the flocks and herds of cattle
and sheep,—the treasures which were brought
to pay the troops; the infinite quantity
of arms, and rich stuffs, and wearing ap-
parel; the many valuable horses; the camp
equipage, and treasures of the English, which
were rich in silver, gold, and splendid fur-
niture; and the ransom of prisoners—all of
which, with a generosity that does honour to
the hero of Bannockburn, Robert divided
among his army. They were greatly enriched,
and rendered less dependent for life, by the
acquisitions of one sanguinary day, which
established the Scottish king firmly upon his
throne, and secured to the people of Scotland,
that liberty which of late years they had not
tasted, and restored the independence of the
nation, which had been violently wrested from
it by Edward I.* In order to form some
opinion of the quantity of the spoil which fell
into the hands of the Scots, it is said by an
English historian, that the chariots, waggons,
and wheeled carriages, which were loaded with
the baggage and military stores, would, if
drawn up in a line, have extended sixty leagues. †

Baston, the Carmelite friar, whom Edward

* Thorkelowe, p. 28. Malmesb. p. 152.

† Monachi Malmesb. p. 147.

had carried with him to celebrate the glorious victory which he was confident he would gain, instead of singing the triumphs of the English arms, handed down to posterity their tarnished glory, sung the death-song over the graves of many thousands, and as a ransom for his own liberty,—for he was taken captive—he rendered immortal, by his harmonious Latin verse, Scottish valour, freedom, and independence.* From the song of lamentation set up by the English historians of the period, in which one of them pathetically bewails the tarnished glory of England,—the day of vengeance instead of triumph, which ought to have been swept from the circle of the year, we learn that the value of the rich plunder, which fell into the hands of the Scots, was then supposed, to have been equal to upwards of two hundred thousand pounds—more than three millions of our money.†

But that which was considered of most value by Robert, were the trebuchets, the mangonels, the battering-rams, the petronels, and a complete set of field artillery, which the English king had brought with him, for the purpose of carrying on a siege, and reducing

* Fordun, b. xii. c. 22; see note H. Appendix.

† Monach. Malmesburiensis, p. 152.

the Scottish castles.* The profits arising from the ransom of prisoners of distinction were also very considerable, and numerous passports were granted after this engagement to John de Senlis, and others, for the recovery of captives from the victorious Scots.†

Robert used his victory with moderation, and behaved with great clemency and attention, by soothing their afflictions and winning their esteem, which inspired them with very favourable impressions of the generosity and magnanimity of the conqueror, and contrasts favourably with the cruelties and barbarous treatment inflicted on the captive Scots by Edward I. Sir Marmaduke Twenge, whom he found skulking next day among the brushwood, as soon as he saw the king, presented himself before him, and knelt down. "Welcome, Sir Marmaduke," observed the king, who had known the knight in England; "to whom have you surrendered yourself prisoner?" "To your majesty," answered Sir Marmaduke; when he received him kindly, and, together with Ralph de Monthermer, set him

* "Cum petrariis et lignibus, trubiculis, et mangonellis, scalis et ingeniis, pavilionibus et canopeis, fundis et bombardis cæterisque bellicis machinis." Fordun, b. xii. c. 21. Other manuscripts add "tribuchetis et arietibus."

† Rotuli Scotiæ, 8 Edward II.

at liberty, without ransom, with a handsome present; and the greatest honour was paid to the bodies of the Earl of Gloucester and Lord Clifford, which he treated with all the distinction due to the rank and valour of the deceased: being reverently deposited in the neighbouring church,* and transmitted in safety to their friends in England.†

By his acts of clemency and generosity which he displayed upon this occasion, he gained the esteem and admiration even of his enemies, and left them a lesson which was not lost. When the Scottish troops were again collected from the pursuit and the spoil, the king sent a large detachment up the crag of the castle of Stirling, to dislodge those who had taken refuge there, who yielded themselves prisoners, without drawing a sword.‡ Mowbray, with the punctuality of a true and chivalrous knight, having given Sir Edward Bruce battle in the open plain,—who overthrew the English monarch with his powerful host, now gave up the fortress in terms of the truce entered into last year, and went over to the Scottish king, whom he afterwards served with fidelity and honour. He was

* John de Thorcelowe, p. 28.

† Walsingham, p. 106. Barbour, B. xiii. pp. 512. 530. 534. Trivet, cont. p. 16.

‡ Barbour, p. 267.

merely acting in terms of his knightly faith; but doubtful whether Edward, with all his chivalry, would ratify the deed, he never again returned to England. This famous castle was then demolished by mining, and its almost impregnable towers levelled with the ground.

Lord John de Segrave, Lord Anthony de Lucy, Lord Ingel-
ran de Umfraville, and the other noblemen who were taken with them, were ransomed at a great price. Elizabeth, the sister of the King of England, lamenting the captivity of her husband, the Earl of Hereford, the king made a present to her of all the Scottish prisoners, and he was exchanged for the Scottish queen, Christian, the sister, and Margery, the daughter, of Robert the Bruce, and Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, who had now become blind, and the young Earl of Mar, who had remained long in a state of captivity in England, who was unwilling to leave it when he came to New Castle,* while several other state-prisoners were exchanged for some of those who had fallen into the hands of the Scots at Bannockburn.†

* Chronicon Lanercost, p. 229.

† Barbour, pp. 669. 687. Trivet, cont. p. 16. Ford. B. iii. pp. 496. 501.

Elizabeth, the Queen of Scotland, when in captivity, complained, in a letter to Edward II., which is still extant, that they did not give her clothes to her taste, nor a bed, nor suitable furniture for the chamber, and only one robe for three garments, which was but scanty allowance, and could not serve so many purposes.*

The position of the battle-field was well chosen, and no doubt contributed to the success of the Scots; but one cause of the victory was the dispersion of the English archers, whose fatal shafts secured the greatest victories which England can boast of over the Scots; and singular it is that this lesson, which was so signally inculcated on the field of Bannockburn upon the nation, should have been so early forgotten, and its neglect so severely punished. Every after-engagement in which the English arms triumphed on the border was decided by the archers, whose clouds of arrows did more destruction than the gallantry and courage of their chivalry.

This engagement entitled Robert the Bruce to take his rank among the most distinguished conquerors of ancient times; and in him we see a man, enabled by Divine Providence to

* See note I, Appendix, a letter, signed 2 Elizabeth de Brus, a n're seigneur Le Roi.

emancipate his country from the slavery of a foreign prince, and to set at liberty the Scottish people, who had been crushed under the iron hand of the oppressor. Bruce had long been the son of misfortune; in his romantic career, and almost hopeless struggles for life, as well as independence, we trace the destiny of one of those instruments which Divine Providence occasionally raises up, for giving a character to the fate of nations, and accomplishing the purposes of Him who rules the destinies of mortals.

The effects of that battle are felt at the present day; and in the union which afterwards took place between England and Scotland,—the independence, the institutions, the laws, and the religious privileges of that country—which furnished England with a king, were unalterably secured to Scotland,—the growth of many of which were the fruits of Bannockburn, and of that liberty which Robert I. secured to this kingdom. Ireland was a province of England: and her people were never spiritually emancipated from that slavery, which they inherited. But Scotland has always been blessed by that enlightened knowledge which springs from civil and religious liberty,—that noble independence, which is to be traced back through five centuries,—to the

heroes of this day : and prepared the soul for the reception of that truth, which can alone improve and ennoble man.

The importance of this engagement was manifest both in a political and military point of view. The independence of Scotland was now established upon the most permanent basis ; but lately, and the people had been held in thralldom, the nobles reduced under a foreign yoke, crime and villany skulking openly through the country, property ever at the disposal of him who could protect or take it by the sword ; the light of national freedom and national virtue well-nigh extinguished, and not only princes, but the whole nation, laid under the ban, and curses of the church. The king could not even hide his head in safety in the glens and the caves of his own mountainous country ; but now he descends from his mountain-throne against Edward II. and the embattled hosts of England, scatters them in his might, and emerges forth in glory, magnanimity, and freedom. The slave was emancipated, the noble was set free, and the Scots were taught, however firmly they might for a time be subjected to the dominion of a foreign yoke, that, so long as they cherished independence in their breasts, that liberty would awake as it did in the time of Wallace,

and that, by continued resistance, they might overwhelm the military energies of a more powerful kingdom.

The beneficial effects of Bannockburn have been realized at the present day. We have only to look into the history of Ireland, and that of our own country, and see the difference between a conquered province of England, and one which afforded it a king, and was afterwards considered as one with England. This famous battle yielded a lesson to the Scottish nation which it never afterwards forgot,—a lesson which the noble Wallace had first taught it at Falkirk,—that a phalanx of Caledonian spears, wielded by brave and disciplined men on foot, was superior to all the vaunted chivalry of the most renowned cavaliers ; and that the English bowmen, who were far superior to those of Scotland, might be rendered useless by a charge of cavalry.

The beneficial effects of this signal victory secured for ever the independence of Scotland ; and it was not one of the least of its advantages, that at the union of the two kingdoms, Scotland received equal rights with England ; and the national church of Scotland, with her universities and schools, were guaranteed to the people of Scotland for ever.

CHAPTER VI.

THE English king, who retired with dejection and disgrace from the field of Bannockburn,—relinquishing all hopes of subduing Scotland,—thought only how he might protect and fortify the border, and save his own kingdom from falling into the hands of the victorious enemy. With the shattered remains of his once noble army, on whose embattled ranks and polished armour the sun shone bright, when he approached the banks of the Bannock, he now filled up the castles and fortresses on the frontiers of the kingdom. John de Fardetz was sent with succours into the fortresses of Alnewyk and Bamburgh.* The wardenship of the northern marches was committed into the hands of William de Ross, the Archbishop of York and prelate of Durham, who, together with four-

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 8 Edw. II. m. 6. p. 137.

teen distinguished families, were charged by England with the northern defences of the kingdom.*

He fortified strongly the town of Berwick, returned his thanks to the inhabitants and burgesses, whom he supplied with provisions and stores of all kinds, for their fidelity and bravery; and Rudolph, the son of William, was appointed governor of the new camp, or fortress, above the Tyne, and the province of Northumbria; Simon Ward, governor of Berwick: while the district or county of York was committed to the care of John de Mowbray, † supported by some other barons of note. The English monarch, alarmed at his unexpected defeat, reappointed John of Argyle to the supreme command of the fleet, who had power to proclaim the pardon of England, to such Scotsmen as would submit to the foreign prince, Edward, and commissioned two admirals under him: while the eastern fleet was given to John Buteturt, a mariner of some experience; but John, Lord of the Isles, was soon after superseded by Admiral Creye. ‡

Robert now summoned a privy council, and in the uncertainty which hangs over a mo-

* Rotuli Scotiæ, 8 Edw. II. m. 4.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, m. 6. 1314, 1315.

‡ Rotuli Scotiæ, *ibid.* m. 6, 15th March and 3rd June.

narch but partially established in his kingdom, as to those to whose fidelity he can trust, issued a proclamation requiring all who were possessed of lands to appear before his court within the period of a year, to show their right and title, and swear allegiance to their rightful sovereign; that those who were injured during the late troubles might receive redress for their grievances, and they who had usurped their neighbour's property might be ejected.* The title-deeds of many estates remained in great uncertainty during the civil wars, and the disturbances which had raged in the country for twenty-eight years, while many Englishmen had received grants of land from Edward, who acknowledged not the Scottish King; and this exercise of royal authority was deemed of great consequence, in order to heal up the ravages made by civil dissension, and establish those lands held of the crown upon a proper and permanent footing.

The King, however, had mistaken the spirit of his people; many, perhaps, held their lands by no better title than conquest; others had taken possession of lands which had been held by Englishmen; and some had, no doubt, in the confusion occasioned by foreign

* Barbour, vol. xiii. pp. 721—731.

aggression and civil war, lost their charters. As they were not, therefore, in a mood or condition to produce their deeds, they drew their swords, and said, "These are our title-deeds; by these arms we won our lands, and by these we will protect them." The King was much surprised at this ebullition of boldness; but praising their courage, he dissembled his anger, and secretly resolving to effect his measures by other means, gave them a year to make their returns. The dissatisfaction and rancour which this step occasioned, afterwards manifested itself in a conspiracy, into which not a few entered, to take away his life.*

Among the most powerful of the Scottish nobility who had not deserted the interest of England, was David de Strathbolgie, Earl of Athole, who, irritated at the insult offered to his sister by her husband, Sir Edward Bruce, whose affections were placed improperly upon the sister of Sir Walter Ross, attacked the Abbey of Cambus Kenneth, during the engagement upon the Bannockmoor, and put the guard to the sword, with Sir William Keith, who was probably stationed there to prevent the passage of the Forth, and carry tidings of the enemy to the Scots. For this

* Barbour, B. xiii. pp. 721—731. ;

deed of treachery, which reflects little honour upon the perpetrator of it, and was unworthy of a Scotsman of rank, the earl, fearful of the just retaliation of the Scottish government, two years afterwards passed over into England,* and had the misfortune of soon seeing his estates forfeited, and he himself denounced as a rebel by the parliament, held at Cambus Kenneth; † but he was rewarded by Edward with the manors of Aylesham, Canston, and Fakenham, in Norfolk. ‡

The effects of the signal victory which the Scots had gained, for a time paralysed the strength of the English nation, dispelled their courage, and laid them prostrate at the feet of their enemies the Scots, so that they had not the fortitude to defend the frontiers of the nation, or face the enemy in the field. So much were they frightened, "that a hundred English would not wait the attack, but would fly from two or three Scottish soldiers, so grievously had their wonted courage deserted them." § While the English were panic-struck with the unexpected defeat which they had received, Edward Bruce, Douglas, and John

* *Fœdera Angliæ*, vol. iii. p. 664.

† *Chart Dunfernel*, ii. p. 24.

‡ *Chronicle of Lanercost. Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, 8 Edw. II. m. 12, p. 77.

§ *Walsingham*, p. 106. *Tyrrel*, iii. p. 262.

de Soules, entered England by the eastern marches, before they had time to recover, overran and destroyed all Northumberland, except the castles, which continued loyal; laid the bishopric of Durham under contribution; plundered and destroyed Appleby, and many other towns of Yorkshire. They then entered the district of Richmond, as far as the river Tese, which they treated in a similar manner, sparing, however, the town of Richmond, and returning by Swaldale and other towns, and Staynesmoor, they carried away much spoil and many herds of cattle; trampled under foot many fields of corn; burnt the villages or towns of De Burgh, and Kirkeoswalde, and many others: and passing the priory of Lanercost, they retired with many prisoners into Scotland, from whom they extorted money by way of ransom.*

The people generally, upon their appearance, fled to the woods and wilds; and then returned loaded with spoil, without meeting with any opposition; the English being so impressed with fear, after their lamentable defeat, that hundreds of them frequently fled before a few armed Scotsmen.† Edward quickly sum-

* Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 229.

† Chronicle of Lanercost, Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 262.

Aug. 10. moned a parliament, or great council, to meet at York, by which one-fifteenth was levied from the counties, and a tenth from the burghs and demesne towns; and without ostentatiously considering how he might invade Scotland, he was under the necessity of appointing the Earl of Pembroke as lieutenant of England to the north of the Trent, in order to protect his own country from danger, and repel the invasion of the Scots,* who burned and slaughtered with little mercy.† While the English King was commanding ships to be commissioned and rigged out, for a second expedition into the north, and assembling an army from the wapentachs of York to protect the country from the inhuman and sacrilegious depredations of the Scots, as he terms them; the hero of Bannockburn was burning, and destroying, and plundering through Redesdale, and Tinedale, and Cumberland, and stripping the hearth of its unhappy inmates, and the folds of their herds;‡ joined by the freebooters of England, and the barons of the border, who entered into an agreement with the Scots, and, regardless of the government, appointed four com-

* Walsingham, p. 106.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 129.

‡ Chron. de Lanercost, Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 262. Wals. Barb. vol. xiii. pp. 732—744.

manders to take charge of the country, and protect them from their foes. By this treaty they seem to have agreed, that the enemy might pass through York, on their predatory inroads to the south; for when the appointment of these four guardians of the border peace was confirmed by Edward, which they had the address to procure, and the pay of the soldiers coming in but irregularly, they joined the Scots, and indemnified themselves by theft and plunder, and satiated their evil passions by murder, and every species of excess.*

Such was the unsettled state of England, at this period of panic and dejection, which the defeat of Edward had occasioned. From these miseries, which were followed by a famine, which grievously afflicted England, there was no escape, against which the short-sighted politicians of the day provided, by lowering by Act of Parliament the price of the various necessaries of life, a measure which soon defeated its purpose.† This Act was repealed in the next parliament; and the barons and nobility fled to London, where they lived in riot, luxury, and excess of every kind.‡

The kingdom of Scotland was not long

* Rotuli Scotiæ, 8 Edw. II. m. 6, p. 167.

† Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 265.

‡ Walsingham, p. 107.

before it felt the effects of this famine, which was partly the result of the continued warfare between the two countries, and a bad harvest, occasioned by continued rains. The effects of this famine were fearful, reducing the people to the utmost degree of misery, and carrying them away in thousands.

Robert, by no means proud of an advantage gained by the sacrifice of so many of the human species, without being too much elated by his prosperity, and worn out with the incessant fatigue of such personal exertion,

Oct. 7. made proposals of a lasting peace with England, and appointed Sir Robert Keith, Sir Gilbert Hay, Sir Nigel Campbell, Sir Roger de Kirkpatrick, and others, as commissioners, who received passports of safety from Edward;* but this prince was not yet sufficiently humbled, to listen to any reasonable terms,—the late supremacy which he enjoyed being still too fresh in his memory, and the English commissioners and Scots ambassadors broke up without coming to any resolution.†

From this period, several successful inroads were made into England, where, in the

* Walsingham, p. 106. *Fœdera, Angl.* vol. iii. pp. 491—493.

† *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 8 Edw. II. m. 8, Sept. 18.

northern districts, tribute was exacted,* without meeting with any resistance on the part of the English, who were more completely subdued than their haughty monarch; and yet some overtures of peace were also proposed, which still originated with Scotland, but with no better success, since Edward was unwilling to lower his haughty tone, and his nobles refused to raise an army for his ambitious projects.†

In the meantime the weak, but unfortunate John Baliol, died at his castle of Bailleul, in France, who lived but a little time in the memory of his country, leaving his son Edward, who resided on his property in England, the heir of his pretensions, his timidity, and misfortunes.‡ This young prince lived in England, in a kind of honourable confinement, and had some years ago been given in keeping to Thomas and Edward, the King's brothers.§

From Tindal they advanced into Gillesland, overran Northumberland, Dec. 25. obliging the inhabitants to swear allegiance to

* Chron. Lanercost, Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 262.

† Fœdera, Angl. vol. iii. pp. 499—506. Chron. Lanercost.

‡ Fœdera, Angl. vol. iii. p. 566.

§ Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium, 4 Edw. II. m. 14.

the King of Scotland and pay him tribute; about Newcastle, Hautewisel, Hartelsam, Corbrigge, and Tyndal,* and in the county of Cumberland alone, six hundred merks, or a sum equal to sixty thousand pounds, were

paid in the course of six months.†

1315. Robert, already secure in the possession of the kingdom, and worthy of that throne which he had acquired by his own sword, and fenced round with the liberty of his country and the independence of his people, naturally turned his attention to the establishment of his family on the throne, and

summoned a parliament at Ayr, April 26. consisting of the clergy and the laity, for taking into consideration the state of the country, and passed an Act of Settlement, regulating the succession to the crown. By this statute, every individual became bound to continue faithful, and bear true allegiance to King Robert, and the heirs male of his body, and it was enacted, that should he die without leaving heirs male, Edward, with consent of the King and his daughter Marjory, the heir apparent, should, as a man of tried valour and integrity, who had fought nobly in defence of the liberty of Scotland,

* Chron. Lanercost, p. 229.

† Walsingham, pp. 106. 110.

succeed to the kingdom ; and failing him, the heirs male of his body, in preference to Marjory, the princess royal of Scotland. That with the consent of the King and Edward Bruce, Marjory, who became bound to marry, with the advice of her father, and after his death, with consent of the estates of Scotland, and the nearest lineal heir of King Robert, should succeed to the crown on the failure of the King and his heirs male ; that Thomas Randolph, of Strathdon, who became Earl of Moray, should be appointed guardian of the heir, if a minor, or on the death of the King and his brother ; that should Marjory die in widowhood, leaving an heir, or failing the issue of Robert, the Earl of Moray should be appointed protector of the kingdom until the parliament should determine on the rightful heir ; and that the whole parties concerned, with their successors, should submit to the jurisdiction of the bishops and prelates, and implement to them their sacred engagements ;* thus early recognizing an established church. The only part of this Act of Succession to the Scottish crown which requires observation, is that which gives a preference to Edward Bruce, the brother of the King, in place of his own daughter Marjory, which the necessities of the country at that time demanded, as

* Fordun, l. xii. c. 24. Anderson, Append. n. 24. Barbour, vol. xiii. p. 260.

well as the valour and merit of this brave patriot, a mode of succession by no means unknown in Scotland, since her ancient kings were usually appointed and chosen by this rule.* By this policy, a degree of foresight and knowledge of human nature, which is wonderful for that age, was displayed, and a paternal solicitude for his country, by the king, which might save it from the impetuous valour and fiery ambition of Sir Edward Bruce. But lest Edward should construe this, by precedent, to the prejudice of his niece, which was only a public mark of respect shown him, in some measure necessary to protect the infant state from the ambitious designs of England, and the factious clamour of a powerful aristocracy; the crown again reverted to the Princess Marjory, and the heirs female of her father Robert.

The Scottish King was now delighted to turn his attention from the horrors of a civil war, where private friendship, with all the peaceful and innocent enjoyments of life, were sacrificed to infuriating passion, human carnage, and the baser feelings of the heart. The youthful Walter, the hereditary lord high steward of Scotland, who, like the rest of the Scottish leaders, had acquitted himself honourably on Bannockmoor, gained the affections

* Vid. Low's History of Scotland, Book i. c. 5.

of the Princess Marjory, the daughter of Robert, and was soon united to her in marriage, receiving an ample dowry in lands in Linlithgow, Sterling, and Roxburghshires.*

A parliament was now assembled at Westminster, which assessed itself in a heavy tax for the support of the war, a twentieth part of all moveable property in the kingdom. Taking this as the basis of a monetary negotiation with the principal monied part of the community, the monks or clergy, he offered this as a security for loans, to be raised immediately, by the abbots and priors of convents, in order to raise forces both by sea and land against the Scots.† As the terror of the Scottish invasion was universal, the King excused the attendance at parliament of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham, and some of the most powerful of the northern barons.‡

The Scots had been so long engaged in war and bloodshed, that it was found necessary to gratify them, by admitting of some inroads beyond the border during the spring. Upon this occasion, they swept across the county

* Fordun, Lib. xii. p. 25. Robertson's Index, p. 9, n. 11.

† Rymer, vol. iii. pp. 511, 512. Monachus de Malmesbury, p. 157. Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 263.

‡ Rymer, Fœdera, vol. iii. pp. 506, 507.

of Northumberland, carried great booty from the principality of Durham, and pillaged the seaport of Hartlepool, compelling the inhabitants to redeem their property and their freedom by an enormous tribute; they then passed into the county of York, which they laid desolate as far as the gates of the city, using the license of that rude age, and reducing the inhabitants to despair.*

They next turned their hostile arms against Carlisle, but finding the opposition formidable, they proceeded to Berwick, which they thought to carry by surprise, but met with little better success.† Carlisle, Newcastle, and Berwick, were strongly defended with walls and fortifications, and in consequence, numerous bodies of the inhabitants had taken refuge there for safety and security to property.‡ From these successive ravages, in which they carried away whatever was moveable, or could excite their desire, the country was reduced to great extremity. The culture of the ground was neglected, the fields were not sown, scarcity and dearth overspread the land; through the long continuance of rain, and unseasonable weather in the preceding year, the harvest

* Chronicle of Lanercost, pp. 230, 231.

† *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 511. Chron. Lanercost, pp. 230, 231. Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 264.

‡ Walsingham, p. 107.

was spoiled, and the hopes of the husbandmen entirely cut off. During this period the rains still continued to inundate the country, so that both in Scotland and England, the fields which were sown were rendered desolate, by the seed perishing in the ground; the hay crop was destroyed, and not only men but cattle suffered from want.* This scarcity of provision was felt particularly in the latter part of the next season, when it amounted to the greatest extremity of famine; the flesh of horses and dogs was greedily sought after; fathers devoured their own offspring, and criminals their fellow prisoners, to alleviate the cravings of nature. The quarter of wheat was sold for twenty shillings, equal to fifteen pounds of modern currency; next year it sold for thirty shillings, or twenty-two pounds ten shillings; and forty shillings, or thirty pounds. Nay, under the blockade of the ports, the quarter of wheat, peas, and beans, reached the incredible price of forty, and even one hundred shillings, equal to thirty and seventy-five pounds sterling of modern specie;† and, to add to the other miseries of this famine, the English King, who was suffering at the same

* Malmesb. p. 161.

† Thorkelowe, p. 35. Malmesb. p. 166. Calculating the increase of money since that period at 15.

time, prohibited the transmission of all supplies to this country from England, Ireland, or Wales, by enforcing a rigid blockade of the Scottish ports, and putting a stop to the commercial intercourse between Flanders, Holland, and Lunenburgh, Brabant, and this country. But these foreign states refused to comply with their request. He wrote to the magistrates of Nieuport, Dunkirk, Ypre, and Mechlin;* but it is not to be supposed that they would listen to one whose authority was now disregarded in Scotland. The consequences of this famine were, however, lamentable in a high degree, since many died for want of provisions, the catalogue of diseases and complaints was increased in a tenfold ratio, and the mortality which took place among the people, on account of unwholesome food, was so great, that those who survived were with difficulty able to bury the dead;† nor did the maximum price of articles established by the English government, by which people were compelled to dispose of the necessaries of life, at a certain given rate, alleviate the distress, but added considerably to it.‡

* Rotuli Scotiæ, 12 Edw. II. m. 8.

† Thorkelowe, p. 35.

‡ Rotuli Scotiæ, 8 Edw. II, n. 35, 36. Tyrrel,

The similarity of manners, customs, and language, which subsisted between the Scots and Irish, being originally the same people; the affinity of the two countries, and above all the ambitious views of the English, who had already brought under their dominion a great part of Ireland, and had made a fruitless and vain attempt to subdue Scotland; served to rivet more closely those natural ties which subsisted between the two countries, and to draw them more closely together. The warlike feats of the renowned Wallace, who alone spurned the chains of Edward I., the chivalrous adventures of Robert Bruce, who at length achieved the liberty of his country, excited an interest in Ireland which became general; and the natives of the soil who had never acknowledged the dominion of Edward, as well as those who had sworn allegiance to him, were impatient to shake off the yoke, and by one powerful blow expel the English from their shores for ever. The chiefs of Ulster, who knew the distracted state of England, the insubordination of the nobility, and the incapacity of

vol. i. pp. 142—263. Leland, Collect. vol. vi. p. 36. By this statute, a fat ox was sold at 14s., equal to £18 sterling; a fat hog at 3s. 4d., equal to £3 sterling; a fat sheep, with a good fleece, 20d., equal to 25s.; a capon 2d., equal to 2s. 6d.; a hen 1d., equal to 15d.; pigeons 3d. a dozen, equal to 3s. 9d.; eggs $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a dozen, equal to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.—Wyntown. Ozygeron.

the king, to take any decided measures, were particularly anxious to avail themselves of those circumstances, and sent messengers to King Robert the Bruce, who described in a feeling manner the miseries of their condition; the oppression of the English who had invaded their country; the abject state of the people, who sighed for their ancient liberty and independence, and would rather acknowledge a Scottish king, in whose clemency and moderation they had confidence, than the tyranny of the English,—beseeching him to send succours to their distressed countrymen, and receive their willing allegiance.

Lord Edward Bruce, who had attended Robert in all his fortunes, was of an active and warlike disposition, and the king having dismissed the messengers, with the assurance that assistance would be speedily sent to them, opened the proposal to his brother, who heard this intelligence with delight, and landed on the northern coast of Ireland, before a sufficient force could be procured for the enterprise, or the people were ripe for revolt.* Robert had particular reasons for encouraging at this period the Irish war; it created a diversion in England, at a time, too, when he was threatened by another invasion; it removed from Scotland a dangerous rival, though

* Fordun. Cox.

most chivalrous knight; for Lord Edward Bruce, with all his valour and honourable feelings, aspired sometimes to royalty, and, if we can give credit to the assertions of a single historian of high respectability, laid claim to the half of the kingdom.*

The precipitancy of Lord Edward, served but to awaken the English government to a state of their danger, and induce them to adopt some measures for the better preservation of the peace of the country and the administration of justice; but he soon returned again to the green isle of the west, with a body of six thousand troops, to claim the sovereignty of the country, which he landed in three hundred barks† at Workingis, and then proceeded to Cragfergus.‡ The ships again returned, leaving the Scots to their own courage and resources for protection. This part of the British dominions was certainly the most barbarous, and had continued to be so since the earliest records of that country, which lays in a formidable but fabulous claim of great antiquity. Their manners were indeed rude

* "Iste Edwardus erat ferox, et magni cordis valde, nec voluit cohabitare fratri suo in pace, nisi dimidium regni solus haberet; et hac de causa moto fuit guerra Hibernia, ubi ut præmittitur finivit vitum." Fordun a Hearne, p. 1009.

† Liber Clonmacnoise, MS. Barbour, p. 279; apud S. Leland, i. pp. 266-7.

‡ Barbour, p. 278.

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‡ Barbour, p. 278.

and simple; their country was divided into several independent septs, each of which was governed by a king or chief of its own, which acknowledged some one as supreme governor of Ireland; the irregular mode of succession among these princes,—no rule being established by which they succeeded to the crown, proved a never-ending source of trouble and discontent; and hence those sudden revolutions and tragical catastrophes, and horrid murders, which so often disgrace the annals of this nation. In order to provide a remedy for these national calamities, which claimed the attention of its most ancient legislators, the tanist or heir-apparent to the throne was afterwards appointed in the life-time of the king,—whose dignity was supported by tributes paid by the toparchs of the different principalities, in kind, clothes, and various utensils, which were accurately ascertained, and voluntarily bestowed, in gratitude for the protection of their lives and property. The monarch was bound, on the other hand, to purchase the attachment of these chieftains, by munificent donations in cattle and arms, for which they engaged to attend him in the field of battle, to defend their country, and entertain him in their hall during his progress through the kingdom.*

* See the Book of Tributes.

The lords of Ulster flocked eagerly around the standard of Edward, now created Earl of Carrick; they swore a solemn oath to aid him in his great undertaking,—as a security sent their hostages, and joining his commanders, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, Sir Philip Mowbray, Sir John Stewart, Sir Fergus, of Ardrossan, Ramsay, of Ouchtre House, with several other persons of distinction, the allies drove from their fair possessions the English settlers of the north; levelled the towns of Dundalk, Atherdee, and many castles with the ground, and soon made the fame of their progress to resound from one end of the island to the other.

Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, suddenly raising his followers, was joined at Athlone by Fedlim O'Connor, the Irish prince of Connaught, who was alarmed at the appearance of the Scots; and although the English were, by means of their disunion, ill prepared for repelling such an invasion, Butler, the Lord Lieutenant, quickly raised the troops of Leinster, with an intention of joining him; but the haughty Earl, who had passed through Meath, and scattered desolation in foraging for his army; looking down with disdain on the vice-gerent of his sovereign, advised him to return to his own province;

Leinster, and thus lost the fairest opportunity of repelling the Scots and finishing the war.*

The Scots proceeded in two battalions from Workingis to Cragfergus, or Carrickfergus, but the Lords of that country, Mandweill, Besat, or Bisset, and Logane, vassals of Ulster, assembled their followers, little short of twenty thousand men, in order to interrupt their progress. The first division, which was commanded by the Earl of Moray, received them formally, and in a little time a hundred of their horse, or "hobynys," were slain or turned loose, and their riders thrown to the ground. Edward, who brought up the rear of the army, followed up this impression so successfully, that in a little time they were dispersed, and they held on their course to Cragfergus, or Carrickfergus, which they took.† At this place was a strongly-fortified castle, which had been lately supplied with men and provisions; but, after a short siege, a truce was entered into with the Scots,‡ and ten chiefs submitted to the conqueror. Those who still refused to swear allegiance to him, had collected their property and cattle in the pass of Innermallane, a steep and narrow valley, through which they believed

* Liber Clonmacnoise. MS. apud S. Leland, vol. i. p. 266, 267. Annal. Hibern. Barbour, p. 288.

† Barbour, B. 10. pp. 278, 279.

‡ Barbour, p. 280.

that the Scots would pass, and ranged themselves, well armed with bows and spears, to the number of two thousand, under their leaders, Makgullane and Makartane; but Sir Thomas Murray soon forced the pass, dispersed the natives, and laid hold of their property and cattle, which afforded a seasonable relief. But the scarcity of provisions which was felt in all the British islands, preventing them from making any considerable excursion beyond Ulster, was the means of precluding them from coming to any sudden engagement.

Fedlim, the young prince of Connaught, had joined the Earl of Ulster, with the view of acquiring some glory, and strengthening his own interest at home; the love of independence was still the predominating principle of his heart, and he listened, not without satisfaction, to a proposal made by the Earl of Carrick, to renounce his present dishonourable connection, and assert the liberty of his enslaved country, and the honour of the princely family of Connaught, by joining himself with the enemies of the English. In the mean time, Roderick, a connection of the family of Connaught, supplanted Fedlim in the affection and allegiance of his subjects, and entering into a negotiation with the Scottish chiefs, was readily received as

an ally; and when Fedlim marched to the province of Connaught, the northern Irish, ignorant of this secret treaty, so harassed him, that before he found a safe asylum he was obliged to dismiss his dispirited followers and flee. The Earl of Ulster soon followed him into this province, and, being hotly pursued by the Scots and the northern Irish, had been obliged to dissolve his army.

Edward, sorely pressed with the famine, was unable to take due advantage of these favourable circumstances; yet he remained safely in Ulster, as the sinews of war were tied up, exercising all the privileges of a sovereign, establishing courts of justice, and pleasing himself with all the outward pomp and parade of royalty.* Those who still adhered to their former prince, Fedlim, taking courage at the arrival of the rightful chieftain of Ulster, made some ineffectual attempts to reinstate him on his throne, and to muster their party; but so much had it been shattered during the absence of their chief, that, till reinforced by Sir John Bumingham, at the head of an English body of troops, they were unable to take the field, who engaged Roderic and slew him, with eight thousand of his followers; restored Fedlim to his possessions and his principality, and was at

* Lib. Clonmacnoise MS.

length basely deserted by that ambitious Toparch, who went over to the Scots as soon as he had been invested with his former power and independence.* This resolution of Fedlim was no sooner known, than a great and necessary annexation of Irish was made to the Scottish army. O'Brian of Thomond, and other powerful chieftains, followed the example of the Prince of Connaught; the clergy celebrated the praises of Lord Edward as the deliverer of their country and the champion of liberty; and the more effectually to bind his adherents to him and to place an insurmountable barrier between the English and the natives of their country; he was solemnly crowned King of Ireland at Dundalk, and received a strong reinforcement of troops, from the patriot king of the Scots, who had come over with an army in order to support his royal dignity.†

While the Scottish army was lying at Kilsagart, intelligence was received of the arrival of a strong body of English, at Dundalk, under the command of the Earl of Ulster, whom Edward had no sooner overtaken, than he chal-

* Lib. Clonmacnoise MS.

† Barbour says he was crowned King of Ireland.

"Nos intellixisse curtam bonæ memoriæ Domini Edwardi Dei gratia regis, Hiberniæ fratris nostri charissimi, non abolitam." Chart. Rob. I. Index, p. 14.

lenged to battle by means of his herald, in all the forms and orders of chivalry; but as the day was far spent, Ulster declined the combat. Among the chief leaders of the Anglo-Irish army, as enumerated by Barbour, were Sir Richard of Clare, whom he styled English Lieutenant of all Ireland, the Earl of Desmownd or Desmond, the Earl of Kildare, the Lords of Breman and Wodoune, Butler, and Sir Moryss Le Fyts Thomas.

Next day a reconnoitring party of fifty men were sent out to observe the motions of the Scottish army, which was reported to be far inferior to their own. Richard, upon this information, sounded to arms through the city, and advanced to the attack, which was so firmly received by the Scots, that victory long hovered in suspense; but by a desperate and noble charge the English were at length sent back in disorder upon Dundalk, which at the same time received the victors and the vanquished. The enemy were entirely dispersed, the streets covered with the slain, and this town, where the English had laid in great store of provisions, afforded a rich pillage; and, among other things, a great quantity of wine, with which the Scottish army was refreshed after the fatigues of this glorious day.* When they had remained

* Barbour, p. 781, Edit. 1820, says, Sir Richard de

some days at Dundalk, the Scots, amounting to not more than ten thousand men, pursued their march, and were particularly harassed on their flanks, in foraging excursions by the enemy, who descended upon them from the mountains, and kept them in continual alarm.

In the great forest of Kilrose, the fugitives had rallied and collected a vast multitude from all quarters, amounting to the incredible number of fifty thousand men, part of whom were completely mounted with helmet and cuirass; but the undaunted Edward, who knew no fear, disregarding the numbers of the enemy, converted his line of march into battle array, bravely charged them with his firm phalanx on foot, unhorsing many of their cavaliers,—and after dispersing them, prudently declined to pursue, too far, a body composed principally of cavalry, into the fastnesses and secure retreats of an extensive forest; but retired with their booty and prisoners which they had taken.† They then passed towards Ydymy; but the Prince of Connaught, who had perhaps achieved all that he wanted in the subjection of his immediate enemy, retired with the pretence of looking after provisions, when he had

Clare was then Lieutenant of Ireland; perhaps, a mistake for Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster.

† Barbour, pp. 285, 286. Edit. 1820.

drawn the Scottish army into the narrow defile of Endrossy, where they encamped on the banks of a pleasant rivulet Lawch. This chief had acted such an ungrateful part' to those who had reestablished him upon the throne, that the Scots placed but little or no confidence in his services. They were already immersed in considerable difficulty, hemmed in between two rivers, the Ban and another rivulet, which, by the swelling of a loch which the Irish prince let out, had become unfordable,—without provision, and deserted by their Irish allies. The object of this chief was evidently to betray those to whom he had sworn fealty; and for this purpose, although they allured them into those parts, for the purpose of supplying them with provisions, they had removed the cattle to a distance of two days' journey, and had prepared the loch a little south of the place where the Scots had encamped, which they opened in the night. The Banean arm of the sea lay between them and Ulster; and had not Thomas of Doune, a scowmar or sea pirate, sailed up the Ban with four ships which he had taken, and ferried them over the Forth, where they encamped in the forest, they must have inevitably perished.*

* Barbour, pp. 285. Ed. Jamieson. Barbour, B. xiv. pp. 366. 384.

On the approach of the English, who had rallied again, Sep. 10. under the conduct of the Earl of Ulster, the Scots made a rapid retreat to Coigneris, where they pitched their camp, in a strong position, and sent out the Earl of Moray with three thousand horse concealed in ambush to intercept the convoy of the English, who from thence transported their provisions to the army. Lurking in a wood about twelve miles distant, and with the aid and assistance of Sir Philip Mowbray, Sir John Stewart, Sir Allan Stewart, and Sir Robert Boyce, he projected and executed one of the boldest and most successful stratagems, which distinguished this age of chivalry, and feats of war. Having learned of the prisoners, which consisted of the whole convoy, that Ulster's army lay in careless security, Moray made them exchange clothes with his own troopers, and afterwards despatched them to the English camp; and in the guise of the English, with their banners and military ensigns, and music, deceived the men so completely, when they came to receive provisions in the evening, that they slew a thousand of the enemy, and put the whole army into utter confusion. De Burgh, the Earl of Ulster, immediately moved his camp to the neighbourhood of Coigneris, while

Edward, to near his approach more and more, followed the example of this chief; and by the address of the Earl of Moray, who again concealed himself in ambush, another detachment of the English suffered a similar defeat, without any loss on the part of those who surprised them.*

The English mustered strongly in the city of Coigneris; besides the warden, Richard of Clare, there were the Lord Butler, the Earls of Desmownd and Kildare, Brynname, Wedoune and Tyre, Waryne, Sir Paschall of Florentine, a knight of Lombardy. The Mawndiveillis, Besatis Loganys, and Sir Nycholl of Kylkenane.†

The Scots had already succeeded so well by stratagem, that they still continued to direct their movements under the same mystery and disguise. Sir Philip Mowbray, whose imagination was not less fertile than that of Moray, in this description of tactics and partisan warfare, with the assistance of the commander-in-chief, led the Scottish troops by a circuitous route, till they had gained the flank and rear of the Anglo-Irish army, leaving the banners flying in the camp, and all the avenues to it guarded by the Irish allies, and shut up with

* Barbour, xiv. pp. 417. 452. Ibid. 456. 554.

† Barbour, xv. pp. 70—74.

baggage. When Ulster, with full confidence of success, directed the attack against the Scottish lines, his troops, who imagined that the enemy had fled, were allured by the booty and pillage of the camp; and became so entangled among the waggons, that, upon encountering the Scots upon their flanks and rear, they were put into inextricable confusion: upon which the Scots charged with great fury, and they were completely routed, and flying in consternation to Coigneris, suffered a dreadful slaughter in the streets by the cavalry of Moray, who eagerly pursued, so that the streets ran blood.* They found in the city abundance of corn, flour, wax, and wine, which they transported to Carrickfergus. The castle of this town, which had early fallen into the hands of the Scots, was now in possession of the Irish.†

After this signal defeat, which occasioned the natives of Meath and Connaught to desert the English, destroy their possessions, and consume to ashes the castles of Rowdon and Athlone,‡ in which the Earl of Ulster was humbled for ever; Sir John Staunton, Roger Holiwood, and Lord William Burk, on the part of the Irish, were killed,§ and Sir John

* Barb. xv. 70. 74.

† Barbour, pp. 298, 301.

‡ Irish Annals, apud Camden.

§ Ibid.

Stuart, belonging to the Scottish army, dangerously wounded.* A party of the fugitives, under Lord Poer de Dunville, took refuge in the castle of Carrickfergus, which was soon laid under siege by the troops of Edward, the

Sep. 19. newly-made king of Ireland, who delighted in war. This inroad into Ireland, which was probably at first only intended as a diversion, had assumed a more serious aspect; and the gigantic power of England, which was everywhere giving way before the Scottish valour, was in danger of being entirely broken up in Ireland.

The ships were loaded with the booty taken in this engagement.† The siege of Carrickfergus was soon raised, after an ineffectual blockade; and being again rejoined by Moray, Edward proceeded by the way of Dundalk to Kildare, and with an injudicious rapacity, which tended to irritate the minds of men against the

Dec. 25. conqueror, rather than to conciliate them, laid waste the country in a barbarous manner, and completely burnt and destroyed thirteen towns.‡

1316. While Carrick was carrying on the war with success in Ireland, and enkindling in that country the horrors of

* Barbour, xv. 76. 79.

† Annals Hibern. apud Camd.

‡ Ibid. Annal.

civil dissension and foreign invasion, Scotland was enjoying an unusual period of tranquillity, which was no doubt lengthened considerably, by the embarrassment which the war in Ireland occasioned to the English, and the rebellion which broke out in Wales about this period. The Scots had, in their late engagements with the English, made an ineffectual attempt upon Newcastle, and other fortresses, which were strongly garrisoned, and would have required more time in their reduction, than light armed troops loaded with booty could afford to bestow.* The Scottish fleets were by this time considerably improved. Robert had often felt the necessity and advantage of a naval force, and from the commercial intercourse which was kept up between Flanders and Scotland,† and the encouragement held out to the Flemish, the Scottish navy became more formidable, particularly to the English merchantmen, and carried terror and desolation into the English coasts.‡

The Welsh, who had not yet been reconciled to the dominion of the English, broke out again in open rebellion; and the Scottish

* Walsingham, p. 107.

† Vide McPherson's Commerce.

‡ Rotuli Scotiæ, 9 Ed. II. m. 5. vol. i. p. 151.

fleet, which was hovering on the English coast, taking advantage of the unsettled state of affairs, made a diversion into Wales, and threw in succour in several places. The English king, who had just reason to dread the power of the northern potentate, returned his Welsh levies, taking hostages, however, for their fidelity, and lately-made allegiance.* In order to render these attempts more effectual, the Bruce summoned his feudal array, marched in person into Yorkshire, and was traced by the blackness of the ashes and the nakedness of the land: and proceeding to Richmond, which purchased its safety by a tribute, which the nobility and barons contributed; and making a circuit of sixty miles round the West Riding, returned to Scotland, loaded with spoil and prisoners, male and female.†

Edward II. ordered men to be levied throughout the whole of England, for the purpose of the Scottish war,‡ and appointed Humfrid de Littlebury and John Sturmy captains and admirals of the fleet;§ and letters of credence from the king were sent especially to the border states of Northumberland, while

* *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 620. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 10 Edw. II. 10 August, 1316.

† *Chronic. Lanercost*, p. 233—1316.

‡ *Calendarium Rotul: Patentium*, 9 Ed. II. m. 22.

§ *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, *ibid.* p. 77.

means were taken to resist both the Welsh and the Scots, who joined them.* But this seems to have produced little effect upon the success of the Scots, who carried terror both into England and Wales. The Scots now enjoyed a little breathing time at home, from the cares and turmoils of war. During this period, Robert gave every encouragement to cultivate the arts of peace; conciliated by his moderation and clemency those who had not yet renounced fealty to the English king, and used every endeavour to heal those breaches which had been made by the ravages of the late war and commotions, as well as of restoring prosperity and happiness throughout the kingdom.

Among the most independent and refractory chieftains, who kept at a distance from court, was John of Lorn, who had retired to the Western Isles, after his defeat at the pass of Cruachinben, and declared himself prince of an independent sept, under the alleged protection of the English king. Robert, well informed of the distracted state of the English government,—which was still waging war with the aristocracy,—of the rebellious condition of Wales, and of the flames of war which

* *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, 9 Ed. II. m. 22, p. 80.

were raging from the one end of the island of Ireland to the other: thought this the most favourable opportunity of reducing the Hebrides or Western Isles, and of shearing John of Lorn of that power and influence which he had employed against his lawful sovereign. The royal army was ordered to assemble at East Tarbet—the better to confirm the belief that they were intended for an English expedition, and to deceive Lorn, and a road was constructed from sea to sea over that narrow neck of land which stretches between the lochs of East and West Tarbet,—connecting the peninsula of Cantire with Knapdale. This curious road was formed of smooth trees of wood placed in a parallel direction, by which the vessels of the Scots, which were small, were transported by the aid of a favourable breeze, which allowed them to spread their sails, and the assistance of the mariners and troops, to the lake of West Tarbet.*

By means of this novel mode of navigation, which has since been frequently practised by the fishers,—which Robert was induced to adopt in order to work on the superstitious fears of the natives,—who supposed that they could never be subdued, unless by one who could sail across the isthmus of West Tarbet, the inhabitants, who believed that

* Barbour, xv. pp. 274. 277.

their prophecy was fulfilled, looked upon Robert the Bruce as the child of fate, and submitted to their sovereign. John of Lorn, admiral of the western fleet of England, was soon made prisoner, the rest of the private chiefs of the isle also submitted, and the title of Lord of the Isles was conferred upon Walter Stewart, his son-in-law, who accompanied the hero of Bannockburn on this expedition.* Lorn was committed to Dunbarton castle, and soon after to Lochleven, where he died. †

Numerous orders were about this time given for levying troops in England, between the age of seventeen and sixty. One would be apt to imagine, from reading the Scottish rolls, that England was carrying on a sanguinary and incessant warfare in the north; but, with the exception of the appointment of captain, generals, and governors, to districts which were not yet conquered, among which we may notice the nomination of Henry de Beaumont to the command between the Tyne and the Tees, we can discover no other trace of conquest, or even repulsion. †

* Barb. xv. pp. 305. 310. This title was probably, in consequence, retained by every heir-apparent to the Scots throne afterwards.

† Barb. b. x. I. 868, p. 313. John of Lorn and Argyle were the same; Rot. Scotiæ, 7 Ed. II. m. 7, l. 121.

‡ Rotuli Scotiæ, 9 Ed. II.

During that disastrous period of the Scottish history, when Edward I., by his policy and treachery, had succeeded in enslaving the people of Scotland, the ancient principality of Cambria had been united to England; but breaking asunder its chains by the aid of Robert I., to counteract this revolt the king of England now empowered John of Castre to receive this province into the protection of England, although it does not appear that he succeeded.* The prudence, bravery, and success of the Bruce had attached to his standard many of the potent families of the kingdom; but some still vacillated between their allegiance to their rightful sovereign and the English king: and among these the noble family of Athole, whose countess about this time received a passport from Edward as far as Carlisle, where she went to ransom her son, who had been taken prisoner by the Scots.† The English governor, during the absence of the Scottish king, had made several attempts upon Scotland,—and raised an army for this purpose, but with little success.

Douglas, determined to secure the fruits of that great victory which the Scottish patriots had gained;—while his sovereign was upon his western expedition, and Lord Edward

* Rotuli Scotiæ, 9 Ed. II. m. 4.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, 9 Ed. II.

Bruce was successfully reducing Ireland,—had proceeded to the northern counties of England at the head of a battalion of men. We are told that upon this expedition he wasted Egremont, plundered the priory of St. Bees, and destroyed two manors belonging to the prior; and in his course, with little opposition carried away considerable spoil, but attacked no town or fortress of consequence.*

The Scottish King, upon his return from his naval expedition to the Western Isles, occupied himself in organizing his troops,—making some new levies,—and in his favourite amusement, the chase. He now advanced to the border, with the view of besieging Carlisle, before which he sat down; but being strongly fortified, and defended by a brave garrison, under Andrew de Hartcla, whose courage and activity in repressing the Scottish freebooters had irritated the Scottish King, which greatly inspired the inhabitants with courage; he was obliged to retire, after he had assaulted the place with engines, with some loss. He continued the siege for the brief space of ten or eleven days.† It was in consequence of a false report that Edward Bruce, King of

* An anonymous MS. History of the Abbots of St. Mary's, York, by a monk of that house; see Leland.

† Rymer, vol. iii. p. 536.

Ireland, had been slain, and his whole army cut off; and information brought to him that Pembroke approached with a great army, that he quitted the siege, and retired, with some loss, and prisoners taken in his retreat.*

The bravery, good conduct, and magnanimous resolution, as well as skill, displayed by Hartcla on this occasion, called forth the praises of his sovereign; and Edward, as a reward for his bravery and prudence,—and at the same time aware of the separate treaties which some of the northern counties had entered into with Robert the Bruce upon their own account,—committed to him not only the custody of Carlisle, but the government of the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancaster: issuing his royal command, that the inhabitants of these counties should be subject to his authority, and attend his standard when called.†

The King of England now joined his army, which had been concentrated at Newcastle;‡ but not waiting for the arrival of all his levies, he began his march into Scotland, on the

* Tyrrel, p. 264. Chronicon de Lanercost says, "The Earl of Moray and Bardolph were taken prisoners; but Randolph, Earl of Murray, was then in Ireland." *Supra*.

† Rymer, vol. iii. pp. 536. 541.

‡ They were summoned for 15th August, 1315.

Eve of St. Lawrence ; but discovering that provisions were Aug. 9.
 very scarce, and that he could scarcely secure a sufficiency even for his own family, he made a speedy retreat into England, returned to London ; and thus the expedition was frustrated by the hand of Providence, and laid aside.

Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was now named as lieutenant over all the country between the river Trent and Roxburgh ; and the incessant rains which had prevented the harvest from being gathered in last year, and were more severe this year, so that the crops did not grow,* and the sheep perished, had also cut up the roads, and the lieutenant did not venture into Scotland.†

Great injury had been done by the sudden inroads of the Scots, total destruction had in some cases followed, and it tended to add to the great suffering which pressed upon the country in consequence of the famine, and unfruitful season. Yet Edward was keenly alive to the preservation of his kingdom, and sent his cousin, the Lord Henry Beaumont, and Adam de Winburn, Nov.

* *Vix licuit frumenta colligere, vel horreo recondere.*—*M. Malmesb. p. 161.*

† *Subita reste.*—*M. Malmesbury, p. 161.*

towards the march in Northumberland, with whom the Bishop of Durham was solicited to co-operate, with all his military array, to repel the sudden and destructive inroads of the Scots.*

The separate treaties of peace which had been entered into by the border counties for their own protection, had been found greatly prejudicial to the interests of the crown, and this prelate was charged with power to prohibit any such truces from being concluded, although they might afford a short interval of safety and quiet to these districts. Every truce in future was to be agreed upon, with the assent of the wardens, the constables of castles, and communities of the counties of the march; nor was the agreement held binding, until it had been intimated to the government, and received the sanction of the sovereign. The castle of Norham, which belonged to the Bishop of Durham, was converted into a garrison until the following Midsummer, the King having become security, that this should not in future be prejudicial to the interests of the church or bishops. He even drew supplies to his army from his continental provinces, and granted similar assurances to his subjects of Gascony, that those musters, pro-

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 541—545.

visions, and arms, which they had voluntarily sent to him for his war against the Scots, should not be drawn into precedent against them in future.*

The parliament of England was assembled at Lincoln, in the beginning of the next year, and entered keenly into the war. It secured to the King from every burgh, city, and the towns of royal demesne, a fifteenth of their goods, and from the counties of England a sixteenth;† while each hamlet or village was bound to send an able footman, to serve in the Scottish war, and market towns a higher proportion, according to their importance, who were to receive a groat for each day for the space of sixty days, and payment from the King, if they afterwards continued in the service.‡ The Earl of Lancaster, who belonged to a family of great rank and authority, was at this time at the head of the cabinet council, and particularly that department which conducted Scottish affairs, and was appointed the King's lieutenant and general of the army about to be sent into Scotland.§

* Rymer, vol. iii. pp. 541. 545.

† Mon. Malmesb. p. 166.

‡ Cart. Rec. vol. ii. p. 336. Tyrrel, vol. iii. pp. 266—267.

Mon. Malmesb. p. 166.

Robert had paid some attention to his fleet, and built some new ships, being convinced that, unless in some measure able to cope with England at sea, he would with difficulty retain his conquests. It appears then, from the complaints uttered by Edward in his state papers, that the Scottish fleet, and those of their allies—often consisting of Flemish or Scottish scoumar, or privateers—kept the towns on the coast of England in a perpetual alarm on all sides of the island.* These squadrons were of great use in co-operating with the land army: or detachments sent against particular places, in conveying troops, carrying provisions and artillery, and in forwarding the purposes of invasion. While Edward Bruce was pursuing his conquests on the Irish coasts, some of these free-booting squadrons, among which we find Thomas of Doune mentioned, and the naval force of Cryne,† a Flemish admiral, assisted him:‡ particularly that noted “scoumar of the sea,” Thomas of Doune, who, with a small force of four ships, sailed up the river Ban, and rescued his troops from the hazardous position in which they had placed themselves.§

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 151. 6th November, 1315.

† *Scala Chronica*.

‡ *Vide Leland, Collect.* vol. i. p. 549.

§ *Barbour*, b. x. p. 288.

The Scottish King proceeded at the head of his army into England, and having reached Berwick by night-fall, suddenly made his appearance before Berwick, which he attacked by land as well as by sea, in his light ships, being destitute of a wall of defence on that side.*

The Scottish troops lived upon herds of cattle and such provision as they were enabled, by their horses and rude carts of burden, to transport, which they acquired by pillage and the conquest of their long bows. The small Scottish fleet made an attempt to steal up the river without being perceived by the enemy, and direct their attack against the town upon the side on the sea-coast; but the night being clear, and the alarm being given, the garrison and inhabitants in the neighbourhood mustered in strength, and were no doubt encouraged by the presence of the English king, who was at that time in Berwick. In the spring it is described as a place of strength, and defended by a wall, when the command of the town and castle was committed into the hands of Maurice Berkeley, who afterwards succeeded in the command Simon Ward.† “It was a strong and well-walled town in the beginning of Scotland’s

* Chronic. de Lanercost, p. 232. Edit. 1839.

† Rymer, Fœdera, vol. iii. pp. 516. 523.

war, situated on the sea, and convenient for merchants in the time of peace, which, without treachery, can never become subject to Scotland. It does not fear a siege while succoured by England: for the English ships sail round all the land, and excel in the arts of sailing, and in naval engagements, — whence, though all Scotland should attack Berwick, it has nothing to fear on the part of the sea.”* The attack against these few Scottish ships was effective, and they were repelled with the loss of a single Scotsman, Lord J. de Landels, while Lord J. Douglas made a narrow escape in a small boat.† From Berwick Edward had issued his summons for his barons to meet him, with the military compliments, at Newcastle, on the 15th of August, to oppose a new invasion which the Scots were organizing against England.‡

The English, although well prepared for war, continued to act upon the defensive, and, anxious to terminate hostilities, plenipotentiaries, consisting of certain prelates and earls, were appointed by Edward,

Feb.

* “ Si tota Scotia Berewyk invaderet a parte maris, timeri non oportet.” The Monk of Malmesbury, p. 157.

† Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 232. Edit. 1839. Mr. Tytler erroneously dates this transaction on the authority of Tytrel, in the end of July, 1315. Tytler, vol. i. Edit. first.

‡ Rymer, Fœdera, III. pp. 416. 523.

who continued to sit for a month in London, without coming to any definite or final agreement with those of Scotland.*

The King was not less pleased with the success of the western expedition, than of the birth of a grandson, Robert, by the Princess Marjory, an event which, March. however joyful, was soon turned into mourning, by the death of the mother, who appears to have died in childbirth.† The whole nation was thrown into mourning, on account of the death of this amiable princess, which, if we may give credit to tradition for once, took place in consequence of a fall, which the princess received from her horse, which brought on premature labour, and the unskillfulness of the surgeon in the Cæsarean operation.

The restless Edward's proud spirit could ill brook such a defeat as he received in Scotland, and he had already provided for the safety of his kingdom, by fortifying every stronghold and castle on the border, and in the northern parts of England; but all these could not resist the tide of Scottish victory, which flowed as far as Wales, as we have seen, and through the interior of the kingdom. A more formidable muster was now made by Edward II.; the

* Rymer, Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 555.

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. xii. pp. 25, 26.

yeomen strung their bows across their shoulders, and the men-at-arms called to horse, and three hundred and fifty noblemen and barons were summoned to meet on the banks of the Tyne.*

The Earl of Lancaster, to whom the commission had been entrusted, waited in vain at Newcastle for his vacillating sovereign, at the head of ten thousand men; and many of the barons, disgusted at the unceremonious behaviour of their king, to whose authority they had with difficulty been reconciled, struck their tents, and retired home with their followings.† The Earl of Lancaster, still bearing in mind the badge of his party, waited not for the arrival of the king. Most of the troops, however, refused to return home until they had made an inroad in the north, loaded themselves with spoil, and gratified their love of plunder and revenge.

To Sir James Douglas was committed the charge of the midland borders, who had repelled several attempts of the English.

Douglas had built for himself a mansion for his own family use at Linthaughlee, in Jedburgh forest, and had determined to open the mansion with a great feast given to his friends

* Rotuli Scotiæ, 8 Ed. II. mem. q. dorso.

† Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 267.

and followers upon its completion. Arundel, who had learned from his scouts this proposed banquet, resolved to surprise the Scots in the midst of their revelry and mirth; but the Douglas having been informed of his movements, made timely arrangements for his reception, took up his station in the forest through which he must pass, and having twisted the young birch trees so closely together that cavalry could not act, waited his approach, and posted in a narrow gorge a body of archers to guard the pass.

Arundel, collecting a considerable body, amounting to nearly ten thousand, entered the forest of Jedburgh, and was drawn into the snare on the banks of the Jed, by the wily Douglas, when he thought to have surprised him in his new mansion at Linthaughlee, in the midst of his festivities, where, in a glade and narrow pass, in which the birch trees were twisted together, forming a stockade,* through which the English could not pass, Douglas, by means of his archers, discomfited them. Their leader, concealed among the birch trees, then raised his cry, "Douglas! Douglas!" upon which the Scots bore down to the earth all that opposed them. The Black Douglas, as he was called, who was distinguished for personal

* Barbour.

bravery, and a chivalrous spirit of the first order, had so placed his ambush in the gorge of the pass, that they soon put the cavalry to flight, who were so pent up that they could not act ; and singling out De Richemont, the Earl of Brittany, grappled with, and slew him with his knife or dagger ; and to this day there is in the escutcheon of the family of Douglas a stockade of trees, in honour of this memorable event.

The remaining part of Arundel's army, who, under the command of Clerk Elys, were in the anticipation of a bloodless victory, regaling themselves at Linthaughlee, were surprised by the Scots, and put to the sword, to the number of three hundred men.*

While Douglas was engaged in the hazardous enterprise of resisting the English, Sir Edward de Cailow, a Gascon knight of considerable property, the governor of Berwick, ambitious of glory, and thirsting for spoil, made a foray to the north ; but being discovered by Sir Adam Gordon, who acquainted Douglas, he pursued him near the gates of Berwick, whither he was flying with the spoil of Merse and Teviotdale, and hesitated not to attack him, though possessed of scarcely half his number of troops ; and despairing of being

* Barbour, p. 337.

able to prevail over the English bravery, after his wonted custom, he pressed forward to encounter the leader, whom he at length slew, dispersing the enemy with considerable slaughter, and recovered the spoil. This was the age of chivalry and romance, which, however much it may be derided by the superficial thinker, who lives in a more refined and enlightened age, served greatly to soften the barbarities of the times, and the ferocity of ancient warfare. Sir Robert Neville, a brave English knight, who lived in Berwick, boasted to some of the fugitives of Cailou, that should ever the banner of Douglas be displayed in the vicinity of Berwick, he would not fail to encounter him; upon which the Scottish knight, who delighted in deeds of chivalry, drew near to the town, wasted the country on every side, raised his banner in answer to the challenge, burnt some villages in sight of the garrison, to provoke him to the fight; and attacking Neville, who awaited him with a numerous troop upon a hill-side, at Staithmore, fought, overcame, and slew the Barón of Hilton, and plundered all the country round the Tweed, which was, as yet, in the English dominions; † carried away the cattle, and returned to the north with many

* Barbour, pp, 317. 322.

† Scala Chronic. apud Leland, vol. i. p. 7.

prisoners. The name of the Scottish knight carried terror with it; and mothers, when they wanted to frighten or still their children, had only to mention the name of "Black Douglas."*

While the gallant Douglas was engaged in the chivalrous exploits, by which he gained, entirely, the esteem and affections of his followers, Sir Andrew Hardelay invaded Eskdale, with a troop of three hundred horsemen; but was repelled and vanquished by Sir John Soulis, the governor of Galloway and Warden of the Western Marches, with only a sixth part of this force. †

These simultaneous movements on the Midland and Western Marches, were only a prelude to a general invasion, which Edward II. intended to make, had he not failed in raising troops; and with the same design, a slight attempt was made of invading Scotland by sea, by a naval armament, which, sailing up the Frith of Forth, cast anchor off Inverkeithing, and was for some time prevented from landing by the Earl of Fife and*Sheriff, with a body of five hundred men; but, being boldly beaten back by the English squadron, they dispersed,

* Barbour, p. 310.

† Barbour, vol. xvi. pp. 502. 522.

and the troops effected a safe debarkation at Dunybristle.*

Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, commonly called William Saintecler, who met Fife and the sheriff, and their flying countrymen, while hastening to their assistance from his residence at Auchtertool, with a small troop of sixty horsemen, riding on a stalwart steed, with a chemise thrown over his armour, upbraided them for their cowardice and dastardly conduct; observing, "that they ought to have their gilt spurs hacked from their heels;" and casting aside his chemise or ecclesiastical rochet, below which was presented to view a strong-built, well-armed cavalier; he seized a spear from some of the fugitives, and wheeling round in pursuit of the enemy, called out to those who loved Scotland and their king to follow him; and with one dash, was seen in the midst of the English, who were partly dispersed in pursuit of plunder. He attacked them with the greatest impetuosity, followed by the Scots; slew nearly five hundred of their number on the shore, and compelled the rest to re-embark aboard their ships, and weigh anchor for England.

Robert, who was then engaged in the Irish war, upon his arrival from Ireland, supporting

* Fordun, B. xii. p. 25.

his brother, who had assumed sovereign power, was delighted to hear of the adventure of the good prelate of Dunkild, on whom he conferred several marks of royal favour, and who was afterwards known by the appellation of the "King's Bishop."*

We now come to resume the narrative of Edward's adventures and romance in real life. The rigours of winter were now severely set in: but such was the excitement of spirits, and alarm, which this Scottish invasion had spread over Ireland, that these physical inconveniences were but little felt. The Lord Lieutenant, Lord Edmund Butler—who, with a supineness incompatible with his duty to his sovereign, or even his own safety, had kept himself at a distance from the scene of action,—at length bestirred himself, upon the fall of the proud Earl of Ulster, who scorned to receive his assistance. Such, however, was the discord, insubordination, and careless indifference of his troops about military renown, that, though greatly superior to the Scottish army in numbers,—which spent its Christmas at Laughsudy,—they took to flight, in a cowardly manner, upon the first encounter with the soldiers at Arscol, in Kildare, an action which proved

* Barbour, vol. xvi. pp. 535. 674. Fordun, Scoti-chronic. B. xii. p. 25.

fatal to Sir Walter Moray and some other distinguished leaders of the Scots.*

By this victory, the greater part of Ireland acknowledged the authority of Edward. Famine still continued to make great ravages, which was much increased by the destruction occasioned by the Scottish troops, and the improvidence of their leader, and the neglect of agriculture, amidst these intestine divisions and foreign invasions; and this, together with the price of wheat, which amounted to seven pounds four shillings current coin per quarter, proved more formidable to the Scottish troops, many of whom perished through want, than did the army either of the Earl of Ulster, or the Lord Lieutenant.† The Irish, notwithstanding these difficulties, and uncertain whom to trust as friends or foes, succeeded, through the interest of the Geraldines and other powerful Irish families, in assembling together a body of thirty thousand men at Kilkenny, to join which Lord Roger Mortimer, of Wigmore, who was on his way with forty knights and their complements, a nobleman who claimed large possessions in Meath, in right of his wife.

Edward Bruce was in no condition to en-

* Annal. Hibern. apud Camden. 26th Jan. 1316.

† Annal. Hibern. apud Camden.

gage this army, but moved his camp from near Geshill, and endeavouring to retreat by Faghir, into Ulster, met with Lord Mortimer and his troops near Kenlis, in the county of Meath, now appointed to the government of Ireland. The two armies encountered each other, and, after a fierce engagement, Mortimer and his countrymen, with their usual bad fortune, were defeated, with the loss of eleven thousand of their number, among whom was the titular King of Connaught, Felim O'Connor, and fled to Dublin, where he summoned the estates of the kingdom, to deliberate on the measures becoming their condition, and released the Earl of Ulster, who had been thrown into confinement.*

In the meantime, the Earl of Carrick, Edward Bruce,† was busily engaged in carrying on the siege of Carrickfergus, and the conquest of Ireland. The knowledge of the Scots in regard to the attack of fortified places, was as yet very confined, being restricted principally to stratagem, escalade, and the tedious operation of a blockade; assault, in this age of romantic chivalry and valour, and the battering-ram, which was the principal engine made use of in this operation, were seldom employed.

* *Annal. Hibernia.*

† *Robertson's Index to Charters.*

In that period of ignorance, when carnage was the glory of the soldiers, and the profession of arms the first in the state, even the cruel pursuit of war and all the atrocities which accompany it, were compelled to yield to the sacred influence of religion, and the no less powerful effects of superstition. A truce was mutually agreed upon between the Scottish army and the besieged, who had hitherto suffered a close blockade, lest the sacred rites, which were celebrated during the feast of Easter, should be neglected, or the duties of penance and devotion overlooked.* The Scots, relying too confidently on the point of honour, suffered Thomas Lord Mandeville to carry succours to the besieged, who, in violation of the armistice, arrived from Dublin with fifteen ships, and a body of four thousand men, and introduced a considerable re-inforcement to the garrison of Carrickfergus.†

Having observed the security with which the Scots lived in the town, Mandeville sallied out of the fortress at the head of a large body of men early next morning on the Scottish guard, posted in the principal street of the town, which amounted only to sixty

* Barbour, B. xv. pp. 101—104.

† Barbour, B. xv. pp. 105—129.

men; but Neil Fleming, their commander, exhorting them to sacrifice their lives for the honour of their lord, and to withstand manfully the whole English force, they made a bold resistance, until they were cut off to a man, having sold their lives at a dear rate. Elated at this earnest of success, although he paid highly for the advantage, he sent two detachments to environ the town, leading on the principal attack in person, in the middle of the village. By this time, however, Edward, sensible of the danger, raised his household, collected such of the Scottish troops as could procure arms, advanced against the victorious English, through the aid of the intrepid Gilbert Harper, who felled Mandeville to the ground at one blow with his battle-axe, and succeeded in putting an end to his existence with his dagger;* and upon the arrival of Fergus of Ardrossan, with a re-inforcement of sixty soldiers, pressed hard upon the English, who were now headed by another Mandeville, the bravest knight of Ireland, who fell by the hand of Edward. They were now left to the mercy of their enemies by those within the garrison, who, fearful of taking any part, hoisted up the drawbridge and barri-

* Barbour, B. xv. pp. 182—183. 190—192.

caded the gate.* The English being again repulsed from the town, a chief of the name of Macnakill obtained possession of five of the vessels, in which Mandeville and his unfortunate companions had sailed from Dublin, not one of whom was now left to tell the disasters of the day; and while the generous Edward dropped a tear over Fleming, whom he found in the agonies of death, and his heroic band strewed around him, Macnakill defeated and put to death the crews of the captured vessels.† The castle, now reduced to extremities, agreed to surrender after a few days, if not supplied with provisions; and when the period specified had expired, the Scots sent thirty men to summon them to yield up the garrison; but such was the want of fidelity displayed by the besieged, and the obstinate ferocity of their character, that they first made prisoners of these, and when the hides of cattle could no longer satisfy the cravings of nature, lived upon the bodies of their miserable captives, until they were obliged to surrender.‡ Edward, who by his chivalrous conduct had both lost and gained the castle, appointed a governor of approved courage and

* Barbour, vol. xv. pp. 222—253. 231—238.

† Annal. Hibern. apud Camden.

‡ Barbour, B. xv. pp. 195—212. Annal. Hibern. apud Camden.

fidelity, and left a select band in the fortress.*

Oct. 23. The Scottish prince, during the interval which took place after the surrender of the fortress, was engaged in forming an administration, which was appointed to govern the kingdom in his name, in dispensing justice among his new subjects, and securing those conquests which he had already made. The English having procured another army in this ever-populous country, a skirmish took place between detachments of these two hostile nations, in which the Scots lost two hundred heavy armed, and one hundred light armed soldiers.†

The English began now to consider the progress of the Scots in Ireland in a more important point of view—they were alarmed at their success and the pretensions which they made,—they dreaded the overthrow of their power in that country; and since the arrival of Roger Mortimer, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who landed in that country at the head of a large army of infantry and cavalry, with twenty vessels, more vigorous and spirited measures were generally adopted. Every Englishman who held lands or tenements

Feb. 2, 1317. in Ireland, was summoned to

* Barbour, B. xv. pp. 255—265.

† Annal. Hibern. apud Camden.

meet in arms at Haverford, on the day appointed for the purification of the Blessed Virgin; every resource for raising men was had recourse to,* while Edward Bruce, who dreaded this formidable preparation, in order to provide for them, despatched the Earl of Moray from Carrickfergus, to solicit the assistance of the Scottish king, who landed in Scotland with four ships loaded with spoil.† The king was anxious to uphold his brother on the throne of Ireland, and resolved to conduct the re-inforcements to Ireland in person. Confiding the government of the country to the Lord Stewart, his son-in-law, and the defence of the borders to the gallant Douglas, he embarked with an army at Loch Ryan in Galloway, and landed in safety at Carrickfergus.‡ The king scarcely remained at this place three days; but desirous of achieving something worthy of his name and military renown, proceeded on a journey through Ireland, accompanied by Edward his brother. The Scottish army, consisting of twenty thousand men, for the most part undisciplined and in bad order, a great part of which were followers of the camp, was;

* *Fœder. Angliæ*, vol. iii. pp. 580—596.

† *Annal. Hibern.* apud Camden.

‡ *Barbour*, vol. xvi. 7—14. *Fordun*, xii. 25. *Barbour*, xvi. 35—38.

it is believed, bent on the design of penetrating the province of Leinster, to prevent which, the Anglo-Irish army was posted on the confines of Ulster. The Scottish troops were divided into two main bodies on the march, the van and the rear, the former under the command of Prince Edward, and the main battle brought up by the King of the Scots; while they were proceeding on their journey, the van being considerably led in advance by the impetuous and fearless Edward, who neglected to take the precaution of keeping up a proper communication with the main body, and of examining the nature of the ground, the king was annoyed in a narrow defile, on his way to Dublin, by flying detachments of archers, who increased more and more, and at length provoked Sir Colin Cambell, his nephew. This chief, contrary to the royal proclamation, rode after them, and having slain one with his spear, another shot his horse; and for this breach of authority, by means of which the safety of the king and the whole army was endangered, he was struck so violently by the truncheon of his royal uncle, who came to his rescue, that he was well nigh brought to the ground.* After this incident, which might have proved disastrous to the

* Barbour, p. 316, new edit.

expedition; they had proceeded but a little way when the defile expanded at once into a spacious amphitheatre or plain, where the Anglo-Irish army were drawn up in four divisions, amounting to about forty thousand men. The Scottish King, no wise daunted at this formidable body, hesitated not to begin the attack with five thousand regular soldiers, and an undisciplined body of half-armed Irish; and such was the skill and bravery with which he led on his men, and the firm phalanx which they displayed, that with these fearful odds against him, the English were put to the rout, and fled from the plain with great slaughter.*

Edward, ignorant of the danger to which his rashness had exposed the rear of the Scottish army, and its unparalleled bravery and success, lamented his own absence upon rejoining the heroic band of Robert, who cautioned him always to bear in mind the connection which ought ever to subsist between the advanced guard and rear of an army, the van being its natural support and protector.† From this period the Anglo-Irish were afraid to meet or attack the Scottish King, in the open country. He had retired victorious from the field with

* Barbour, B. xvi. pp. 143—211.

† Barbour, B. xvi. pp. 242—254.

only one man opposed to eight;* and all the fortified places and garrisons of Ireland being replenished with troops, the Earl of Ulster, after this lamentable defeat, fled to Dublin, which was thrown into the greatest consternation and alarm.†

The Scots, animated with this unexampled success, pushed forward to the capital of Ireland by the way of Drogheda; directing Feb. 23. their march with due precaution, invested the city of Dublin on all sides, and no doubt joined by those who were hostile to the English government, burnt a great part of the suburbs of this town. The Irish writers say the inhabitants themselves destroyed the suburbs of the city, lest they should have been converted into places of safe retreat for the enemy, together with the cathedral and sacred buildings;‡ but the patent rolls of Edward II. shew this to be the work of the Scots.§ The citizens, dreading the entire subversion of the English government, excited the multitude to take up arms in defence of their liberty; they dismantled a church, using

* Barbour, B. xvi. 177—182.

† Barbour, B. xvi. 212—216.

‡ Annal. Hibern. apud Camden.

§ *Calendarium Rotul. Patenti. 9 Ed. II. M. 14.*
Major pars suburbii civitatis Dublini in Hibernia, per Scotos destructa fuit.

the materials to fortify the town, and the popular frenzy being directed injudiciously against the Earl of Ulster, whose sister was married to the King of the Scots, he was forthwith seized and committed to prison by the mayor of the town, together with Gilbert and Hubert de Burgh, his relations, and Henry de Clerk.*

The Scottish prince, who had already taken possession of the castle, and the Phoenix Park, in the vicinity of Dublin, when he saw the citizens who had made preparations for a bold defence, animated with the courage of despair, deemed it unnecessary to lay the town under siege, took possession of the castle of Cnoc, turned aside to the territory of Kildare, and encamped, at first, at Leixlip, on the banks of the Liffy, and afterwards at Cullen, whence the soldiers, under the direction of Walter de Lacy, an Irish chief, carried on their rapine and plunder to an excessive degree, not even sparing churches and religious houses.† In this extensive march the English never dared to oppose them in the open field. They had already met with so many defeats, and their enemies had acquired so great an ascendancy in arms, that they deemed it more safe to re-

* *Annal. Hibern. apud Camden.*

† *Annal. Hiberniæ, apud Camden.*

main in their fastnesses, towers, and other strong holds. In this manner they reached Limerick, trusting that the disaffected among the English would flock to their standard, as well as the native Irish, more especially the chieftains in this central part of Connaught and Munster, whither they were also driven by the licentious ravages of their native adherents, in hopes of avoiding famine and acquiring more abundant supplies of provisions.

Mar. 31. Among the most distinguished commanders of this army in subordination to Butler, the king's deputy or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, were Thomas Fitz John, Earl of Kildare, Richard of Clare, Arnold Poer, and Thomas Fitz Maurice; to which were opposed the Scottish king and his brother Edward, at the head of nearly twenty thousand troops, one half of which were undisciplined natives, and the other half considerably reduced by famine and the hardships of war, but efficient soldiers and well tried in the school of discipline.* The one, however, was marshalled under the command of an experienced, brave, and judicious leader, on whose talents they could rely with the utmost confidence, while the other was subjected to the command of rival independent barons, jealous

* *Annal. Hiberniæ*, apud Camden.

of the king's deputy, who had already wasted a whole week in unmeaning and trifling disputes, while they should have endeavoured to cut off the retreat of the Scottish army to the north, far inferior in numbers, if not in strength, to their own.*

While the Irish chiefs were wasting their time in idle councils of war, unable to come to any decision, Roger, Lord Mortimer of Wigmore, who had been April 7. appointed to the Lieutenancy of Ireland, transmitted from Yougal strict orders to Butler and the Irish leaders, on no account to engage the enemy before his arrival, which afforded to the Scots an opportunity of extricating themselves from their perilous situation at Limerick, by forced marches and other judicious movements. When the English had laid down their measures for carrying on the war in Munster, the enemy had reached Kildare, in Leinster, from whence they pursued their march through these provinces; Munster and Leinster, Meath and Connaught; by Jereby to Carrickfergus, or Cragfergus, in Ulster; after having traversed the greater part of Ireland in the course of three months.† During this useless though hazar-

* Annal. Hibern. apud Camden. §

† Barbour, B. xvi. pp. 293. 300.

dous expedition, many of the Scots were cut off by famine, and those who survived were reduced to the necessity of eating horse-flesh,* which had no sooner failed, than, like the ancient cannibals of that country, if we can give credit to the Irish annalists, they were by the cravings of nature compelled to dig up newly-buried bodies from their graves, not for the purpose of anatomical science, but in order to support their existence, which they boiled in dead men's skulls.† Whatever truths there may have been in these reports, the famine was severely felt for several years during this period over all the British islands; but amidst these barbarities, when every invading army was under the necessity of living by pillage and plunder, it is pleasing to record one trait out of many in the character of the Scottish king, Robert the Bruce, which does honour to his heart as well as to human nature. While the army was on its march from Limerick to Ulster, the king was arrested by the sudden cries of a lavander or washing woman in travail, who was lamenting the hardship of her fate; and taking pity on the unfortunate female, he stopped the march of the whole army, pitched a tent for her delivery, and

* Fordun, c. 25.

† Annals Hiberniæ apud Camden.

solicitous about her safety, gave directions how to convey her and the female attending her along with the army, which soon reached its destination at Carrickfergus.* During this period few skirmishes of any kind took place; and if this distant expedition inspired the English and Irish with terror at the Scottish arms, and the hero of Bannockburn, it served also to introduce Edward Bruce to a number of chieftains, who did homage and swore allegiance to him as King of Ireland.†

Robert now retired from an expedition by which he has drawn down the censure of some writers, and the praises of others, and returned to Scotland; but the restless and ambitious spirit of Edward required some hazardous undertaking of this nature to keep him active; the noble services which he performed to Robert, gave him a just claim to his gratitude and support; nor was mere glory the only advantage which he gained from this expedition to the green isle, since he distracted by this means the feeble councils of the impotent Edward of England,—transferred the seat of war from his own country to a sister island,—strengthened his own exhausted subjects, and added much to the stability, reputation, and influence of his infant government.

* Barbour, p. 320. † Barbour, pp. 16. 304. 308.

Edward of England, perplexed at the failure of his northern expedition, in the absence of Robert the Bruce, who, to add to his other embarrassments, had been fomenting secret quarrels with the nobility, encouraging the Lancasterian faction, and distracting the English by carrying war into their seat in Ireland, applied to the Roman pontiff, several of whose cardinals and nephews he pensioned, for some bulls, excommunications, interdicts, and other spiritual armour, by which he might intimidate that daring nobleman who had wrested from him a kingdom, and was now threatening to deprive him of Ireland.* John the Twenty-second, the Roman pontiff, who willingly listened to any appeal made to his authority, more especially from the King of England, who lived in the distant parts of the north, sent two cardinals to Britain, armed with all spiritual authority, with a bull issued from Avignon, in the spring of 1317, commanding a truce or cessation of arms for two years, and privately empowering them, in consequence of disobedience, to inflict the highest spiritual censures on Robert the Bruce, whose title he did not acknowledge, and his brother Edward, the titular King of Ireland.†

* Fœder. Angl. vol. iii. p. 594.

† Fœder. Angl. vol. iii. pp. 594. 614.

1317.]

ROBERT THE BRUCK.

WARRANTS 1771
SOCIETY

It was on the first day of the year that the Pope John XXII., who had been raised to the pontifical chair, after it had been kept vacant for two years by the intrigues and stormy movements of faction, had, out of zeal for the recovery of the Holy Land, issued these bulls, that he might restore universal peace, and direct the arms of Christendom against the infidel. The instruments which he made use of were John de Ossa, a cardinal priest, and Luke de Fieschi, a cardinal deacon, who, in the month of March, received their commission to restore peace throughout the British islands and Ireland, and arriving in England in the middle of summer, joined Edward II. at Nottingham.*

The Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel were commanded by the Pope John XXII., to warn those who were engaged in the Irish rebellion, and excommunicate such as refused to withdraw. The Irish tribes, who had a high reverence for the spiritual father, drew up a justification of their conduct, which was signed by their nobles and chieftains, and a vast number of the people, and by O'Neal, the hereditary prince of Ireland, who transmitted it to Rome through the legates. In this

* Rymer, Fœdera, vol. iii. pp. 655. 663. 670, March 17, 1317. In July they arrived at Nottingham.

memorial they say, "That the Irish natives had inhabited that island from time immemorial, under the dominion of a long race of kings, and unmixed by any foreign nation; that in the fifth century, they had been converted to the Christian faith by St. Patrick, sent thither by Pope Cælestine; that in spiritual things they had still continued in communion with, and in obedience to the See of Rome; that in temporal things, they never had acknowledged any superior; that they had continued in this uninterrupted harmony until the year 1170, when Adrian IV., an Englishman, in partiality to his country, but in violence of justice and equity, had conferred the sovereignty of that island upon Henry II., the person who of all others the least deserved it, and who, for the murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury, ought to have lost his own crown, instead of acquiring a new one; that the scum and dregs of mankind had been sent to take possession of their country; that, for the sake of peace, the natives had yielded up the sunny and fertile shores, and the richest soil to their invaders, and had retired to the mountains, forests, and morasses, the wildest and most barren tracks of the region, where they often dwelt in caves and clefts of the rocks; and yet their enemies

pursued them, encroached upon their poor possessions, and forced them, in self-defence, to wage incessant war, in which contest fifty thousand individuals had fallen on either side; that even if the original grant had been just, it had been rendered null by a total neglect of implementing its conditions."

The church was to be protected, and it had been robbed, and its possessions violently alienated; just laws were to be made, and the most iniquitous had been framed; morality was to be encouraged and vice suppressed, whereas a set of miscreants had been introduced, men of insatiable avarice, of savage cruelty, of basest treachery, and of such consummate wickedness, as to be the bane of society, and who publicly taught, "that it was no more criminal to kill an Irishman than to kill a dog." They said, "That they themselves had taken up arms, to rescue themselves from the yoke of tyrants and oppressors; that they could not be deemed rebels against a King to whom they had never sworn fealty; that they were freemen, contending for their rights against their mortal foes; that, for their protection, they had chosen Edward Bruce, Earl of Carrick (who was descended from their illustrious ancestors), as their sovereign, and hoped his Holiness would approve of their

conduct, and hinder the King of England and his subjects in Ireland from molesting them any longer."

When this remonstrance was delivered to the Pontiff, through the cardinals Fieschi and Jocelin, the legates in Scotland, they were instructed to address Edward on the subject, who replied, "That they had been injured contrary to his wishes, and promised in future to take them under his protection, and treat them with more justice and indulgence in future."*

Sept. 1. The brave and prudent monarch, who showed a degree of hardihood and policy wonderful for a warlike prince, and worthy even of Rome itself, out-manceuvred that artful court in its own arts of diplomacy. The Scottish king had reason to suspect the ungracious nature of the contents of these papal communications; and while the nuncios, the Bishop of Corbeil and Master Aumeria, were proceeding northward, with a splendid military attendance, in company with the Bishop of Durham on his way to be consecrated, Robert, who knew the arts of Edward, and the hostility of the cardinals, it is believed, applied to some of those loose associations of barons and proprietors in England for the defence of the borders, which were then so

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 594 and 661.

numerous, and employed Walter Selby, of the little castle of Horton,* and Lord Gilbert de Middleton, the chiefs of these outlaws, who had now become robbers, and reduced all the castles of Northumberland, with the exception of Alnwick, Bamburgh, and Norham,† to intercept the sacred cavalcade, and ascertain the nature of their secret instructions, and the contents of their letters.

The ecclesiastical envoys, secure as they believed in their sacred character, had not entered Rushyford, near Darlington, when these lawless chiefs, attended by a band of soldiers, emerged from the dark glade of a forest, at Aile,‡ stripped the cardinal priests of their purple robes, horses, and money, carried away the Bishop elect of Durham and his brother Henry de Beaumont to Middleton's peel of Mitford, where they were thrown into the dungeon, and not liberated till the jewels, plate, and ornaments of the cathedral were sold to raise their ransom.§ Lord Middleton, falling into a snare laid for him by his enemies, he was sent in chains to London, and was afterwards hanged, drawn, and quartered.

* "Refortiuncula."—Walsingham.

† Lel. Coll. vol. i. p. 548.

‡ Rymer, vol. iii. p. 667.

§ Chronic. de Lanercost, pp. 333, 334. Scala Chronic. : according to Leland, Collect., vol. iii. p. 548, it happened at Wigglesdeumoir.

The King desired nothing more earnestly than a lasting and perpetual peace, and received with courtesy the messengers sent by the legates, the Bishop of Corbeil, and Aumueria, a priest,* who had a splendid suite, with the open letters, which were read in a gracious manner; but as to those sealed letters, which were addressed to Robert Bruce, governing in Scotland, as there were several of that name in authority, for whom they might probably be intended, observed the King, "I cannot receive them; and if my spiritual father, and holy mother the Church, were unwilling to prejudice the cause of my adversary, by bestowing on me the appellation of king, a title by which I am addressed by sovereign kings and princes, as well as my people,—during the dependence of the controversy, they ought not to have prejudiced my cause, by withdrawing that appellation from me. My spiritual parents, it appears, have favourites in their family, and show a manifest partiality for their English son.† I reverence your authority, and feel due respect for the holy see, but can by no means consent to a truce, so long as my enemies are invading my dominions, and destroying the property of my subjects." The

* Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. iii. p. 661. Leland, *Coll.* vol. ii. p. 548.

† *Fœdera Anglia*, vol. iii. pp. 594. 662.

sealed letters he would not allow to be opened in his presence. The nuncios had carried along with them into the royal presence other papal messengers, who had been refused an audience; but not daring to look at them, they withdrew from the frown of majesty, which Robert knew full well when to wear, and when to lay aside. The two cardinals sent by the papal court to England, were retained by the King,* and appear to have been at Durham, while the Bishop of Corbeil was on his mission to King Robert Bruce. In the same year, there was an eclipse of the sun before midday.†

Sept. 6.

The nuncios failing in their first attempt, with the artful tact of that court, so distinguished for diplomacy and policy, now used their influence with the King to command a temporary cessation from cruel warfare, being armed with a papal bull, commanding a cessation for two years, which the English received with satisfaction.‡ But in this they were also unsuccessful,—a measure to which the King of Scotland could in nowise consent, with all due deference and respect for his spiritual father, without the advice of his parliament, the great council of a king, which

Sept. 7.

* Calend. Rotul. Patent. 2 Edw. II. m. 14.

† Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 234.

‡ Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 234.

could not be convened before the Feast of St. Michael,—more especially while the English continued to harass his borders, and pillage the property of his subjects.* In vain they entreated the King's indulgence for another papal envoy, Jacobinus, who had been refused admittance into the kingdom, and who had been sent to announce to the Scottish prelates the coronation of the Pope and had waited for three months; the countenance of the King, though mild, was firm, and resisted with becoming dignity the emissaries of a court which refused him the title of King, and supported his enemy; but he spoke never a word.

The Bishop of Corbeil now returned without delay to the cardinals, who had not deemed it safe or prudent to leave Durham. In addition to the bull commanding the observance of a truce between the sister kingdoms,† they were furnished with another for inflicting on the King and his brother Edward of Ireland, the highest censures of the Church, and for excommunicating them. They now resolved, with that inflexible spirit by which the papal court has ever been distinguished, to raise the spiritual arm between the two contending potentates, and proclaim the papal truce; but afraid of risking their sacred persons in this

* *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 662.

† *Chronic. de Lanercost*, p. 234.

ungracious errand, Adam Newton, father of the Minorite Friars of Berwick, was charged with the proclamation of the papal truce. With due caution, the Minorite friar, through Lord Alexander Seton, the seneschal, obtained a safe approach to the royal presence, and letters to the Bishop of St. Andrews and other prelates, before he armed himself with his credentials, and again returned to Berwick. The sacred character of the friar protected him from the fury of the multitude in the discharge of his duty, although he was obliged to break off in the midst of his edict, and flee for safety.

The king and his army lay in a wood, labouring night and day in the construction of various machines for the siege and destruction of Berwick, at Old Cambus, twelve miles from Berwick. The envoy, with admired boldness and audacity, in fulminating the decree of the pope, and proclaiming a truce of two years, charged the prelates and abbots of Scotland, to whom he was refused a safe passage, to protect him, and assist in executing the commands of their holymother church.* As Robert would listen to no bulls, till he was recognized as king of Scotland, or had reduced Berwick, this proclamation was only a pretence for the higher censures of the church; and both Ro-

* *Fœdera*, tom. iii. p. 684.

† *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 682

bert and his brother, Edward, were forthwith excommunicated, and his kingdom laid under an interdict, by a bull of the pontiff, of date the 4th of April, 1317, which the friar, Newton, did not attempt to read. The Pope, in the negotiations, appears to have been the ruling tool of the English king; but the Scottish monarch, happy in the respect and fidelity of his clergy, who, in this instance, acknowledged not their spiritual head, and beloved by his people, disregarded the empty fulminations of the subtle priest, before whom the most powerful kings were wont to tremble, and prepared vigorously for the siege of Berwick. The sentence of excommunication and interdict was not served by any of the Scottish clergy, so that they fell to the ground.*

The friar, being refused a safe conduct either into Scotland or back again to Berwick, on his return he was way-laid by four highwaymen, robbed of his letters and bulls,—the latter of which were torn to pieces,—stripped to the skin, and left naked in a wood. It was supposed, and generally believed, that the Lord Robert, or his accomplices, if they did not instigate the outrage, soon obtained possession of the papers: and this was, at all events, believed by the unfortunate friar,† who lamented his want

* Chronic. de Lanercost, p. 288. 1318.

† Rymer, Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 682. ,

of success, and mentions it in his interesting letters to the cardinals.

None of those vast consequences which followed the fulminations of the Roman pontiff proceeded from the sentence of excommunication and interdict, which had been brought into Scotland, in his name, by Newton, the father-guardian of the Minorite friars of Berwick. The ordinances of religion were not suspended, or performed with closed doors, only for the benefit of the clergy. The judges fled not from the benches in terror; the king was not deserted by his attendants, nor subjects absolved from the oath of allegiance to their sovereign, nor the public functions of the state suspended. It was utterly disregarded in Scotland, for the first time, by the king and his subjects,—because the prelates and churchmen, in this instance, refused to give to it their sanction, or to execute the commands of their spiritual chief. The pope had also transmitted another bull against the order of the Minorite Friars, who had used their influence with the Irish to join the Scottish troops under Sir Edward Bruce, and renounce the English government.* The king was as desirous as the pope to obtain a truce or lasting peace with England, but the pontiff,

* See the document in Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 662.

having refused to him the title of king,—it was because of this, and not on account of any unwillingness of Robert to suspend hostilities, that his pacific mission was not attended to.

1318. The battle of Bannockburn had paralyzed the strength of Edward; and those numerous levies and musters, of which the writs are still to be seen, which he endeavoured to make from time to time, were but seldom attended to by his subjects in the northern part of the kingdom, who had concluded a treaty with the Scots, independent of their sovereign, and in a manner acknowledged the Scottish monarch as their king. He had, however, now, in some degree, regained, or believed he had regained, his lost authority; and power was given to John de Hausted to receive the Northumbrians into favour, who showed some inclination to return again to the English allegiance, and confer upon them a free pardon.* The English king, distrustful of the allegiance of the town of Berwick, obliged them to send hostages as a security for their good behaviour, which were kept in a kind of honourable confinement at Westminster, and an indenture was drawn up between the English monarch and the bur-

* Rotuli Scotiæ, 11 Edw: II., 12th May, 1318.

gesses of Berwick, with regard to the safety of this village, as it is generally called.*

Scotland, which was seldom able to carry on a protracted war for any length of time, —owing, not so much to the small extent of the kingdom as the poverty of its soil, was saved the expense of a lengthened siege at Berwick, by the disaffection and ill-treatment received by one of its inhabitants. Simon Spalding, who was married to a Scotswoman, resenting the injuries received from the governor, Roger Horsley, on account of the strictness of his discipline and severity, with whom he had a quarrel; or bribed by money, it is said by his enemies, secretly conveyed a letter to a Scottish knight, Keith, the marshal, who was allied by marriage to one of his female cousins, promising to betray the garrison, and admit the Scots into the town, upon a certain night, when it was his turn to mount guard.† This knight, who might thus take the town by escalade, anxious to recommend himself to his sovereign, immediately acquainted him with this intelligence;‡ and being thanked by the king for confiding to him his secret, rather

* *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, 10 Edw. II. m. 4, p. 81.

† *Harding Chronic.* fol. 171.

‡ *Barbour*, p. 334.

than to Randolph of Strathdon, or Douglas,— who would have been offended had one been intrusted with it rather than the other ; he ordered these two chiefs to attend the Marshal, at Dunsparck, where a body of troops were appointed to assemble for the purpose of surprising the town.

The marshal who had communicated the intelligence to the king, raised the best of Lothian, of which he was sheriff: appointing them to meet him privily at Dunsparck, in the evening of the day appointed.* On the night

April 2. agreed upon, they marched to Berwick, and about the middle of the night, cautiously approached the foot of the rampart at the Cowport, contrary to the instructions of their sovereign, who ordered them to remain until they received a reinforcement ; and with the assistance of Spalding, by means of ladders, they scaled the walls, and though opposed by John of Witham, the warden of the town,† and a garrison, which was more numerous ; yet, more intent on plunder than victory, they soon succeeded in reducing the town, and ejected the inhabitants, who had not time to put on their clothes, in a state of nakedness, congregated together in small bodies,

* The Chronicles of Lanercost dates this April 2d, p. 234.

† Rotuli Scotia, vol. i. p. 178, 30th September, 1317.

and took possession of all their property.* The garrison, with its governor, Robert de Horsley,† about mid-day, observing that the greater part of the Scots were dispersed after pillage, made a desperate sally from the castle; and had not the Earl of Moray, and Douglas, who were more vigilant than the rest of their countrymen, kept together a band of reserve, who received them warmly,—aided by the extraordinary prowess of Sir William Keith, of Galliston, whose maiden battle was worthy of the name, and gained him his spurs,—the city would have been again retaken, and the Scots driven without the walls.‡

The English, however, were obliged to retreat to the castle, and lower the gate; many were slain in the desultory encounters which took place in the streets; some escaped over the walls, while others were made prisoners; but, to the honour of the Scottish name, all who sought quarter, obtained it, as is acknowledged, even by the enemy.§

The town of Berwick was rich in provisions, merchandise, and military stores, which

* Chronic. de Lanercost, p. 235.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, p. 175. Maurice de Berkeley had been governor in 1315.

‡ Barbour, B. xvii. pp. 129. 170. Fordun, c. xii.

§ Adam Murimuth, p. 53. Thomas de la More, p. 594.

fell into the hands of the Scots, and contributed greatly to their wealth. Upon the joyful accounts reaching the king of the success of his arms, and of the capture of the town of Berwick, he raised the feudal forces of Tiviotlandale, and Merse, and the Forest of Jedburgh, and hastened to reduce the castle before further succours should arrive from the barons of the north of England, which surrendered in a few days, for want of provisions;* and, more generous than his brother Edward, of England, he graciously spared all who asked quarter,† and, instead of destroying the castle, in which was found a great quantity of military stores and provisions,‡ it was well supplied with additional stores; and, together with the town, was committed to the hands of Walter, the high steward of Scotland.§ The high steward of Scotland received, in addition to the garrison, which was well supplied with springalds, cranes, balistæ, and every kind of warlike engine, a large body of archers and cross-bowmen, five hundred brave gentlemen of the clan, who came to the

* Vide A. Murim. p. 52. Walsing. p. 111, who dates the siege of Berwick in 1319; and Chron. Lanercost in 1318.

† Adam Murimuth, p. 53.

‡ Fordun a Goodal, p. 245.

§ Barbour, p. 210. 224.

support of their chief, and volunteered their services.* In addition to these, John Crab, a Flemish engineer, of great celebrity in these times, who had been in the service of Robert, Earl of Flanders,† was left in the town to assist in its defence. The treatment which the inhabitants of Berwick received from the conqueror was very different from the cruel policy of Edward I., who gave no quarter on such occasions.‡ He is indeed charged, in the pope's bull, with great cruelty to the inhabitants, which was untrue, and a violation of the papal truce, of which he certainly was guilty.§ But to this truce, on his part, he had never given his consent, and therefore he was not guilty of violating the armistice.

William, Archbishop of York, was appointed keeper of the northern parts of England, which were subject to the inroads of the Scots, who paid no attention to the papal truce.|| Spalding, who is said to have been seduced from his allegiance in consequence of his marrying a Scotswoman, met

* Barbour, pp. 339, 340.

† *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 403. He served Edward when Berwick was taken, in 1333.

‡ Thomas de la More et Adam Murimuth. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 708, 709.

§ *Calend. Rotul. Patent.* 11 Edw. II. p. 83.

|| *Cal. Rotul. Patent.* 11 Edw. II. m. 7.

not with that encouragement which the magnitude of his services required; but having passed into Scotland, was there slain.*

May. The Scots, elated by the issue of this successful enterprise, again returned to Northumberland and Yorkshire, where they took the castles of Werk and Harbottle, and the town of Mitforde by siege, and burnt Northallerton and Scarborough, and other towns, and returned by Knaresburgh, which they also laid in ashes. They proceeded further into England on this occasion than they had been accustomed, and in their route burnt also Boroughbridge, Skipton, and certain other villages; and the inhabitants of Ripon, who took refuge in the church, purchased the safety of their village by paying one thousand merks. After three days' licence in all devastations and atrocities of war, they returned and searched out the inhabitants of Knaresburgh, whose town they had burnt, who had fled to the woods with their cattle, and taking possession of these, returned by Skipton in Craven, which they pillaged and destroyed, into Scotland, loaded with booty, and driving their prisoners like so many herds of cattle before them.† The castle of Berwick

* Harding Chronic. fol. 171.

† Chronic. de Lanercost, pp. 235, 236. Edit. 1839. Rymcr, 707; 799, 800. 858.

being still in the hands of the Scots, which is by one authority said to have surrendered for scarcity of provisions,* their dominions were now wholly restored as they stood before the late assumptions of the English King; the independence of the country was fully achieved, and Robert became the virtual as well as the legitimate sovereign of Scotland.†

The country was divided into twenty-five shires, not including Argyle, the Isle of Bute, and the Western Isles, which were then in a state of half-independence, under the jurisdiction of the powerful chief of Lorn; and with the exception of Auchterarder, then a distinct shire; Roxburgh or Teviotdale, which belonged to Selkirk and Berwickshire; Renfrew and the forest of Paisly, which were attached to Lanark; and Ross, Caithness, and Sutherland, which appear to have been included in the shire, or sheriffdom of Inverness and Cromarty, the boundaries of their ancient jurisdictions remained the same as at present, and were governed by the courts of the

* *Chronic. de Lanercost*, "Sed tandem illi se præ defectu victualium reddiderunt." Yet it appears in this same or preceding year, that Edward drew up an indenture between himself and the burgesses of Berwick, and provided for the safety of the town.—*Calen. Rot. Pat.*, 10 Edw. II., m. 4, p. 81.

† *Barbour*, p. 355.

sheriff.* When Edward I. assumed, unjustly, the jurisdiction over Scotland, at the time that the two factions of Bruce and Baliol appointed him as arbitrator to decide who was the legitimate sovereign, Scotland was divided into four circuits, or provinces, the Loeneys or Lowdens, Galloway, the district south of the Grampians to the Firths of Forth and Clyde, and that which lies to the north of these mountains; for the equitable execution of the laws and the better administration of justice. To these four circuits eight justiciaries were appointed, who held courts at stated periods, for disposing of those criminals who had become the victims of the laws of their country, and who, for the good of society, were awarded the punishment which the legislators had affixed to their crimes.†

By means of these salutary institutions, the equitable administration of justice was secured, the poor were protected from the rich, the salutary effects of civil union were perceived, and all the affections and sympathies of our nature were allowed their natural and free course. The exercise of supreme power, which was claimed anciently by every independent chief, gave vent to the most cruel and

* Ryley, p. 504. Prynné, vol. iii. pp. 657—663.

† Richard, Ciren.

tyrannical disposition, while the execution of the laws and of natural justice was converted into acts of private revenge, to gratify a blood-thirsty chieftain, whose interest and acts were opposed to the public good.

The arts and sciences were not altogether neglected during this age of chivalry and war-like exploits. Architecture, in particular, was in a most flourishing condition; all the ornamental arts of sculpture had rather been on the increase of late, on account of the intimate connection which subsisted by means of ecclesiastics, and were kept up between this country and Italy, the ancient seat of civilization and literature. The chaste and beautiful cathedral church of St. Andrews, which, after the lapse of many ages, still displays the classical taste of its undertakers, was built at this period, and solemnly consecrated, in presence of the King of the Scots, seven bishops, fifteen abbots, and a great assembly of the nobility and barons of the nation.*

While the King was alarmed at the success of the Scots, a certain ignoble and unknown person, John de Poudersham, placed himself in a manor of the King, then possessed by the brother Carmelites, and maintained that he was the true heir of the kingdom of England. Edward sent for the usurper to Northampton,

* Wynton, vol. xiii. p. 21.

and in derision addressed him as his brother ; but he said, "Thou art not my brother, but holdest the kingdom without right ; thou hast not the blood of the illustrious Edward in thee ; and I am prepared to prove it against thee, or against any one whom thou mayest appoint."

He was immediately tried and convicted of being guilty of lese majesty before the seneschal of the King, to be first drawn at the feet of wild horses, then hanged on a gibbet, and afterwards burnt. When the horses were brought for the purpose of putting in execution the first part of the sentence, he craved and obtained an audience of the King, and confessed, before being brought out to execution, that he was an impostor, and was deceived by a spirit, who appeared to him in a dream ! *

Edward, when he heard of the capture of the town of Berwick, appointed commissioners on his part to enforce the provisions of the papal truce, which he was determined to observe, while the pope, the more to intimidate and distress the Scottish nation, issued a new bull of excommunication against Robert Bruce; for the infraction of the truce, the siege of Berwick, and the bad treatment of Father Newton, the messenger of the holy see. †

* *Chronic. de Lanercost*, p. 236, fol. 217.

† *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 707—711.

The cardinals, who were still in England, charged all the English prelates that they should excommunicate from their pulpits Robert de Bruce, and all his counsellors and adherents, three separate times, and, on the part of the pope, deprive him of all honour; and placed the whole of his dominions under an interdict, together with the sons of all his adherents to the second degree, depriving these of all church preferment, and punishing with the utmost severity all Scottish prelates, and other ecclesiastics, exempt and non-exempt, who should adhere to Robert. On every holy day and Sunday, the excommunications were published in England, Wales, Ireland, France, and Flanders.*

But the Scots resisted the papal anathema, refused to pronounce the sentence of excommunication, and paid no attention to the popish interdict.† Enraged at the obstinacy of the Scottish prelates, attempts were also made by the English King to get Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, removed, who had so ably supported the patriots; but the pope refused all interference without a regular process.

The wapentachs of York were then in motion, a levy of troops took place against

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 709. 713.

† *Chronic. de Lanercost*, p. 238.

the Scots who had subdued the northern parts of England, and taken possession of their towns and villages. This muster included all who were able to bear arms between the ages of twenty and sixty years, who were required to serve forty days at the expense of the citizens;* but was particularly confined to the northern parts of the kingdom, and the wapentachs of York. A fleet was also chartered to protect the coasts from the Scottish descents, and William Letur appointed admiral of the fleet,† and Antony de Lucy, lieutenant or governor of Cumberland and Westmore-

land;‡ and ambassadors were sent to the court of Flanders, the commander of Brabant, and other Belgian states, to interdict all commerce and communication between these communities and his enemies in Scotland. In addition to these, John de Athy was appointed admiral and captain of the fleet which was sent against the Scots.§ Edward, unable to oppose the warlike inhabitants of the north, summoned a parliament to meet at Lincoln, afterwards at York, but the terror of the Scottish invaders prevented its meeting, and it was assembled at London, for furnishing an

* Walsingham, p. 111.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, 11 and 12 Edw. II. m. 13. August 12, 1318.

‡ Rotuli, 12 Edw. II., m. 10. Dec. 10.

§ Calend. Rotul. Patent. p. 83.

army for the defence of the country ; but such was the unpopularity of this conceited monarch, and the mutual distrust which subsisted among the troops, that they were disbanded without taking the field.*

Although the Scottish King had emancipated his country from the dominion of England, and trampled her shackles in the dust, there were some who hesitated to return to their allegiance, and among these Donald, Earl of Mar, who received a passport from England, and the abbots or superiors of Melrose, who appear frequently to have been employed as mediators between the two powers.† The Scottish King, not less active in providing for the safety of his frontiers, and sensible of what importance Berwick was as a rallying point, armed the garrison which he left in that town in the most complete manner ; added to their number a considerable body of archers, lancers, battle-axe men, and awblasters,—appointed a skilful engineer, who prepared engines of all sorts, cranes for projecting heavy bodies, missiles, and spingalds, a sort of cross-bow, capable of discharging, with great violence and effect, large darts winged with brass instead of feathers.‡

* Fœder. vol. iii. p. 713. Walsingham, iii. Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 272.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, 11 and 13 Edw. II. July 20.

‡ Barbour, vol. xvii. pp. 236—249.

Robert, disregarding the anathemas of the holy see at Rome, still prosecuted the war with England; nor will it be uninteresting, or deemed below the notice of history, amidst the national conflicts which then took place, and the contemptible state to which England was then reduced, to notice the chivalrous exploits of single knights. The castle of Norham, which had been twice relieved and victualled by the Lords Percy and Neville, had been nearly seized by a body of Scots, under Sir Adam O'Gordon, whose followers were almost all cut to pieces, by a reinforcement of English.

While the governor of Berwick made another sally against the garrison, a splendid helmet, with a golden crest, was sent to Sir William Marmion, from a lady, ordering him, if he would win her love, to repair to the scene of greatest danger in England, and there prove his helmet and his bravery. The valorous knight making choice of Norham as the field of contest, joined Gray, the governor, who charged him to ride valiantly against his foes; and "I shall forsake God," said he, "if I rescue not thy body, dead or alive." Marmion, true to his lady-love, instantly couching his lance, rode furiously into the ranks of the Scots, where he occasioned great havoc; but, being at length unhorsed, he fell into the

hands of the enemy, while Thomas Gray, charging with his troops, they pursued the Scots to the nunnery of Berwick, who sustained little loss save that of a few horse, and rescued Marmion, who joined in the pursuit.*

Edward Bruce, the Irish king, was not idle during the active operations which were being carried on in the border. The English monarch, unable, from the discontents of the nation, to raise any effectual force for carrying on the Scottish and Irish war, again had recourse to the Pope of Rome, who thundered the sentence of excommunication from the papal chair, against Robert and Edward Bruce, and the Irish clergy, who had preached with so much zeal against the English monarch, and in favour of the revolutionary principles. The Minorite Friars had expected to hear the papal thunders and anathemas; but upon the promulgation of this sentence, they despatched a messenger to Rome, who painted, in glowing colours, the miseries which their country had suffered under Edward II.,—the intolerable state of slavery to which he had reduced them,—the conditions upon which Pope Adrian had permitted Henry at first to enter Ireland,—the maladministration of the Lord Lieutenant, who shewed so little compassion or hope of

* Scala Chronic. ap Irel. vol. ii. p. 548.

redress for their grievances, that they had called in a foreign power, to whom they yielded up the administration of government, and placed implicit confidence. Such was the effect which this representation produced upon the Bishop of Rome, that he transmitted these complaints to the English king, assuring him that the redress of their grievances was the most effectual way of getting rid of the Scottish prince, and securing the affection and allegiance of his Irish subjects.* Roger de Mortuomari de Wigmore was at this time appointed keeper or governor of the country of Ireland.†

Edward Bruce, whose army had suffered greatly from the famine, and was more reduced in numbers than in spirits, hesitated

Oct. 5. not to meet Lord John Birmingham, who was appointed to the command of the Anglo-Irish army, which directed an attack against him in Ulster, although he had some reasons to expect succour from the King of Scotland. The two armies, whose numbers are variously related,—the Irish army, said by some to have consisted of nearly forty thousand men, the Scots amounting only to two or three thousand, together with about twenty thousand native Irish, who took no share in

* Rymer, t. iii. p. 619.

† Calend. Rotul. Patent. 10 Ed. II., m. 8. p. 81.

the engagement, approached each other near Dundalk; the one side anxious to wipe off their disgrace, and the other impatient to engage with an enemy whom they had often vanquished.* Sir Philip Mowbray, Sir Walter Soulis, Sir Allan Stewart, three of the principal Scottish leaders, were sent to observe the strength, dispositions, and motions of the English army, who, sensible of the great odds against which they had to contend, wisely advised Edward to retreat, till some more favourable opportunity, or, at least, retire to some strong hold, more especially as the King of the Scots was expected soon, with a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men. But the wayward Edward, who feared no obstacles, and was superior to all fear, refused to listen to their sage advice, although Oct. 13. the Irish chieftains offered to impede the march of the English army, until his small troop was beyond danger.† Gilbert Harper, who had distinguished himself valiantly at Carrickfergus, was clad in the coat armorial of the king, who appeared in simple dress and armour;‡ and the twenty thousand native Irish drew themselves up in the neighbourhood of the two

* Barbour, vol. xviii. pp. 17, 93, 12.

† Barb. vol. xviii. pp. 17, 92, 12, 77, 81.

‡ Barb. lib. Idem. pp. 94, 98.

armies without any intention of fighting, to witness the engagement. The Archbishop of Armagh, proceeding through the ranks of the Anglo-Irish army, exhorted them to fight bravely in defence of their country, and for their encouragement gave each soldier absolute;* upon which they rushed irresistibly upon the vanguard of the Scottish army, led on by Edward, through whose ranks they broke with great fury, and in the first charge the Scottish chieftain was slain by Sir John Maupas, a brave English knight, who was afterwards found stretched upon his dead body,† as they had died by mutual wounds.

The Scots fought bravely to the last, and were at length, with few exceptions, cut to pieces.‡ Sir Philip Mowbray, stunned with a heavy blow, was carried away prisoner, in the direction of the village of Fagher; but recovering himself a little, he drew his sword, killed his guards, and cut his way back again a considerable distance in the direction of the Scots army, along the causeway, which was crowded with armed men, until he learned their fatal

* Barb. *ibid.* Annal. Hibern. In the Chronicles of Lanercost, it is said that an auxiliary force from Scotland had joined them before the battle: *et magno exercitu Scottorum, qui de novo venerant in Hibernian in auxilium ejus ad invadendum, &c.*

† Barbour, B. xviii. p. 224.

‡ Barbour, B. xviii. viii. p. 224.

defeat, on which he turned aside, threw himself under the protection of the Irish natives, and soon afterwards died.* Sir Hugh and Sir Walter Lacy made their escape with great difficulty. Lord Soulis and Sir John Stewart were slain. The head of Gilbert Harper, who had assumed the armour of Edward Bruce, and was mistaken for that brave man, was carried to London by the commander, Birmingham, of the Anglo-Irish army, and triumphantly exhibited to the king, who gave him large grants of money and land, with the title of Earl of Louth,† as a reward for his service, while his body was quartered and exposed to the public view, in four different parts of Ireland;‡ and the body of Edward shared the same fate.§

The few|| Scottish troops remaining, who escaped the fatal day, retreated to Carrickfergus, and being joined by some reinforcements, which were sent to their assistance from Scotland, they embarked aboard such vessels as had not yet fallen into the hands of the enemy, and under the management of Thom-

* Fordun., lib. 12, c. 25, p. 258.

† Rymer, Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 767.

‡ Annal. Hibern. apud Camd.

§ Chron. de Lanercost, p. 238.

|| Vid. Wals. 111, who states the loss at twenty-nine knights and barons, and upwards of five thousand in all.

son, the leader of the Carrickmen, sailed for their native country.*

Edward Bruce, who had been crowned King of Ireland, was one of the bravest knights of which that chivalrous and romantic age could boast.† He was courteous, affable, and generous, to a high degree, and not considered inferior, in personal valour and courage, to his brother, the King of the Scots. In romantic chivalry, daring, determined and rash exploits, he surpassed him ; but he wanted that steadiness of enterprise, that coolness and forbearance, that caution and prudence, which form some of the most essential points in the character of a general, and are so necessary for the success of any great undertaking. By his precipitate and ill-judged conduct, and inconsiderate bravery, he cut off all prospect of wresting the beautiful island of Ireland from the dominion of its English conqueror, and sacrificed to a romantic and chivalrous point of honour, his own person, and the lives of many of his brave countrymen.

Such was the issue of the Scottish invasion of Ireland ; an enterprise which, though somewhat rashly undertaken, was prosecuted with the most determined resolution, during the space of almost three years, which threatened at first

* Barbour, B. xviii.

† Barbour, B. xviii. pp. 147. 157.

to overturn and annihilate the Irish government ; and had its prime mover, Edward Bruce, who always displayed the most heroic and chivalrous bravery, and entered upon some of the wildest schemes of ambition, acted with a little more caution and moderation, it is far from being doubtful, whether it might not have proved successful in the end. Edward Bruce had no children by Isabella, sister of David de Strathbolgie, Earl of Athole, his wife, but left a natural son, Robert, whom the king, his uncle, in gratitude for the noble services of his father, created Earl of Carrick.

CHAPTER VII.

UPON the death of Edward, a parliament was summoned, and it was enacted in a meeting of the estates, held at Scone, that upon the demise of King Robert, without male issue, Robert Stewart, the son of the Princess Marjory, should succeed to the crown ; and if this happened during his minority, Randolph of Strathdon, Earl of Moray ; and failing this nobleman, James, Lord Douglas, was appointed curator or guardian, until it should appear to the majority of the estates or people that the heir was of sufficient age or abilities to administer the government in person ;* that the succession to the crown should not be regulated according to the practice in cases of inferior fiefs or inheritances ; that the nearest male heir to the king in the direct line of descent should succeed to the crown, and after him the nearest female in the same branch ; and failing both, in the collateral line, paying

* Fordun. Scoti. Chronic. xiii. 13.

all due respect to the right of blood, by which the last king reigned.*

Douglas and Randolph were then called upon to accept, and laying their hands upon the holy gospels and relics of the saints, swore in the most solemn manner, that they would prove faithful to their king and country. The bishops, abbots, and clergy, the nobles, barons, and magnates of the land, took a similar oath, binding themselves to see the legal heirs and successors of the illustrious Bruce placed upon the throne according to the mode of succession agreed on in this parliament, and affixed their seals to the instruments.† The whole clergy and laity then renewed their engagements of obedience to the king, promised to serve him faithfully, to maintain to the utmost of their power the rights and liberties of the kingdom, and engaged that no foreign enemy of whatever power or pretensions, should ever be allowed to enslave the nation, so long as they were able to wield their swords; and that any one who should endeavour to violate this ordinance or enactment, should be declared guilty of treason.

As the state of the country had as yet been very unsettled, since the issue of the civil wars, with which it had been so long dis-

* Fordun, l. xiii. c. 13. † Fordun, vol. i. p. 291.

tracted; many salutary laws, regarding church and state, were at the same time enacted. The liberty of the church, with free scope for ecclesiastical courts, was established and confirmed; the persons and property of the clergy were protected, and every person guilty of robbery, or theft, or murder, while he was engaged in the service of the king, was assigned over to the justiciary for judgment, and dealt with in terms of the offence, according to the penal law.*

As Robert the Bruce had asserted his right to the throne by force of arms, several laws were enacted, regarding the military state of the country, in which the Scots made a nearer approximation to the ancient Roman laws, than they had yet done in their legislation and partial enactments. Every person was required to array himself in readiness for war, to furnish himself with armour of every kind, and subsist at his own charges; to proceed to the army in quietness, carrying along with him baggage carts and provisions, for the expedition; and on no account to assist the enemy or English, with provisions or arms of any kind, on forfeiture of property and pain of death. A tenant possessed of ten pounds worth of moveable property,—equal, probably, to

* *Regiam Majestatem*, Stat. Robert I.

a hundred and fifty pounds sterling,—was bound to furnish himself with an acton and basnet; that is, a leathern jacket and steel helmet, a sword and spear, with gloves of plate. Others were required to furnish themselves with back and breast-plate of iron, a knapiskay, which is an iron head-piece, and gloves of plate, and the inferior ranks, possessing only the value of a single cow, were required at least to arm themselves with a bow and spear, a sheaf of twenty-four arrows,* and he who refused to obey this injunction, forfeited his moveable estate, the one half of which was claimed by the king, and the other by the overlord. From those who refused the necessaries of life to the troops when they offered payment, which they were enjoined to do, the troops were, at the sight of the magistrates or bailies of the district, empowered to take what was withheld.† Those who lived near the rendezvous of the army were ordered to bring along with them carriages and provisions, while those from remote parts were to provide money; but on no account were the inhabitants of the country through which they passed, to be op-

* Regiam Majestatem Stat. Rob. I. c. 12., c. 27, v. 45. 35. Chart. Aberbrothoc, p. 283. Mac Farlane Trans.

† Ibid.

pressed by violent and unjust exactions of these feudal conscriptions.

The Scottish parliament was jealous of the exportation of money beyond the bounds of the kingdom, and lest ecclesiastics should be guilty of this, they were prohibited from transmitting money abroad.* As the current coin of the country was distracted in several ways, and never returned again, either in shape or commodities, or in any other manner, it was made a capital crime for ecclesiastics to remit money to the papal court, which had shewn such hostility to the Scottish kingdom, for the purpose of purchasing bulls; and the absentees of England, who held fiefs in Scotland, were prevented from drawing money out of the kingdom, to carry it into their own country.†

He who was guilty of theft bute, the ransom or composition of a fief, that is, who was convicted of paying it, as well as he who received the composition,—with the exception of some powerful noblemen, who were by charter permitted to compound with thieves, was to be held as one convicted of this crime;‡ while the person who invented or propagated rumours calculated to break the peace, or occasion dis-

* Fordun, B. xiv. c. 13. Regiam Majest. Stat. Rob. I. c. 12.

† Stat. Rob. I. in MS., c. 6, vel Skene, Reg. Maj. c. 35.

‡ Stat. Rob. I. c. 9, § 4.

cord between the king and his subjects, was liable, under the name of leasing making, to be thrown into prison during the king's pleasure.*

This indefinable statute, under which the most tyrannical punishments were afterwards inflicted, was found to be dangerous to the liberty of the subject, until trial by jury commenced, that bulwark of Scottish liberty which had a right, not only to give in a verdict upon the fact charged, but also to pronounce upon the truth of the application of the law.

The sentence of excommunication which had lately been fulminated against Robert I. and all his adherents, although it fell powerless for want of the concurrence of the clergy, was nevertheless offensive to the king; and messengers had been sent to obtain a reversal of it; but through the interference of the Bishop of Hereford and Hugh de Espencer, the negotiation failed, and the Scots at Avignon were thrown into prison,† because, being under excommunication, they received letters from Scotland, which were intercepted and sent to the Pope.‡

The permission of the pope was, however,

* Stat. Rob. I. c. 21, vid. Stat. Westmin. c. 34, 3rd. Edward I. 1275, from which this statute was probably borrowed.

† Rotuli Scotiae, 11—13. Ed. II. Fœdera, 761.

‡ Rymer, Fœdera, vol. iii. pp. 752, 761, 762.

granted to Edward, to treat secretly with certain of the excommunicated Scots, who inclined to desert their king and country.* Successful with the papal court against the Scots, he sought to ruin the trade of this country with Flanders, which frequently supplied it with arms, provisions, and military stores, in exchange for the produce which was raised at home, by an application to the Count of Flanders. This potentate replied, "that his country was common to all men of every region; and although it was not his wish to foment or encourage the Scottish nation in error, by permitting the Scots to enter his ports, and his own subjects to trade with Scotland, he could not interfere with the free exercise of merchandise, on which the prosperity and exercise of his own subjects so necessarily depended."† But the Duke of Brabant and the city of Mechlin listened to the representation of the English, and refused to admit into their harbours the ships of the Scots, or carry on any kind of trade with them.‡

After some ineffectual attempts to conclude a peace with the Scottish nation, on condition of acknowledging the superiority of the English crown, which was rejected with disdain

* *Fœdera*, iii. 758. 764. † *Fœdera Anglia*, iii. 770.

‡ *Fœdera Anglia*, *ibid.* 766.

by the magnanimous Robert; the military vassals of England were summoned to meet at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Edward had for some years been issuing writ after writ, for raising troops against the Scots; the whole military array of the kingdom was nearly all put in requisition at this time, as a reconciliation had taken place between the Earl of Lancaster and Edward;* and many a brave baron and gallant knight waved their banners on the banks of the beautiful Tweed.† In addition to a very numerous army, a naval armament of considerable strength was prepared to transport provisions, convey artillery, machines, and other implements necessary for a siege, as well as to guard the mouth of the Tweed, and prevent the Scots from conveying, by sea, the necessary supplies and assistance to the garrison.‡

The English monarch secured his camp by strong lines of circumvallation, fortified it in every possible manner by high walls and deep trenches, lest the peerless sons of the mountains should break in upon him and breed confusion in the camp. On the morning of St. Mary's Eve, the fleet sailed down the river, and

June 4.

July 24.

Sep. 7.

* Chronicon de Lanercost.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, 12, 13 Edw. II. Barbour, p. 343.

‡ Monach. Malmesb., pp. 192—195.

of all kinds were voted for its expense.* A simultaneous effort was now directed against the town by the army on the land side, and the fleet on the river, provided with moveable scaffolds as high as the wall, and every necessary for the siege; and a powerful engine or sow was brought to bear against it, which was framed of large timbers, covered with a strong roof, which, being moved upon wheels, was calculated for the purpose, principally of conducting miners to the foot of the wall, and armed soldiers to the assault.† The most destructive and dangerous machines were the vessels which were surmounted with a boat or top-castle of equal height with the wall, where the armed men and archers discharged their offensive weapons against the besieged, to each of which was attached a falling bridge, for the purpose of enabling them to pass over, and storm the town.‡

The garrison used their utmost endeavours to defend the city, and the ingenuity of scientific men, as well as force of arms, were at work in providing for its safety and protection. The cran, a powerful projectile engine of vast elastic force, somewhat similar to the catapult of the Romans, by which stones, missiles, and shots,

* *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 786, 787.

† *Barbour*, B. xvii. pp. 597. 602.

‡ *Barbour*, B. xvii. pp. 711. 718.

were projected in various directions ; seems to have been the invention of Crab, a Flemish engineer, who was retained in the service, which, together with the strong iron chains and hooks, for grappling and retaining the sow, was of great service in defending the town. Although the English, upon the first attack, had made a great impression, and had nearly mounted the walls, upon which many in the town began to take refuge in the castle, the Scots still bravely defended the walls, fortifying them still more and more.* They exercised the utmost vigilance and activity during this siege ; the very women and boys in the town took part in the military exercises, and supplied the soldiers with stones for the engines, and bundles of arrows or darts for the springalls. Under the able guidance and example of the Stewart, they drove back the enemy on the land side ; and the ship having struck upon a bank, by the receding of the tide, and being destroyed, the party who had fired the ship retreated to the town, and a strong reinforcement marching up the beach, made for the burning vessels ; but before they had reached the wall, this handful of brave men had retreated within its line, and the gates were lowered. It was at the time of the even-

* Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 239. August 15.

ing song, when they were weary with their vain efforts, and many of them had been wounded, that they sounded a retreat, and both ships and assailants retired.

Sep. 13. Having failed in this first attack, and sustained some loss, the English projected another general assault of the city, which they commenced by filling up the ditches, and applying the scaling ladders; but although the besiegers made the greatest efforts to take it by storm, advancing simultaneously to the charge, at the sound of the horn and trumpet, such was the bravery and gallantry with which they were received,—every commander standing firm to the post assigned him,—and the governor going the rounds in person, and supplying every vacancy with the reserve, that they could make no impression upon the besiegers or the citadel, but suffered much from the *espringgald*, a small *balista*;* which being stationed on the walls, discharged showers of heavy darts, winged with copper. The siege had now continued incessantly for some time; the greatest bravery was displayed by the Scots, who, while the enemy invested the whole town round about, applied their ladders to the wall, which was so low that, at a spear's length, they might attack the besieged;

* Barbour, vol. xvii. p. 659.

the Scots tumbled them down, and fearlessly defended their walls. They had laid in great store of pitch and tar, and flax and brimstone, and dried trees, with which they formed fagots, clasped with iron bands, which were discharged from the cran, or in case of necessity lowered from the wall upon the sow, and its moveable scaffolds, covered with hides, and moving castles which were filled with men.*

As soon as the enemy had failed in taking the town by escalade, the great sow was brought up to the wall by order of the king, for the purpose of commencing the mining operations.* While the garrison was already wearied with the repeated and steady assaults of the English, the women and boys assisting them by collecting the arrows of the enemy; Crab, the engineer, who appears to have been a prisoner, taken during the war, whose scientific knowledge does honour to the age; charged the catapult, moving upon wheels, with a great stone, by drawing the cloket, which overreached the mark; immediately, again, they bent the gyn on high, and launching a second one, it fell short of the distance; and when the sow had nearly approached the foot of the wall, beyond danger, straining the ma-

* *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 239.

† *Barbour*, vol. xvii. p. 659.

chine to its utmost pitch, and directing it nearly in a perpendicular line, an immense mass of stones winged its flight with a booming noise, which fell with such velocity on the top of the machine, as to break and shatter it to pieces; and the soldiers and miners issuing from their place of concealment, the Scots humorously shouted, "That the English sow had farrowed her pigs."*

The sow being laid hold of at the same time, by means of the grappling hooks, was soon reduced to ashes; † while the squadron in the river approaching the wall, a considerable number of the crew in one of the ships were killed by another stone from the cran, which was charged with such effect, as to fall on the "aspyne" of the vessel, and so discouraged the sailors, that the assailants lost heart, wavered in their attack, and the fleet retired. ‡ The enemy still continued to storm the town with great vigour, but were repulsed by the bravery of the besieged, and the sagacity of their leader; and having destroyed the drawbridge at St. Mary's gate, were about to burn down the gate, when the lord stewart, who, with a reserve of one hundred men, had been running from post to post, filling up

* Barbour, p. 354.

† Barbour, vol. xvii. p. 659, &c.

‡ Barb. vol. xvii. pp. 711. 722.

vacancies, and cheering his troops to stand firm, had disposed of all but one man; but hearing of the emergency, he called a body of men from the castle, and placing himself at their head, he issued forth upon them with much spirit, and driving them back with great slaughter, extinguished the flames, and secured the gate, upon which, under cover of the night, they retired.*

This distinguished engineer, Sir John Crab, received by charter from his sovereign, in the county of Aberdeen, the lands of Puddleplace, where the Cockstool stood, as a reward of his services,† together with the lands of Prescoly, Granden, Anchmolen, and Anchterzony, in the same county.‡

The Scottish king had no wish to hazard the fate of his kingdom, by trying another pitched battle with Edward; but knowing that the whole feudal array of England was at this time concentrated around Berwick, he wished to try the effect of a diversion, and secure a prize which would have enabled him to raise the siege and dictate the terms of a lasting peace. He had learned, from the Earl of Lancaster, and other disaffected nobles,

* Barbour, B. xvii. pp. 763. 790.

† Chart. Robert I. 20. Vice comitatus de Aberdeen Index, p. 16.

‡ Chart. Robert I. 32. (Index, p. 17.)

that the Queen of England was at York : and made a powerful diversion in England, which he entrusted to the direction of Randolph and Lord Douglas, at the head of fifteen thousand men, who intended to carry off the English queen, and then dictate the terms of peace to Edward.* King Robert was no less skilful in diplomacy than the art of war ; and knowing the disaffection which subsisted between England's king and barons, entered into correspondence with the Earl of Lancaster, and those about the queen, who are accused by one English historian of the period, of engaging to sell the queen, and deliver her into the hands of her enemies, for the sum of forty thousand pounds.† But Lancaster complained to the king of these reports, and endeavoured to prove his innocence by a sham combat of champions.‡

The Scottish army, under Randolph and Douglas, had burnt and laid waste the country, and collected many captives and much spoil, and had proceeded as far as Burgbrigge.§ In consequence of this, the king of England, who had been issuing writs for raising troops

* Walsingham, p. 112.

† W. Malmsh. Walsingham, pp. 111, 112.

‡ "Admissa est purgatio comitis cum quadam manu parium." W. Malmsh. p. 201.

§ Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 239.

for some time, and who had assembled the whole military forces of the kingdom, had now ordered a new levy to be made on the church-lands, in the county of York, his only resource. Of all capable of bearing arms—monks, priests, clerks, and friars, as well as lay feudatories, between the age of twenty to sixty—to the command of which the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Ely, were appointed.* By this muster, upwards of twenty thousand were raised under the direction of commissioners, charged with its execution; and the description and quality of the arms were even specified.

In order to provide for the safety of the other part of the kingdom, and repel the Scots, who made a strong diversion throughout its northern counties, John de Cromwell, and Robert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, were appointed Lieutenants of Northumbria and the adjacent districts.† When they approached this newly-raised army, they divided their forces into two parts; the van was led by the Lord Douglas, and the rearward by Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, who was chieftain of the host. But the English army, which consisted of the

* Rotuli Scotiæ, 13 Edw. II. m. 2.

† Rotuli Scotiæ, 13 Edw. II. p. 2708.

train-bands of the Mayor of York, and the shaven monks, who could ill bear the weight of the steel basnet, had scarcely approached the army, near the village of Mittown, twelve miles south of York, on the Swale, when the Scots appeared, in one undivided schel-trun; and when they raised their tumultuous war-cry, the English,* through fear, began to fall back, fled in terror, and passed the bridge on the river Swale.

In the meantime, the Scots set fire to some stacks of hay, and under cover of the smoke, and the night, which was gloomy, threw themselves between the English and the bridge.† Douglas, who had a great mixture of chivalrous adventure in his nature, charged them in the rear with the utmost rapidity, broke through their disordered ranks, and, as might have been expected, soon put to flight the train-bands of the mayor; and the vassals of Melton, the Archbishop of York, who had been but too desirous to emulate the glory of his predecessor under the sacred banner. Before the night put a stop to the slaughter, four thousand had been slain. The river was

* "Omnes unanimiter ad terrorem Anglicorum clamorem fortissimum ediderunt, quo audito, Anglici statim fugere incepterunt." *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 239.

† *Harding's Chronicle*, pp. 172, 173.

covered with the dead bodies of those who had endeavoured to escape, among which were many priests in their surplices, worn above their armour, and three hundred ecclesiastics of all kinds.*

The queen learned from a prisoner who had been taken, who conveyed the intelligence to York—that the Scots were approaching; upon which, with all speed, she took to flight, made her escape,† and when Douglas and Randolph appeared before York, they found that she had gone. The Chapter of Mitton, as this battle was called, in honour of those ecclesiastics who sacrificed their lives in defence of their country, had the desired effect of raising the siege of Berwick; for one party, which consisted of the southern barons of England, together with the king, was anxious to continue the siege with a part of the army; while the northern barons, who were alarmed at the defeat, headed by the powerful chief of Lancaster, deserted the siege, drew off their forces, amounting to about a third of the army; to defend the six northern counties; which, alarmed at the ferocity of the Scots, had

* Barbour, B. xvii. pp. 575, 581. 583. Walsingham, p. 112, and J. de Thorkelowe, p. 45, say that three thousand English were slain.

† Walsingham, pp. 111, 112.

almost laid aside the dominion of Edward, without the concurrence of the rest of the generals, or the permission of their sovereign.* The king, who was greatly mortified at the defection of Lancaster and his adherents, which, as was believed, was occasioned by his highness having intimated that he would appoint Hugh d'Espenser keeper of the castle, and Roger de Tammori, captain of the town, observed, that when these troublesome affairs were over, he would proceed with due severity, for he had not yet forgotten the hard fate of his brother, Peter Gaveston.†

By the defeat sustained by the English, and the desertion of so large a portion of his army, the king was now unwillingly obliged to retreat from Berwick; and the Scottish troops, who had already learned this movement, with great prudence eluded the English army, which was divided into two divisions,—the more easily to intercept them,—retiring by the western marches, through Staynmore and Gillesland, covered with glory and spoil; while Sir James Douglas, with fearless intrepidity, taking a different route, passed through the middle of the division of Lancaster, their

* W. Malmesbury, p. 201.

† W. Malmesbury, p. 201.

secret ally, as was alleged.* The English king, however willing to intercept his adversaries, had to deal with wary generals, who were surrounded with Scots, ever ready to inform them of the movements of the English. Yet Lancaster had an opportunity of attacking Douglas, who had a mere handful of troops compared to his forces.

The Scots, on this route, who were intimately acquainted with all the intricacies of the border passes, were only to be traced by the smoke of hamlets and villages; and of their devastations in this way, we may form some conception, when we are informed, that the two Scottish chiefs herried and burnt no less than eighty-four towns and villages,† besides private castles and hamlets; and in consequence of this severe visitation, the West Riding of Yorkshire and these towns were exempted from all contribution by royal letter.‡ Thus the youthful high steward of Scotland, whose consummate bravery and martial skill were worthy of a more experienced commander, and of a long line of illustrious kings, endeared himself by his conduct more and more to the Scots, and particularly to

* Barbour, B. xvii. pp. 886. 892. LeL. Col. vol. ii. p. 550. Malmesbury, p. 194.

† Fœdera, vol. iii. pp. 801, 802.

‡ Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 802.

their king, and preserved Berwick, a rich and important town, the key of the Caledonian kingdom, to his sovereign.

The Scottish king now endeavoured to secure the fidelity of his friends, by grants of land and other gifts, while the properties and possessions of those on whom he could not depend, were forfeited. Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, received the lands of Strathoune, by the forfeiture of the Earl of Athole, the Earl of Fife being at that time opposed to the king; Sir John Brown possessed Formartine, which was a Thanedom; Alexander Burnet received, at the same time, a bounding enfeoffment of the forest of Drum, and Alexander Irvine a part of the park of Drum, in Kincardine.*

Robert, who was not ignorant of the disaffection of the Earl of Lancaster, fomented the unhappy divisions, which distracted the councils of the English, encouraging Lancaster to prosecute his claims; and as a reward of the services which he thus performed to Scotland, and a bribe to conciliate his farther good offices, he presented him with forty thousand pounds sterling.† These open acts of disobedience against the laws of the

* Index, p. 17.

† Malmesbury, p. 201.

country, and the English king—which could not escape the observation of the most un-discerning—for which Lancaster was impeached—and in order to clear his honour and reputation—had agreed to defer the decision to single combat;* together with the late defeat which he had experienced, induced him seriously to think of peace, and suspend his designs against Scotland. Oct. 24.

The Scots were not, however, of the same mind with Edward; the injuries which they had received from him, prompted them to retaliate, and their success in the last expedition emboldened them to make another invasion of England, under their renowned leaders, Randolph and Douglas. They burnt Gillesland, together with its produce; they carried away a great many men and cattle; and proceeding to Burgh, below Staynmore, returned through Westmoreland, and after pillaging and destroying part of Cumberland, they again returned into Scotland, with a very great booty.† Nov.

The English, since this struggle began, had been gradually restrained in their ambitious pretensions, utterly defeated, and the nume-

* “Admissa est purgatio comitis cum quadam manu parium.” W. Malmesbury, p. 201.

† Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 240. Nov. 1319.

rous reverses which they had met with, during a long-continued war with Scotland, made Edward more disposed to seek with his powerful adversary not merely a truce, but a lasting peace. The English were now sufficiently humbled by a series of lamentable defeats, and the noble Bruce, who was equally distinguished for his bravery and moderation, was not too much elevated to listen to terms of peace; and as the Scots were enriched with spoil, both countries were ripe for a secession of hostilities. The object of the Scots, when they crossed the border, had been to seize the Queen, and with such a pledge in their hand, to dictate the terms of peace;* but this they were now enabled to do, in consequence of the victory at Milton. The overtures of peace came not from the Scots, as has been asserted;† but Edward, discouraged by his bad success, his parliament desirous of a secession of hostilities,‡ and the Scots not tired of the war, but so enriched with their plunder, that England could scarcely afford them more, without its conquest, willingly listened to the overtures

* “Certe si capta fuisset, tunc regina, credo quod pacem emisset sibi Scotia.”—M. Malmesbury, p. 192.

† By Lingard, History of England.

‡ “Igitur rex, sentiens quotidie sua damna cumulari, de communi consilio in treugas jurat biennales.”—Walsingham.

of peace and an amnesty, which were made by England.

Edward, indeed, in his correspondence with the papal court, avers that Robert made proposals for a truce; but the evidence is not conclusive, nor had the King of England learned to lay aside those high pretensions and claims which he had been accustomed to make.*

Robert did not, upon this occasion, as has been maintained,† waive his right to the title of King, but agreed upon a congress of commissioners, to be held at Newcastle, on the sixth of December, when the Bishop of Ely, the chancellor; Ad. Valence, Earl of Pembroke; Hugh d'Espenser, and Bartholomew de Badlesmere, were commissioned to negotiate either a truce or a peace. For this purpose, the Scottish King sent four ecclesiastics and five knights, with a view of concluding a final and permanent peace; and a truce was accordingly sworn to at York, on the soul of Edward, to Jan. 1320. continue from the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle to Christmas next ensuing, for the space of two years, in which he appears not to have received the title of king.‡

* Rymer, vol. iii. p. 806.

† Lingard's History of England.

‡ Rymer, vol. iii. pp. 791. 816. De treuga et sufferentia guerre inter regem ex parte una, et Robtum de

Although this truce is not published in Rymer, it appears that the castle of Harbottle, which had fallen into the hands of the Scots the preceding year, was ordered to be surrendered to Edward's commissioners, as private persons, on condition of being destroyed or restored to Robert, if a final peace should not be concluded before Michaelmas preceding the expiry of the truce. All intercourse between England and Scotland was forbidden, and the ships of the latter country, or those in which any Scotsman sailed, if not the property of England by wreck, were ordered, with their cargoes and crews, to be delivered to their proprietors in Scotland.*

A passport was given by the King of England to several Scotsmen, knights and clerks, with their valets and attendants, to treat farther about the affairs of Robert, who appears not upon this occasion to have received the title of king, or been otherwise recognised, than as the leader of the Scottish army. In the meantime, four conservators from Northumberland, William Ridel, Gilbert de Burwedon,

Bruce accomplices suos ex altera, a festo sancti Thomæ apostoli ultimo præterito usque ad festum natalis domini tunc sequent, et ab eodem festo natal: Domini per duos annos sequent' observand', &c. Apud Ebor., Jan. 24. Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium, 13 Ed. II. m. 20. Ridpath is in error, in stating that it was concluded at Newcastle.

* Rymer, p. 879.

John de Penreth, and Roger de Horsely; and two for Cumberland and Westmoreland, Andrew de Hartclaw, sheriff for Cumberland, and Anthony Lucy, were appointed to keep the truce agreeably to its conditions, to hear the complaint of damage sustained, and seize all violators of the peace.*

Robert, delighted with the success of the high steward, proceeded to Berwick, and being an acquisition of vast importance, and reflecting on the danger to which it was exposed, now that he had been successful, raised it ten feet high in every place, and then returned to Lothian.†

The two nations had scarcely ceased from hostilities in terms of the truce, when the Pope, exasperated at the conduct of Robert, laying aside his pacific character, with great imprudence, but probably at the instigation of England, ordered the Cardinals Jocelin and Lucas to reiterate the spiritual censures against Robert and the Scottish nation.‡ By this new bull, the Archbishops of York and the Bishops of Carlisle and London were ordered to fulminate the papal sentence of excommunication against him, every Sunday and Fes-

* Rymer, vol. iii. p. 817. Jan. 24, 1320.

† Barbour, p. 360.

‡ This bull is dated Nov. 14, 1319. *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 797.

tival day, by the dirge of the funeral bell, the light of the candles, book of death, and the solemn words from the holy book; and not satisfied with this unseasonable stretch of authority, he promulgated the sentence of his predecessor against Robert the Bruce, for the slaughter of Comyn.*

It is, indeed, passing strange, that the Pope should have taken this opportunity to raise his thunders against the liberator of Scotland, and the most successful warrior of his day; but in not acknowledging the authority of the Roman pontiffs, an explanation may be found of the papal proceeding.

The Scottish King had already resisted the authority of the papal see, when the popish nuncio came upon an errand of mercy and peace, and the bull of the Pope was disregarded by all the members of the Scottish church, who refused to read it, when it affected the security and rights of their beloved sovereign. But Robert the Bruce, although an enlightened patriot and victorious warrior, was not above the superstitions of the times, and could never witness the solemn proceeding without emotion, or disregard a sentence so terrible in those days, before which the most powerful kings had trembled on their thrones,

* *Fœdera Anglia*, vol. iii. pp. 797—810.

and which, if not resisted by the unanimous efforts of his church and people, would strike him down in the day of triumph! He met the terrors of interdict and excommunication, in the only way in which they could be effectually resisted, by summoning his subjects to meet in parliament. The country learned, with the greatest indignation, the proceedings of the Roman pontiffs against its king, at a time when, instead of the censures of these spiritual guides, he merited their highest praises and commendations.

The Scots, who had now time to attend to these papal threats, deter- April 6.
mined to thwart the measures of the English King, who, failing in subduing the Scottish King by arms, endeavoured to crush him by the thunders and spiritual weapons of the Pope. Assembled in parliament at Aberbrothock, they drew up in the name of the community of Scotland a manifesto, wherein they traced the ancient line of their monarch, three hundred and thirty years before the birth of Christ: from a fabulous list of kings, for many centuries, adduced without any evidence, and reiterated by one historian after another, down to modern times.*

“Be it known unto you, most holy father

* Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 277.

and lord, as we have learned from the exploits and writings of our ancestors, that among other famous kingdoms, that of Scotland has ever been distinguished for its great renown in arms. That our remote ancestors are said to have come from Scythia, through the kingdoms of Greece and Egypt, passing by the Tyrrhenian sea, the columns of Hercules, and residing in Spain for a series of ages amongst the most barbarous tribes, without being subjected to any of them. That, migrating to the western part of the world, and having expelled the Britons, and conquered the Picts, and gained many victories over the Danes, Angli, and Norwegians, in this kingdom, they can trace their history through a line (no doubt a fabulous one) of one hundred and thirty kings. That the King of kings, and the Lord Jesus Christ, called us to his most holy faith, by his Apostle Andrew, whom we always accounted our patron saint, believing ourselves to be the flock of the brother of St. Peter, under whom we enjoyed many blessings and privileges.

“ Under such free protection did we live, until Edward, King of England, and father of the present monarch, covering his hostile designs under the specious disguise of friendship and alliance, made an invasion of our country, at

the time when it was without a king, and attacked an honest and unsuspecting people, then but little experienced in war. The injuries which this prince has heaped upon us, the slaughters and devastations which he has committed, his imprisonment of prelates, his burning of monasteries, his spoliations and murders of priests, and the other enormities of which he has been guilty, can be rightly described, or even conceived by none but an eye-witness.

“ From these innumerable evils have we been freed, under the help of that God who woundeth and who maketh whole, by our most valiant prince and king, Robert, who, like another Maccabæus, or Joshua, hath cheerfully endured all labour and weariness, and exposed himself to every species of danger and privation, that he might rescue from the hands of the enemy his ancient people, and rightful inheritance. This noble person have we chosen as our prince and king, who enjoys a right of succession, not only by Divine Providence, but according to our laws and customs, which we are determined to uphold and maintain to death.

“ We fight not for glory, wealth, and honour, but for that liberty which no virtuous man will survive; and should he abandon our

cause, or aim at reducing us and our kingdom under the dominion of the English, we will instantly strive to expel him as a public enemy, and the subverter of his rights and our own. Wherefore, most reverend father, we most earnestly request your holiness, as the vicegerent of Him, who giveth equal measure unto all, and with whom there is no distinction either of person or nation, that you would behold with a fatherly eye the tribulation and distress brought upon us by the English, and that you would admonish Edward to be content with his own dominions, esteemed in former times sufficient for seven kings, and allow us Scotsmen, who dwell in a poor and remote corner of the earth, and who seek for nought but our own, to remain in peace and harmony.

“We are willing to agree to any terms of peace consistent with our liberty and independence, but sorry should we be, if, to the dishonour of the pontificate, the barbarous prowess of infidels should, from the discord of Christians, narrow the pale of the church, or tarnish her glory in any quarter of the globe; but that his holiness ought to be cautious in believing some who pretended they were hindered from the crusades by the turbulence of their enemies, whereas, the truth was, they

thought their profit surer, and their risk less, by oppressing and subduing their weaker neighbours.

“ But with what joyful hearts will we and our lord and sovereign go hither, (and we will, if the King of England would cease to disturb us), we shall prove to the Vicar of Christ, and to all who profess his religion. Should you, however, give a too credulous ear to the reports of our enemies, distrust the sincerity of our professions, and persist in favouring the English to our destruction, we hold you guilty, in the sight of the Most High, of the loss of lives, the perdition of souls, and all the other miserable consequences which may ensue from war, between the two contending nations; confident that we now are and shall ever, as in duty bound, remain obedient sons to you, as God’s vicegerent, we commit the defence of our cause to that God as the great King and Judge, placing our confidence in him, and in the firm hope that he will endow us with strength, and confound our enemies; and may the Almighty long preserve your Holiness in health.”*

This spirited letter, which was written in a

* Fordun, B. xiii. c. 38. Anderson’s *Diplomata Scotiae*, plate 51; where a fac-simile of this letter was engraved, dated April 6, 1320.

strain to which the pope was but little accustomed, to which the signature and seals of the high steward, the seneschal, the butler, the marshal and constable, of eight earls, twenty-seven barons, and freeholders, and the whole community of Scotland, were attached, was sent off with all filial respect to his holiness, with kisses, vowed to the feet of the saints.*

The cardinals entrusted with the papal denunciations, with which they thought to terrify Robert the Bruce, finding that he regarded them not, placed Scotland under an interdict; but the Scots, despising the sentence, and refusing to put it in force, the pope summoned four bishops to Rome: the Bishop of St. Andrews, William St. Clair, Bishop of Dunkeld, Henry Chene, Bishop of Aberdeen, and David Moray, Bishop of Moray, together with the King of Scotland, that he might answer to the pope for his disobedience to his spiritual father, and the ravages which he had committed upon England.

This led to the spirited letter or remonstrance, which he sent to the pope by commissioners, in the following year. Robert now
Aug. 17. despatched two special messengers,
Sir Adam de Gordon and Sir Edward

* Fordun, vol. xiii. c. 38. Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ*, plate 51.

Mambuisson, for the purpose of soliciting a relaxation of the sentence that had been pronounced against him and his subjects.

The bearers of this bold and independent remonstrance, which breathes a spirit of independence and determined resolution, worthy of a people lately ennobled by freedom, appear to have been Sir Adam de Gordon and Sir Edward de Mambuisson, two Scottish knights, who appeared as envoys of Robert, at the court of the pope,* in the middle of this summer. The pope addressed a letter to Edward, in which he designates them as special messengers, and gives an account of the letters of Robert, brought to the Roman pontiff, shewing that although he was a suppliant for the pope's favour, he was bold enough to complain of the injuries which he had received from the pope, that Edward had appointed to the see of Glasgow an Englishman, who was his mortal enemy, and complained of his severe treatment of some Scotchmen and their friends, at his court, because they had corresponded with Scotland.

The chief object and mission of these special messengers was to solicit a relaxation of the awful sentence of excommunication and interdict, which he had pronounced against

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 848, Aug. 17. .

Robert and his subjects.* Sir Edward Mambuisson and Sir Adam Gordon were graciously received at Rome; their mission had the effect of obtaining a suspension of the process and inquisition, and a delay of their publication, until the first of April next.

The noble family of Gordon is traced by authentic records to Richard de Gordon, who lived on the lands or parish of Gordon about the year 1160.† In the reign of Alexander I. Sir Alexander Gordon came to the rescue of the king, who was pursued by a band of traitors, who were admitted into his bed-room by a gentleman of his bed-chamber; and after Alexander had slain six of them, together with the chamberlain, Gordon pursued the rest, who fled, put some to death, and took others prisoners, for which he received some lands in the Merse.‡ Adam Gordon, the most distinguished of the race, contributed to the emancipation of the kingdom from English slavery, and uniting himself to the patriots, supported Sir William Wallace, in his struggle for liberty. The father of this knight, also

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 845.

† He bestowed lands on St. Mary's Church, Kelso, and St. Michael's, in the village of Gordon.] *Cartulary of Kelso, Lawyers' Library, Edinburgh, inter 1150 et 1160.*

‡ Gordon of Powys' MS.

Sir Adam Gordon, was a baron of great personal courage, and supported himself in the forest of Hampshire, by the sword, after the defeat of the rebels. Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I., attacked him in his camp, and in his ardour, leaped over the trench with a few followers, and engaged in single combat with Sir Adam Gordon, who fought with such courage and skill, that it was long doubtful which of them would prevail; but at length the prince unhorsed him, took him prisoner after he had been wounded, and giving him his life, that very night introduced him to the queen at Guildford.*

The guardian in his expedition into Galloway, reduced the castle of Wighton, and appointed Adam Gordon governor, who acquired some lands there.† He was by the regency constituted Warden of the Marches, in 1300, and enjoined to observe the truce concluded between England and Scotland;‡ and being looked upon by the King of England as an influential border chief, he was named along with the Earl of Athole, and Alexander de Abernethy, in 1311-12, as one of the plenipo-

* Matth. Paris, p. 675.

† Chart. in Archiv. famil. de Kenmure. The lands of Glenkenns.

‡ Rymer, tom. ii.

tentiaries appointed by him to treat of peace with King Robert I.; but the king having stormed the town of Perth, flushed with victory, refused to listen to their terms.*

A similar attempt to negotiate a truce with Robert on the part of Edward, in the succeeding year, failed, in which he took part;† nor do we find that he had been more successful with his patron, Edward, in the beginning of 1313, when he, along with the Earl of March, was sent into England, by the party of Baliol, to whom he had been hitherto loyal, to endeavour to obtain the aid of Edward, and redress for some of their grievances.‡ Adam Gordon seems at this time to have adhered to the interest of the pseudo King Baliol, and to have received the thanks of the English king, for his services, his steady adherence and fidelity to him.§ But this was his last act in behalf of this unfortunate prince, who soon afterwards terminated his inglorious and miserable career on the continent.

From this period Adam de Gordon espoused

* David (Comte) de Asceles, Alisaundre de Atnyth, Adam de Gurdon, Gerard Salveyn, and others, 26 Jan. 1311-12. Rymer, tom. iii. pp. 300, 301.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. iii. pp. 300, 301, in the month of November, 1313. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 7 Edw. II. M. 10, Westmr. Nov. 1313.

‡ Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. iii. pp. 300, 301, April, 1313.
§ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, Nov. 8, 1313, vol. i. p. 114.

the cause of the patriot king, who, for his courage, is said to have girded him with the cincture of knighthood on the field, and being convinced not only of his bravery, but of his diplomatic skill and ability, he was united in a commission with Sir Edward de Mambuisson, and sent to Rome.

In consideration of his faithful services, and his success in inducing the Roman Pontiff to pause in his fulminations against Robert I. and his kingdom, his majesty ratified and confirmed a grant of Stitchell, in Roxburghshire, which he had received from Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray; settling it upon him and his son William,* and bestowed upon him and his heirs, the noble lordship of Huntly and Strathbolgie, which was then held by the crown, in consequence of the forfeiture of David de Strathbolgie, Earl of Athole.†

In the subsequent reign, David de Strathbolgie, Earl of Athole, was reconciled to Da-

* Charta penes dom. Robertum Pringle de Stitchell.

† I have never seen the charter of Robert I., but its confirmation by David II., in possession of the noble representative of that ancient family, his grace the Duke of Richmond, I have seen. Charta by King David II., de Strathbolgie, confirming the charter granted by his father, King Robert I., to Adè de Gordon. St. Andrews, 28 March, 1357, 28 David II.; registered at Edinburgh. Cartulary at Gordon Castle, 2. 1. 1. See Appendix, note J.

vid II., and restored to his lands of Strathbolgie, while Sir Andrew Murray was governor in absence of the king ; but he again renounced his allegiance to the Scottish king, joined the English, and finally forfeited these lands, which were confirmed to Sir John de Gordon, his grandson, who attended David on his English expedition,* and his great grandson, Sir John de Gordon.†

In order to follow out the happy effect of the mission of these two envoys, the pope sent a fatherly admonition to the King of England, urging him in the most affectionate manner, as he revered the prince of peace, and wished to give his aid to the recovery of the Holy Land, for which he had long borne the cross, to agree to a cessation of hostilities with Scotland, and name commissioners to treat of a final peace with Robert the Bruce. Edward complied with this paternal admonition, sent commissioners to Carlisle, to meet with those of the patriot king ; but he was not yet sufficiently humbled to listen to terms of reconciliation, or to negotiate a lasting peace, and they merely agreed on proper securities and a conve-

* Charter de Strathbolgie, by David II. Cartulary of Gordon Castle, 2. 1. 1., de Strathbolgie, 1377.

† Charter John de Gordon, by Robert II., and “pro-napos præfecti quond. Adè de Gordon Militi,” &c. Cartulary of Gordon Castle, 2. 1. 1. See Appendix.

nient place for carrying on the negotiations either in Northumberland or Berwick.*

Edward, thinking that the excommunications of the church would soften the hearts of many, intrusted David, Earl of Athole, Robert Umfraville, Earl of Angus, Roger de Horsely, William Ridel, and John de Penreth, with powers to receive into Edward's favour, all who should be disposed to adhere to him on the borders of Scotland, Dec. 21. unless those who had acted in a hostile manner against their king and country, who were to be reserved for trial.† But the king was recognized by the pope only as regent in Scotland. Although the loyalty of the barons of Scotland, for their national rights and liberties, and their heroic sovereign, was strongly expressed in this remonstrance, there were some who, instead of serving him with fidelity, acted the part of traitors, and conspired against their sovereign's life.

The heroic bravery of Robert I., his magnanimity, and the generosity of his nature, and the patriotic efforts which he made to save his country from slavery, could not preserve him from jealous envy, nor the acts of a party

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 851. 861. 862. 864, 15 September, 1320.

† Barbour, pp. 380, 385. December 21st. *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 864. 866.

who questioned his right to the crown, and sought his downfall. Nor need this excite our wonder; amongst a dozen of competitors for the Scottish crown, his edict for the Scottish nobles, barons, and proprietors, to exhibit the rights and charters of their estates, seems to have contributed not a little to create distrust, and lead to this conspiracy.

William de Soulis, a lineal descendant of Alexander II., from an illegitimate line, the butler of Scotland; a man* of a daring and restless spirit, had, during the long struggle for national liberty, together with Sir David de Brechin, the king's nephew, been attached to England, and the enemies of their country, and acted an equivocal part. Brechin, with a treachery which lessens his merits as a brave soldier, and tarnishes his glory as a man, betrayed frequently the cause of independence; † pursued, with the ferocity of a blood-hound the steps of his uncle in the day of his trials in Aberdeenshire; tightened the slavish bonds of his unhappy countrymen more and more, while he was English warden of the town and Castle of Dundee; and if he did not threaten the person of his royal uncle, he certainly held

* Barbour, pp. 380. 385. December 21, Fœdera, vol. iii. pp. 864. 866.

† Rymer, Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 311. Rotuli Scotiæ, 5 Edw. II. m. 3. *ibid.* 8 Edw. II. m. 7. dorso.

private and treacherous communication with England against his uncle, and endeavoured to thwart his power. Soulis now conceived the daring and infamous design of taking away the life of this virtuous king by the hand of the private assassin, and mounting his throne; and had he been descended of a legitimate line, had a preferable claim to either Bruce or Baliol;* and drew into this conspiracy Brechin, a man of easy virtue, who had been a prisoner, and was again received into favour;† Sir Walter Barclay, Sir Eustace de Maxwell, Sir Patrick de Graham, Sir Gilbert de Malherbe, Sir John Logie, and several other chieftains.‡

This mysterious plot was conducted by Sir William Soulis, the hereditary butler of Scotland, and a grandson of one of the competitors of the crown, Nicholas de Soulis, who claimed as grandson of Marjory, natural daughter of Alexander II., and wife of Alan Durward. He intended to murder the king and take possession of the kingdom; but the plot was discovered by the Countess of Strathern, who had joined in the unnatural conspiracy, and suffered for her treachery, perpetual imprisonment.

* Barbour, 380. I. 385.

† *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 31. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 5 Edw. II. m. 3. 8 Ed. II. m. 7. dorso.

‡ Fordun a Hearne, iv. p. 1010.

If the Scottish Parliament shewed any severity in dealing with these conspirators, it appears to have been not in the case of Brechin, who, though young and brave, was yet justly condemned; but in the case of the Countess of Strathern, who, with whatever degree of guilt she may have been charged, yet through generous pity or remorse discovered the conspiracy, and was thus the means of saving the life of the king, and preserving the independence of Scotland. Soulis was surprised at Berwick, together with upwards of three hundred esquires, conspirators; and being tried by the Black Parliament, as it was termed, the record of which is lost, which was held at Scone, in the beginning of August, 1320, along with the countess, was also condemned to prison for life, where he died in Dunbarton Castle, together with the brave David, Lord Brechin, who had distinguished himself in the Crusades against the Saracens; the king's nephew, whose fate was generally deplored, as he was first bound down by an oath of secrecy, which prevented him from discovering this black conspiracy, and even refused to join in it. Rigid justice, and the safety of its representative, the king, required, however, this sacrifice; and although a painful one, and nearly related to the sove-

reign, Brechin was executed.* This impartial act of justice, which, on the whole, was approved by many, was, nevertheless, in these days of revolution and reckless barbarity, condemned by some,† as one of unnecessary rigour, among whom was Sir Ingram Umfraville, who, on account of his dissatisfaction, and perhaps the dread of being treated in the same way, disposed of his lands in Scotland, and retired to South Britain,‡ refusing to remain longer in a land where a knight of so much bravery had been put to death for so slight a cause, and no doubt for the purpose of saving his own neck, when traitor knights and squires were receiving the reward due to their merits. He had carried arms in the cause of independence under the renowned Wallace, and afterwards under the Scottish regency; he had allied himself to England, and as a knight, was trusted by the bridle rein of Edward, during the battle of Bannockburn; he again espoused the cause of his country, but reckless of principle, and guided by expediency which, at the present day, too frequently takes the place of right and justice, he again deserted to England, out of a pretended pity for the fate of Sir David Brechin, but, in reality, to save

* Fordun, B. xiii. p. 1.

† Barbour, pp. 381, 382.

‡ Barbour, vol. xix. pp. 73. 127.

himself from a similar visitation, although he seems not in any way to have been concerned in the conspiracy against the king; yet, having some lurking anxiety for his own safety, he consulted his interest by removing from Scotland.

The Scottish monarch, with a generosity and clemency for which he was distinguished, allowed him to dispose of his estate and pass into the service of England, for the fourth time, when we find that he soon received a commission from England, to receive recreant Scotsmen into favour.†

Sir David de Brechin seems upon all occasions to have acted a deceptive part; had been pensioned in 1312, by Edward, had fought against his country in 1315, when he was taken prisoner; and made common cause so frequently with the enemies of his country,* that he deserved little sympathy from her. Sir Gilbert Malherbe, Sir John Logie, Richard Brown, a squire, were tried and condemned; and when their friends came to the king, to intercede for their lives, being deeply affected at the death of his unhappy nephew, he replied: "It is now too late; yesterday, when my nephew David, who was innocent in com-

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 5 Edw. II. m. 3. 8 Edw. II. 7 dorso. *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 311.

† 21 Dec. The Earl of Athole, the Earl of Angus, and three others. *Rymer*, iii. pp. 851—866.

parison of these, was to suffer, none of you pitied him or sought his pardon; you, therefore, ask in vain for the life of your friends." Then turning to the executioners, he bade them do their duty; and they were executed.* Sir Eustace de Maxwell, Sir Walter de Barclay, sheriff of Aberdeenshire, Sir Patrick de Graham, and several others who were among the conspirators, were tried and acquitted. These trials and condemnations took place before the parliament held at Scone; and in consideration of the melancholy nature of the proceedings, and the doom pronounced on so many brave men, it has since been known by the name of the Black Parliament. Aug.

The vacillating Edward, who, at one time, was anxious to enter into a treaty of peace with Scotland, and at another, to reduce it to the condition of a province, now appointed in earnest twelve commissioners, of which one half belonged to the clerical body, to negotiate a peace. But what faith could the Scots place in the sincerity of the English king, who, on the day on which he bestowed a safe conduct to the Scottish ambassadors, issued a commission to five individuals, including the Earls of Athole and Angus, with full powers to

* Barbour, xix. p. 152. Fordun, L. xiii. p. 18.

receive into favour all Scotsmen willing to acknowledge the dominion of England?*

The King of France and the pope requesting envoys, on their part, to attend the congress at Carlisle, Edward accordingly excused himself with warm professions of thanks to the French monarch; alleging that they could not possibly arrive in time: and, as he could not refuse his assent to the demand of his faithful ally, the pope, he requested that the Bishop of Winchester might be appointed as one of the papal envoys.† Two envoys from the King of France, Philip, surnamed the Long, attended, together with the Scottish commissioners. They now entered upon this negotiation for peace; but, as the one party stood up strenuously in defence of the liberty of the people and independence of the nation, and the other claimed a feudal, or federal superiority over the country, this attempt at a reconciliation also failed, even with the assistance of the French courier and the papal envoys, who acted as mediators. Such was the mean jealousy which the English monarch entertained toward Robert the Bruce, that, because of certain offensive expressions, he would not permit the letters of the pope to be

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 865.

† *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 851. 884.

presented to him by the Bishop of Vienne or Winchester, the nuncio.*

The jealousy of Edward against his rival in arms and renown, and one who, although he had been his subject, had wrested from him the crown of his ancestors, which he himself attempted to wear, was so great, that, although peace was pressed upon him by his council, subjects, and allies, little progress was made in the negotiation. A passport was granted to the commissioners, on the part of Robert the Bruce only, as a high and mighty prince, who were to be received at Tweed mouth, by one or more of the English conservators of the truce, on the morning of the day preceding Candlemas, who were to be conducted to Newcastle, the place appointed for the negotiations.† He was ever ready to appoint a commission, however insincere, and no less than twelve persons of high rank were commissioned, one half prelates or clerks, and the other barons or nobles, to conclude and append their seals to a treaty of peace, with Bruce and his accomplices and partisans, as the ambassadors of Robert were by him designated.‡

* *Fœdera*, p. 884, May 14.

† *Hora prima*, *Fœdera*, *ibid.*

‡ *Suos complices et fautores.* *Fœdera*, *Ibid.*

The convention was not held for some months, when there appeared as mediators between the high contracting parties two envoys from Philip, King of France, surnamed the Long, and Rigand, Bishop of Winchester, and William de Leydume, elect of Vienne, as two nuncios from the pope. But the pretensions of England were so great and incompatible with reason, and the claims of Robert were so firmly adhered to, that with the aid of these foreign plenipotentiaries, they failed in securing a prolongation of the truce, or entering into any final agreement.* But the cause of failure will speedily be discovered in the civil war which broke out.

Edward, whose greatest error in his administration of affairs, was an undue partiality to favourites, which gave rise to most of the civil dissensions by which England was at that time distracted, was again involved in a new quarrel with the great barons and nobility of the nation. Gaveston was no sooner banished, than Hugh le Despenser, of a noble family and high rank, became his chief favourite. Certain imprudences permitted by the king, and the marriage of his favourite to his niece, fomented still more that discontent, which, though lurking in the breasts of many, had hitherto been

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 864. 868. 884.

repressed; and Lancaster, a prince of the blood royal, one of the most powerful subjects of England, and some other haughty, discontented nobles fleeing to arms, it at length burst forth with violence and irresistible fury.

Robert taking advantage of this popular insurrection, in which the malcontents laid waste the district of the Spensers, and advanced in arms upon the city of London, requesting the immediate removal and banishment of this rapacious favourite, who became the object of universal terror and abhorrence,* sent an army to invade Northumberland and Durham, under Lord Douglas, in the hope of joining Jan. 6. with the malcontents, and at the same time granted a safe passport to the messengers of the Lancasterian faction.†

The Earl of Lancaster sought, with much anxiety, the assistance of the Scottish king in this rebellious project, and a treaty was drawn up, by which the King of the Scots, and these factious nobles, mutually agreed to support each other, while the former should invade England, Ireland, and Wales; that Douglas, Moray, and the seneschal of Scotland, should appear with all their military vassals, if Robert

* Tyrrel, vol. ii. p. 280. Regist. of C. C. Canterbury. Walsingham, 114. Tottle Collect. vol. ii. pp. 50. 54. Rymer, vol. iii. p. 891.

† *Fœdera Anglia*, vol. iii. p. 907. 924.

could not head the armament, and that in return for their services, when the civil wars and dissensions in England were settled, they should use their best endeavours to establish a lasting and equitable peace between England and Scotland, recognizing the independence of the crown, and the liberty of the subject.* Although the Earl of Moray appears to have taken up his residence on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, at Dernygtoun, the better to facilitate this treaty, many unnecessary delays took place in the negotiation between the malcontents and the Scots, who addressed their English despatches to the fictitious King Arthur. Edward saw little prospect of success

in his pacific proposals; the treaty
Aug. 25. had been commenced in January, and as the former truce had not yet expired, since it was in existence for two years from Christmas, 1320, the King of England took advantage of this, for not sending his envoys to give a hearing to the cause, on the first of April, which was the day appointed for this purpose: so the civil rebellion of his nobles was held a sufficient reason for no meeting of plenipotentiaries taking place in September,

* *Fœdera Anglia*, vol. iii. pp. 936—940. This account is contained in an intercepted letter, which was published at St. Paul's, March 7th, 1321.

the month to which it had been adjourned by the pope.*

Edward, moved with indignation against the Scots, solicited his holiness to renew his ecclesiastical censures against them,—to promulgate anew the interdict of excommunication† against Robert the Bruce and his government. As the truce had not been renewed, the castle of Harbottle, which the Scots had reduced in 1318, and which was put into the hands of Edward's commissioners as private persons, who were bound to restore it to Robert, at Michaelmas, previous to the expiry of the truce, or destroy it, was now ordered to be razed to the ground, by John de Penreth, Constable of the castle of Harbottle, assisted by the sheriff of the county and his posse.‡

Edward, justly alarmed at this union of his rebellious subjects and Robert the Bruce, under these discouraging circumstances, was now most desirous of peace, and for this purpose endeavoured to treat with the Scots, at Clarington. But having made this Sept. 15. secret agreement with his rebels, the Scots were at this time little prepared for peace, and his efforts to draw them into treaty, seem to have

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 891.

† *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 891.

‡ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 893. 899.

failed.* The Scottish army had proceeded to the bishopric of Durham, and under the Douglas and the seneschal of Scotland, were laying waste the country on every side, one at Hartilpole, and the parts of Cleveland, and the other about Richmond; and in this district, which purchased a reprieve from plunder for a large sum of money, they continued for fifteen days, and committed great havoc and destruction. But when Lancaster was joined by the army of the south, they were ready to give battle to the Scots; but, under various pretences, Lancaster prevented them from doing so.† Edward, who now dreaded, and not without cause, the union and formidable appearance of his enemies, who had already taken London, and banished by a parliamentary resolution his chief favourite;‡ summoned the whole military array of the kingdom to meet him at Coventry, every village and hamlet furnishing one fully equipped soldier; commanded all the retainers, both of the clergy and nobility, to appear; earnestly petitioned for assistance from the French King and other foreign powers, and drew over all the troops from his dominions of Aquitain, a large quantity of wheat and a thousand tuns

* De tractatu habendo cum Scotis de pace apud Clarington, 16th Septembris. *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, 14 Edw. II., an. 17.

† *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 245.

‡ *Tottle's Collect.* pt. ii. p. 50. *Walsingham*, p. 114.

of wine.* The Lancasterians, who had scarcely matured in a proper manner their places, or concentrated their forces, fled with rapidity to the north; but were intercepted by Sir Andrew Hartcla, with a party of royalists, the warden of the Western Marches, and Sir Simon Ward, the sheriff of Yorkshire, and defeated, with the loss of several of the malcontents: and the Earls of Hereford and Lancaster taking refuge in a sanctuary, the former was slain, and the latter was condemned and beheaded for high treason,† and afterwards esteemed a martyr in the cause of patriotism, which drew nearly as great a concourse of people to his grave as had attended him during his lifetime.‡ For the noble services which he had rendered to his sovereign against Lancaster and his faction, Hartcla was raised to the dignity of Earl of Carlisle, a title which he had purchased with his sword, and had well merited.

After some petty excursions by the Scots into England, they overran and wasted six of the northern counties; penetrated as far as Lancashire, and returned loaded with booty

* *Fœdera Anglia*, vol. iii. p. 927. 930.

† *Fœdera Anglia*, vol. iii. pp. 936. 940. *Walsingham*, p. 116.

‡ *Lel. Collec.* vol. ii. p. 416.

of all kinds; ecclesiastical plate, jewels, equipages, and waggons; while the English were making their levies.* A more serious invasion was now planned and conducted under the command of the Scottish King, who, at the head of one division of the army, entered England by the western marches, and was joined by Lord Douglas and the Earl of Moray, with the second in Lancashire, which had proceeded by the Middle Marches.

The King of England having taken and executed his great rival, Lancaster, dispersed the faction which had so long annoyed him, and sheathed the sword of rebellion, had now time to attend to Scottish affairs, and turned it against his great northern enemy. He wrote to his faithful ally the pope, requesting the august father to give himself no farther trouble about a peace with the Scots, for he was preparing for war, and had determined to establish a peace by force of arms.†

Great preparations were now made for an expedition into Scotland. Horses and animals of all kinds were carried to York, and the Scots having by this time penetrated a considerable distance into the kingdom, and laid it waste, Henry de Bellamonte, a relative

* Knighton, p. 2542.

† *Fœdera Angliæ*, vol. iii. p. 944.

of the king, was selected for the expedition, and sent as captain against them.* In the meantime the Welsh recruits, for the Scottish expedition, assembled at Hathelsey, the infantry and cavalry at Rothewell, York, and Pontefract, where Edward commissioned the keepers of the various counties to proceed against the Scots,† while he increased his navy, and appointed Robert de Leyburne captain-general and admiral of the western fleet.‡

In order to secure the allegiance of David de Strathbolgie, Earl of Athole, and Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, he bestowed the manor and honour of Chelhain, in Kent, on the former; and on Angus, the wreck of the sea upon his own manor of Malverthorp.§ The parliament at York granted large subsidies from the nobles, clergy, cities, towns, and a fleet of transports was sent to the Forth, while the western fleet, under Robert de Leybourne, attacked the coast and the isles.|| The Irish

* Calend. Rotulorum Patentium, 15 Edw. II. m. 4.

† Calend. Rotulorum Patentium, 15 Edw. II. m. 10, 11. 19. 22.

‡ Calendarium, *ibid.* m. 15.

§ Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium, 15 Edw. II. m. 10, m. 3, a Tergo.

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were at the same time prohibited from sending arms with provisions to Scotland.*

The Scottish army, under the King, burnt the manor of the Bishop of Ross, and Allardale, pillaged the monastery of Holm, where the body of his father was buried; and proceeded to destroy Coupland and Furnis, which was spared, in consequence of a sum of money which the inhabitants paid. He then advanced by the sands of Lenyn and Kertemel, to the priory of the Black Canons, which he stripped of its cattle and property, where he was joined by the Earl of Moray and Lord James Douglas; the army now amounting to twenty thousand men, who returned by Carlisle, with a great booty of cattle and other effects.† Edward, who now boasted to the Pope, whom he solicited again to enforce the bull of excommunication against the Scottish nation, that he would establish peace by force of arms,‡ advanced with a formidable army of one hundred thousand men§ by Newcastle, without any attempt upon Berwick; Aug. but the Scottish King, who saw no necessity of staking the fate of his kingdom

* *Calendarium Rotul. Patentium*, 15 Edw. II. m. 3, a Tergo.

† *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 246, July 24.

‡ *Holings. Sc. Chr.* p. 224. *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 944. 967. *Walsingham*, p. 116.

§ *Walsingham*, p. 116. *Lel. Coll.* vol. ii. p. 466.

upon a single engagement, stripped the Merse, Teviotdale, and the Lothians, of all cattle and provision, which were sent into strong places and guarded; retired with his army to Culross, on the north of the Forth; so that the English, who expected at least a rich harvest of spoil, found only a solitary lame bull at Tranent, which, together with the Pope's bull, cost them, at least, sixteen thousand of their men, who perished of hunger,* if not the half of the army,† or who indulged so intemperately on their return, as to die of a disease, which an English historian calls a bursting of the bowels.

“Is this all that you have got?” said the Earl of Warrene to the soldiers; “by my faith! I never saw dearer beef.” Proceeding without the least molestation to Edinburgh, where they remained three days, in expectation of the arrival of their fleet, with provisions, which had been detained by contrary winds, on which they seem to have depended for subsistence; famine, at length, made its appearance, many of the soldiers died through want of the necessaries of life; and with his mighty host, with which he threatened the conquest of the whole kingdom, he was obliged to re-

* Knight, p. 2542.

† Walsingham, p. 116. *Lel. Coll.* vol. ii. p. 466.]

treat again to his own country, almost without seeing an enemy, or striking a single blow.* The soldiers, in their retreat, plundered the abbey of Holyrood, and proceeded to Melrose. This monastery would have been burnt, by this advanced party of the English, consisting of three hundred men, had not Douglas, with a light body of troops, hid himself in ambush in the forest of Selkirk and the abbey; and when warned by a friar, who, under his clerical hood and vestments, advanced on a powerful war-horse to the charge, with spear in hand, against the most advanced of the English, shouting, "A Douglas! a Douglas!" the chief sprung from ambush discomfited, and surprised the English, whom he put to flight with considerable loss.†

The main body arriving, slew and left mortally wounded the priors, several helpless monks whom they found, plundered the monastery, and cast the consecrated host upon the great altar, after securing its silver pix or repository, thus outraging the feelings of the age by this sacrilegious act.‡

The enemy now turned aside to Dryburgh

* Fordun, B, xiii. p. 4.

† Barbour, *ibid.* pp. 294. 323.

‡ Barbour, vol. xviii. pp. 262. 290. Fordun, B. xii. p. 4. Thomas de la More, p. 596.

Abbey, which they burnt to the ground;* and regaling themselves so freely with the provisions which they found abundant in England, they brought on several mortal diseases, which, according to some of their historians, proved more fatal than even the famine,—occasioned sudden death, by the burning of their bowels, or dysentery; and, together with the late invasion, cost them nearly the half of their army, or fifty thousand men.†

Thus the Scottish King, by adopting the Fabian system of fighting, succeeded more effectually in repelling the enemy from the country, without risking a single engagement, than if he had attacked the numerous and powerful army of the English, and sacrificed in the contest, many thousands of his inoffensive subjects.

When Edward returned to England, he appointed Sir Andrew Sept. 15. Hartcla to be chief warden of Westmoreland and Cumberland, and the neighbouring marches; and David, Earl of Athole, governor, or chief warden over Northumberland and the marches on that side; who, in virtue of their offices, had power to enter, at pleasure, into any castle within their bounds, whose consta-

‡ * Fordun, B. xiii. p. 4.

† Walsingham, p. 117. Sixteen thousand of the enemy, according to Knight. 2542, fell upon the occasion.

bles were bound to accompany them with their forces, after having left in their respective castles sufficient garrisons to defend them, and repel the enemy.* The Earl of Athole had a useful assistant in John de Bermyngham, justiciary of Ireland, who for his valour in subduing Edward Bruce, had been created Earl of Lowth,—who was charged by Edward “to exert his utmost vigour and diligence”† in giving assistance to this nobleman, who had turned his back upon his country, and become a subject of England. Amongst those who were specially bound to give suit and service to the Earl of Athole, as warden, were Henry de Percy, governor of Alnwick; R. de Nevill, constable of the castle of Warkworth; Roger de Horsely, constable of the castle of Bamburgh; the constables of Dunstanburgh castle; and the chief keeper of the King’s town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.‡

Robert, upon the retreat of the English King to Biland, Yorkshire, where the remains of his army were collected, and supported by new levies, advanced with all the military array of Scotland into the south; the Scots followed the English close upon their rear, and having

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 973.

† *Curiose et viriliter*, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 973.

‡ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 973.

now sat down before Norham Castle, they laid siege to the fortress. The garrison making a bold resistance, and deeming it useless to spend much time in the siege, with their engines and machines,* Robert projected a bolder plan, that of attacking the English army at Biland, and, by forced marches, and one vigorous assault, endeavoured to surprise Ed- Sept. 20.
ward at the abbey. The Scottish army was very considerable, amounting to about eighty thousand men, and was divided into eight battalions of ten thousand each.

The English camp, which was most judiciously pitched upon a rising eminence, was protected by a long craggy ridge or hill, with only one narrow pass, leading to the abbey, through which it could be assailed, which Lord Douglas undertook to force; and Randolph, attended by four squires, joined Douglas, and agreed to serve as a volunteer in the forlorn hope. The English, under Sir Ralph Cobham and Sir Thomas Ochtre in advance, made a most gallant and vigorous resistance, which for a time rendered the issue of the enterprise doubtful; the Scots suffering much from the showers of stones and missiles sent down upon them from the high ground by the English; until Robert sending a party of Highlanders

* *Diversis ingenis et machinis.* Sept. 20. 1322.

from Argyle and the western isles, who climbed the rocky height in the fashion of their countrymen, forced the enemy to descend the hill for safety, and effectually assisted them. This battle was gained with equal rapidity as that over Lorn, in the Highlands, which probably suggested to Robert the manœuvre; and being attacked in front, flank, and rear, they were put in disorder and many of them slain; and Edward, who had been so confident in the strength of his position, abandoning all, fled and escaped to Bridlington. They now deserted on all sides, and abandoning their camp and treasure to the Scots, they took John de Bretagne Earl of Richmond, Henry de Sully, grand butler of France, Lord de Soulis, as prisoners; with many other people of consideration. The Earl of Richmond, who had spoken slightly of the Scottish king,* was ordered into close confinement, in which he was long kept; and afterwards, it is said, ransomed for twenty thousand pounds.† But the grand butler of France, and the other French knights, who had joined the English army with the honourable ambition of distinguishing themselves in a foreign land, were treated after the most courteous terms of chi-

* Barbour, p. 378.

† Barbour, p. 376. *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 975. 978.

valry, and, who kneeling down, thanked the king for his courtesy ; and after remaining long at head quarters, were dismissed in compliment to the King of France, not only without paying ransom, but enriched with presents.* The privy seal of England was a second time lost by the precipitous flight of Edward.†

The Lord Stewart of Scotland pursued the fugitive English, at the head of five hundred men, to the very gates of York, overrunning Beverley and the East Riding. The ravages of the Scots around the Humber and Beverley were fearful ; but this and other monasteries, dreading the rapacity of the northern tribes, purchased their safety, and that of the inhabitants, at the rate of four hundred pounds, equal to about seven thousand two hundred of our money, as it has fallen in value since that period eighteen per cent. When he had reached York, the Stewart, with the romantic gallantry of that chivalrous age, displayed his banner till the evening, challenging the English army in vain to renew the battle, and redeem their honour. They took ample retribution on the English for their sacrilegious conduct in ravaging the country, plundering

* Barbour, p. 379. *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 975. 978.

† Leland Collect. vol. i. p. 250.

and burning, and laying the inhabitants under ransom as far as the Humber; and if we may give credit to some vague reports, retaliated the cruelty of the English, by killing several ecclesiastics at Ripon,* driving in multitudes of rich captives and cattle before them, which were afterwards ransomed at a high rate.

*.Murimuth, p. 59. Thomas de la More, p. 596.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE situation of Edward was at this time perilous : his councils were distracted with the disorders of his nobles, and Henry de Beaumont, one of his councillors, who had behaved insolently at the board, was handed over to the marshal.* Edward, cast down at his late disgraceful defeat, and, perhaps, more at the treachery of his own subjects, agreed to a cessation of hostilities between him and the Scottish nation, preparatory to a lasting truce or peace. He was sensible of the valour of the Scottish people, who had so long been accustomed to the perils of war, and the duties of the camp, that every Scottish subject had become a soldier ; that incessant warfare tended to heighten their military character still more, as well as to increase their rancour against the English ; and that during peace, all these passions and enmities which formed an insurmountable bar-

* Rymer, vol. iii. p. 1021.

rier against the claim of superiority which the King of England made over Scotland, would be smoothed down, if not entirely removed; that the people would forget the use of arms, and fall an easy prey to their enemies; and that the enmity and valour of Scotland had already cost him many thousand lives, and might eventually endanger the stability of his throne.* All this had been represented to Edward by the Earl of Carlisle, who had wished him to drop his claim of homage;† and this was, probably, after all, the amount of that treason which cost him his life and estate. He had represented‡ to Edward, that it would be better for the community, that each king should possess his kingdom independently without homage, than that he should suffer so much slaughter, fire-raising, captivity, and herials annually, from the Scots.

Jan. 1323. The northern barons of England, who suffered more from the enmity of the Scots than their more fortunate compeers in the remote parts of the kingdom, entered into a negotiation with Robert I. for a truce, by which they were to assist him in his private feuds, upon being protected from his inroads and aggressions. The knowledge

* Barbour, B. xix. pp. 141—184.

† Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 248.

‡ January 3, 1323.

of this coming to the ears of Edward, who had penetrated their decisions, the English monarch instituted proceedings before him, summoned Hartcla, Earl of Carlisle, for acting without his authority; and after discovering his traitorous correspondence, by which this nobleman agreed to compel his sovereign to such terms as they could resolve upon, and to support the Scottish King and his heirs on the throne; he was publicly denounced as a traitor for not appearing, arrested for high treason, and committed to prison.*

He had held a private audience with Robert the Bruce, at Loughmaben; and after a long conversation, it was agreed on the part of England, by the Earl of Carlisle, in good faith, that he would aid and assist Robert, the King of Scotland, and his heirs and successors, in maintaining the full privileges of the monarchy; and that on his part he would extend his protection to the earl, his heirs, and adherents, which was to be confirmed, or approved of by six persons, chosen from either kingdom. And if the King of England should give his sanction to this measure within a year, the King of Scotland was bound to build a monastery, whose endowment should be five hundred marks, for offering up prayers and worship for the souls of all who had fallen in the

* *Fœdera Anglia*, vol. iii. p. 1000.

war between England and Scotland, according to the superstition of the times, and give to the King of England forty thousand marks of silver, and cement this union by the marriage of a male heir to the crown of Scotland, with a female of the blood of the King of England. To all this Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, swore on the soul of the King, and the Earl of Carlisle, taking the holy Evangelists, and having written out the mutual agreement, put his seal to the deed ; but it cost him his life.*

Edward, betrayed by some of his friends, repulsed by his enemies, was really desirous of peace ; and Robert, though not solicitous, was yet indifferent upon the matter of a pacification, and was prepared either for peace or war. It is believed that one of the reasons which induced the Earl of Carlisle to enter into this bond with the Scottish King was, that he had a regard for the sister of Robert the Bruce, and aspired to her hand in marriage, and also that he bore no good will to the younger D'Espenser. He was tried before a special commission, who decreed, upon this evidence, that he should be condemned, although he had received power to conclude a peace with the Scots; † that he should be degraded from

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 999.

† In the beginning of February, 1322. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 926.

the honour of knighthood and earldom; have his gold spurs hacked from his heels; and his body quartered, and placed on the walls of Carlisle, Newcastle, York, and Shrewsbury.* He was executed at Carlisle, declaring to the last, that in his correspondence with the King of Scotland, he meant nothing treasonable to his king or country; and his heart burnt, according to the revolting practice of the day, on account of its treachery, and its ashes scattered to the wind.†

Although Edward prolonged the truce a little longer, for the purpose April 6. of the intended pacification, the Scots, from their late triumphs, were less disposed to peace; and the English King, the better to bring them to terms, ordered a general muster of his military forces, and a fleet of fifty-seven ships of war, to carry provisions, and transport to Skymberness his cavalry and infantry of Ireland.‡

A safe conduct was now granted June 1. to the ambassadors of Robert, at Bishopthorpe, and at the same time a passport was given to Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, for the purpose of receiving some hostages for Scotland.§ At length, after many diffi-

* *Fœdera Angliæ*, vol. iii. p. 1000.

† *Rymer*, vol. iii. p. 999.

‡ *Fœdera Angliæ*, vol. iii. pp. 112, 113.

§ *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, pp. 92, 93.

culties had been surmounted, and several fruitless negotiations were made, mutual truces for thirteen years were granted by the respective sovereigns of the two kingdoms; yet the English government still persisted in refusing to recognise the title of the Scottish king to Robert, which he inherited from his ancestors, and purchased by his sword.

The truce, extending to Trinity term, had been proclaimed by the sheriffs of Northumberland and Cumberland;* and while Robert was residing at Berwick, he addressed a letter to Lord Surrey, seven days after the proclamation, in which he refused to consent to the truce published by Edward, because Edward in his letters confirms the truce to the people of Scotland, who were at war with him, and not to their sovereign, Robert I., whom he does not recognise as such, in the manner in which the King of Scotland had been recognised in former truces.† Taking it for granted, that the King of England meant not to withhold this title, to which he had produced the best of rights, both as legal heir, and the conqueror of Scotland; he blames the Lord Surrey for the neglect, he claims, and in the course of eight days obtains, a safe conduct for Randolph,

* *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 104. 1007, March 14.

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 1004. 1007.

Earl of Moray, with a retinue of fifty horsemen, to pass to Newcastle, to treat of a final peace, and, at the same time, a passport for two knights, and a clerk, to proceed to England, and receive an oath upon King Edward's soul, that he would observe the truce, which was extended to fifteen days after Trinity.*

Randolph was, however, a person of great rank, the king's nephew, one of the most successful warriors of his time; and having been appointed by the King and parliament, as regent during a minority, his life and safety were of great value to the King, and the negotiations were for some time suspended, until hostages were given by Edward for his safety, and his return into Scotland at his pleasure, which were delivered at Tweedmouth, when he entered into England, and confirmed by the oath of Edward's envoy at the Scottish court, William de Horle, who swore on the soul of the King.†

The commissioners met, first at Newcastle, and then in the presence of the King in council, at Thorp, near York, where they solemnly deliberated upon the matter, when a truce was concluded, to expire on the 12th of June, 1323.‡

Edward was doubtful of the success of the

* *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 1004. 1007. April 1, 1323.

† *Fordun*, lib. xiii. c. 13. *Rymer*, vol. iii. p. 1017.

‡ *Rymer*, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 1127.

negotiations, which were conducted on the part of Scotland by Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray; William, Bishop of St. Andrews; John de Meneteth, Robert de Lowedre, the father knights; and Master Walter de Twynham, clerk: and on the part of England by Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke; the favourite, Hugh D'Espencer; his son, Master Robert de Baldok, archdeacon of Middlesex; Sir William de Harle, and two others. But, in consequence of the birth of a son and successor to the crown, born to Robert by his queen, the English, it is said, obtained a truce for a year, on account of this joyful event, which was hailed with pleasure and great joy by the community, and estates of the kingdom.*

The truce was sworn to, on the souls of the two Kings, and the holy Evangelists, and confirmed by the oaths of the barons of both nations, at Cowyke.† The truce was confirmed by the Earl of Pembroke, and those of the suite of Edward, and was ratified at Berwick, by the oath of Randolph, his nephew, and the oaths of the Stewart of Scotland, and the other commissioners, with consent of the estates of Scotland;‡ in presence of two English envoys, when the hostages for the Earl of Moray were

* Fordun, vol. i. p. 280.

† *Fœdera Angliæ*, vol. iii. pp. 1023. 1030.

‡ Rymer, vol. iii. p. 1025.

given up,* and the ambassadors returned home.

These ambassadors endeavoured to agree upon the terms of a lasting peace at Knaresborough, and afterwards at Westminster, but in this they seem to have failed.† The cause of this failure was the independence of the crown, for which Robert strove; he had never yet been acknowledged as king by England; but the truce was now ratified, between the King of England, Robert Bruce, and the Scots, for the space of thirteen years, at Cowyke,‡ in which the title of King of Scotland was reluctantly conceded to him, and this ratification Edward agreed to accept.§ Henry de Sully seems to have been one of those who conducted this negotiation to a successful termination with Robert. By this truce a cessation of hostilities took place; no fortresses or castles were to be built or repaired by either party during its continuance, except such as

§ * *Fœdera Angliæ*, vol. iii. p. 1025.

† 1324. *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*. 16 Edw. II. m. 17. 23.

‡ "Treuga inter regem et Robtum de Bruce, ac Scotos, pro tres decem annis apud Cowyke, Junij 30." *Calendar. Rotulorum Patentium*, 16 Edw. II. m. 2.

§ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. p. 1031. It was not annexed to the name of Robert Bruce in the beginning, but his claim of king was accepted in the last clause of the instrument, "Nous Robert Roi d'Escosse avant dit." Rymer, vol. iii. p. 1025.

were situated in Cumberland, South Finchale, and those which were found between Scotland and the mouth of the Tyne, and along its banks in South Finchale, belonging to the English; and the fortresses in the sheriffdoms of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Dumfries on the part of Scotland;* no intercommunion was admitted without a special license; the borders were to be subject to the same laws as heretofore; and the Scots were left at full liberty to reconcile themselves to the See of Rome, and obtain absolution from all spiritual censures.† Protection was extended to the Scottish merchant ships and the property which they contained, should they be driven by stress of weather on the English coast, as well as to ships of whatever country; but wrecks of the sea became the property of the English; and foreign merchants were not to be disturbed in the importation of goods to either kingdom, unless they belonged to a hostile country.‡

The English king, driven to this resolution by the success of the enemy, and scarcely ever serious in his measures regarding Scotland, again renewed his negotiations with the pope, requesting him to enforce the sentence

* *Fœdera Anglia*, vol. iii. pp. 1022. 1026.

† *Fœdera Anglia*, vol. iii. p. 1022. 1030.

‡ *Fordun*, vol. i. p. 280.

of excommunication against the Scots in its most revolting form, by "the sign of the Cross, and all other remedies of the law," even to publish a crusade against Robert and his countrymen, as notorious heretics, who had disregarded the sacred character of the church, and inflicted cruel tortures on helpless ecclesiastics.* The king, in order to counteract the influence of the English government in this quarter, sent his nephew, the Earl of Moray, on a secret journey to Rome.

This nobleman, laying aside all state as the representative of his sovereign, travelled to Italy in the character of a pilgrim, bound by his vow to proceed to the Holy Land, supplicating from the holy pontiff leave to perform his vow. From one religious house to another, dressed in his pilgrim's weeds, with his pilgrim's staff in his hand, he was introduced as a pilgrim, and stated to the pope the extreme desire which his royal master had, to undertake a similar pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in company with Charles, King of France. This novel mode of approaching him was in accordance with the principles of the Romish court; and was gratifying to the pride of the haughty pontiff, to find the noble representative of a victorious sovereign, who had conquered a

* *Fœdera Anglia*, vol. iii. p. 1025.

kingdom, seeking his presence in this humble manner; and it gained for him a willing, if not favourable ear, when he sought his audience.

The pope could not give his sanction to the request of the Earl of Moray or his master, so long as the king's nation of the Scots lay under the interdict of the church, and were at enmity with England; but while Randolph sought, in the most pressing manner, that these disqualifications should be removed, he assured the pope, that while he continued to refuse him the title of king, to which he had proved his legitimate right, and enforced it by the sword, he never would receive any letter from the Roman pontiff.*

He sounded, in a most artful manner, the sovereign pontiff, without discovering that he was sent, for that purpose, on the national affairs of Scotland; procured by the Apostolic letters a safe passage for the ambassadors of Robert to Rome, through the dominions of the sovereign princes on the continent; undertook to mediate a peace between his uncle and the King of England, and prevailed upon the pope, flattered by the devotion of this prince to the Romish see, to address Robert by the title of king, as the only means which could induce him to listen to the papal admonitions,

* P. Daniel, tom. iii. pp. 380—382.

or the overtures of a peace from England.* The pope, Jan. 13, 1324. who had in vain tried all the arts of his court to intimidate Robert, was flattered by the declaration of Randolph regarding his master's devotion to the sovereign pontiff; and highly delighted with the promise which he made to go upon a crusade to the holy war, now acknowledged fully his title to the throne of Scotland, by bestowing upon him the name of king; yet when Edward complained of this, the pope observed, that neither the claim of Bruce nor that of England could be nullified, by his bestowing upon Robert the title of king, and acknowledging him as such.†

The pope sent a friendly message to the King of England, written in a conciliatory strain, exhorting him, in his royal wisdom, to suffer him to address Robert under the title of royal dignity; for he well knew that he might seek peace with Scotland, and hold out inducements, but that no bribe would induce Robert to conclude a lasting peace with him so long as he treated him as a subject, or withheld from him the title of king.‡

* *Fœdera Angliæ*, vol. iv. p. 28.

† Rymer, *Fœdera Angliæ*, vol. iv. p. 46. Dun. tom. iii. pp. 380—382.

‡ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 29.

Edward, however, remonstrated against this concession, in which the pope merely acknowledged the right, where he had bestowed the title, and observed, that it was contrary to a known maxim of the Roman pontiff, not to disturb the relative position or rights of parties during a truce. The great obstacle to the acknowledgment of Robert's title to the crown, was the position in which the pope stood to the crown of England, which the pusillanimity and superstition of one of its kings laid at the feet of the pontiff, who again bestowed it upon him; and the Scottish nation might say, though not with justice, that the pope intended to acknowledge the right where he had bestowed the title.* If he bestowed the title to the throne on the King of England, he had an undoubted right to control its king, when he claimed what never belonged to him but by usurpation; and the kingdom of Scotland was neither a fief of the pontificate or kings of England, although its kings did homage sometimes for estates which they then possessed, as they themselves did for similar possessions in France.

This triumph of political intrigue, which was equally honourable to Randolph as to his

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 46.

royal master, shews the brave earl to have been no less skilled in the masterly arts of the civilian, than in the chivalrous and manly exploits of the soldier. Such, however, is the envy of human nature, and the contracted sphere of human liberality, that what proved the gratification of Robert, gave great cause of offence to the king of England, who no sooner learned that the royal dignity was at last conceded to him, than he remonstrated with indignation with the papal see, which had prejudiced his own title to the throne of Scotland, and robbed his crown of one of its richest jewels.* He had the influence to prevent the pope from removing the interdict, or sending absolution.

The Scottish nation, in the
meantime, was filled with joy by Mar. 5.
the birth of a son, David, to their beloved sovereign at Dunfermline; † which, as it opened up to them a prospect of perpetuating the ancient line of their kings, and was a living monument of the virtue, goodness, and martial achievements of Robert the Bruce, was hailed with every demonstration of gratitude and rejoicing. The poets laureate of the time predicted the glory of this infant prince, who

* Fœdera, vol. iv. p. 62.

† Fœdera, vol. iv. p. 62.

would one day prove victorious over the English, and rival his father's fame.*

The commission for establishing a permanent peace between the two nations, which sat at York, still protracted the negociation; and each insisted on those terms most favourable to his own nation. The English, in order to intimidate the Scottish king, shewed great attention to Edward, the once-neglected heir of Baliol, his rival in the throne, who was invited from Normandy to England,† and claimed a feudal superiority over Scotland; while Robert defended the independence and freedom of his crown, demanded the fatal stone of Scone to be delivered up, and, unwilling to tarnish the glory of his reign, and his splendid victories, insisted that the King of England should deliver up certain manors belonging to him, and some of the northern parts of England as just conquest, as far as the gates of York; and he was desirous, at the same time, that peace should be cemented, by the marriage of Edward, Prince of Wales, with the Scottish princess.

The latter demand of incorporating the

* "Filius hic regis post patrem, lumina legis, diriget, angebit, populum probitate, favebit. Iste manu fortis Anglorum laudet in hortis: vel faciat pacem Deus interregna tenacent." Secundum Barnardam Abbatem Abirbrothoc, Fordun, B. xiii. c. 5.

† Fœdera, vol. iv. p. 62.

northern part of England as far as York with Scotland, shewed an insincerity on the part of Robert to conclude a treaty of peace with England; for although he entered into an alliance with the northern barons, and the three northern counties of England had now been conceded to Scotland, it was in consequence of the rebellion and disturbances in these districts, that they united in a confederacy with the King of Scotland. Yet these three counties at one time belonged as appanage to the Scottish crown. The successful machinations of Edward, at the papal court, prevented Robert from prolonging the truce with Edward, and greatly obstructed and hindered the pacific measures which were so much desired by the moderate parties in both kingdoms.

This congress was at length broken up without coming to any definite agreement,* and the negociations of Randolph with the papal see, which opened with such fair prospects of success, proved also abortive, through the venal influence of the court of England; and the independent and patriotic spirit of the Scots, who chose rather to continue under the sentence of excommunication, than yield up the ancient town of Berwick, which was taken

* *Fœdera*, vol. iv. pp. 70—141. Sept. Malmesbury, 230.

during the papal truce, shone forth in all its strength and glory.*

The English King, however anxious to stir up the Romish see against the claims of Robert, took care to maintain in full force the truce ; received into favour such as June 12. placed themselves under his protection, rather than that of Robert ; and listened to the advice of the Pope, who, by the Scottish mission, had been brought to entertain favourable terms of peace, which he urged upon England. Henry de Sully, grand butler of France, who had laboured so hard to secure the truce of thirteen years, was present at the interview of the Scottish ambassadors with the Pope, and his holiness now urged his dutiful son of England, in the end of this year, to hold a meeting at York, where twelve English commissioners, with the two D'Espensers at their head, should meet with the Bishop of St. Andrews and the Earl of Murray, and the other six envoys from Scotland, who were conducted in safety to York, by their countryman the Earl of Angurs, for the purpose of concluding a final peace, and drawing up its conditions.†

The Scottish commissioners perceiving the

* *Fœdera*, vol. iv. pp. 168—176. Mur. p. 62.

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iv. pp. 86. 103, 104. 140, 141. Malmesbury, pp. 229. 232.

rupture between France and England, required a total exemption from all homage to the crown of England; but would not submit to the Pope those points in dispute, which Edward, writing to the Pope, said he could not grant, without an infringement of the rights of the crown.* Edward was engaged in a contest with France, which led him into that country; but dreading the machinations of some of his disloyal subjects with the Scots, he wrote to Henry de

March 25,
1325.

Percy, and the other conservators of the truce, that they were rash in granting indiscriminate passports for Scotsmen to visit England, cautioned them to be less liberal in this respect, and to grant such only as were strictly consistent with the terms of the truce.† He now sent three envoys to Robert the Bruce, to explain his views in reference to certain articles in the late truce, ‡ charging Walle, one of them who was authorised to name a day and place, in the end of next August, for the meeting of the commissioners appointed to terminate those disputes between the two nations, which proceeded from outrages which Robert alleged had been committed against his subjects by the people of England, in violation of the truce.

* Malmesbury, pp. 229. 232.

† Fœdera, vol. iv. p. 198.

‡ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 224. August 29, 1326.

The Scots, in the meantime, again renewed their negotiations at the Romish court, with a view to obtain the removal of the ecclesiastical censure; but the Pope, influenced by Edward, seemed indisposed to enter upon the question; and Robert's desire of reconciliation with the spiritual father, prevented him from entering so fully into the views of the rebellious factions of England, or fomenting their discord.*

1326. The King now summoned a meeting of the national parliament, at Cambuskenneth,† which strengthened the throne still farther, by several acts of great importance, by making a compensation to the King for what he had suffered in the struggle for independence;‡ and by ordering his vassals to do homage to David Bruce, as heir-apparent to the crown, by whose birth Robert, the son of the Princess Marjory, was now presumptive heir, and removed to the second rank in the royal succession. The national assembly, sensibly alive to the importance of securing an equitable and legal succession to property and titles of dignity, from the long continuance of

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iv. pp. 149. 177.

† The record of this parliament is lost, but it is mentioned indenture printed in Kaim's *Law Tracts*, Appendix, N. 4.

‡ The rents of these lands were estimated according to the valuation, during the reign of Alexander III. Tyrel's *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 325. *Acta Parl. Scot.*

the war, which originated in a natural deficiency of this kind, made about this period an extraordinary provision, for preventing females who pretended to be in the family way, after the decease of their husbands, from substituting a child in place of the heir, a natural for a legitimate son.

In order to prevent the occurrence of such a circumstance, the widow was given over to the charge of some respectable matron; the nearest relations of her deceased husband were invited to live with her, and responsible persons were appointed to be present at the time of the accouchement, since during the civil disturbances which took place after the death of Alexander III., some instances of fraudulent substitution had taken place.*

This parliament is also famous for that change in the representation of the people which then took place, by which the liberty of the subject was enlarged, and the foundation of our admirable system of government was laid. And this change had its rise in the noble sentiments of freedom and independence, which animated him who redeemed his country, from the slavery of a foreign aggressor, and the bondage of England.

* Law Tracts, Kaim's Append. N. 5. The representatives were called "Majores populi," in the parliament of Baliol, held after Edward treated him as a vassal. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 153.

The citizens, although bound to serve the King in military enterprises, were hitherto precluded by the superior wealth, the furious violence, and the ambition of the barons, from assuming that post which by the fundamental laws of the state, and the conditions of their feudal tenure, belonged to them. In this parliament the cities and burghs were for the first time represented.*

In the parliament assembled at Cambuskenneth, the clergy of Scotland, with the earls, barons, and whole body of the nobles, along with the people there assembled, took the oaths of allegiance and homage to David, the son and heir of their king. In the third parliament of Baliol, the "majores populi," or chiefs of the people, formed a constituent part of the assembly,† and from this date an alliance with France was corroborated by the seals and signatures, not only of the prelates and nobility, but of the communities, or royal burghs of Scotland.‡ Of the ten commissioners who were elected to the Scottish parliament to settle the affairs of Scotland, on May 28, 1305, there were two bishops, two abbots, two earls,

* Regiam Magistatem, p. 366.

† Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 153.

‡ Rymer, Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 696. See the marriage treaty between the eldest son of the King and a daughter of France.

two barons, and two members, to represent the "commune," or community of burghs;* yet the original records of both parliaments are lost. But although the original record of this is also lost, with many other valuable documents, an indenture has been preserved, showing, that in addition to the prelates, earls, barons, and "libere tenentes," or freeholders, the representatives of the burghs sat in this parliament; the first authentic proof of the third estate of the national council.†

Although it does not appear that this national assembly was ever divided into two parts, the peers and the representatives of the people, this measure tended equally to the support of the throne, and the liberties of the people, by being, however ineffectual, in some measure, a check upon the ambitious encroachment of the aristocracy.

The protracted nature of the war with England had drained the Exchequer, and the revenues of the crown were much dilapidated and diminished in value; and a tenth of the rents of all the lay lands in the kingdom, to be estimated according to the valuation, which was followed during the reign of Alexan-

* Palgrave's Parliamentary Writs. Introductory Abstract, p. 66.

† The Indenture is printed in Kaim's Law Tracts, Appendix, n. 4. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 287.

der III., was bestowed upon the King, in order to meet the expenditure.*

The Keith family were at this time honourably rewarded by Robert I. for their fidelity to their country, and their warlike aid during the protracted struggle for the independence of the crown; and Robert Keith received, by charter, from him the lands of Keith Marshal, four davachs of land in Strathbogie, the Forest of Kintoir, some property in Buchan, together with the office of marshal, as a reward for his bravery.†

The sister of the King, Christian Bruce, the widow of Seton, was given in marriage to Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, the brave companion of the renowned Wallace, and the king in arms, a union which attached to the person of the King a brave knight and a powerful chief.

Sir Andrew Moray was descended of a distinguished family, who were knighted by Alexander II. about a century before, and was for his gallantry and magnanimity designated the noble. His father took up arms in behalf of his enslaved country, carried the banner of freedom along with the great patriot Wallace, and fell in the battle of Stirling, distinguished

* Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1014.

† Index of Charters, by Robert I. p. 11.

for his military renown.* He himself was joined in the command with Sir William Wallace; he upheld the cause of freedom so long as a patriot could be found to draw the sword against the despots; and when Robert the Bruce asserted his claim to the throne, he joined him, never deserted him in his greatest misfortunes, and now received, as a reward of his bravery and loyalty, his sister in marriage.

But while these transactions took place, the nation sustained a great loss in the death of the gallant Walter, high steward of Scotland, his son-in-law, who gave early promise of martial virtue while yet a youth, and who acquitted himself so heroically and judiciously, in the day of Bannockburn, and the siege of Berwick.† When the virulence of the mortal disease gave evidence of his approaching dissolution, he made a devout confession of his sins, and sincere repentance; and having partaken of the sacraments of the Church, he meekly submitted to the will of heaven, and died like a Christian. Many a knight and lady shed tears over his untimely fate; and his body, which was buried at Paisley, was followed to the tomb by the regrets and lamentations of

* Ex cujus parte, de numero nobilium Scotiæ, solus Andreas de Moravia, nobilis, vulneratus occubuit. Fordun, vol. ii. p. 171.

† Barbour, vol. xix. pp. 203. 214.

all classes.* Walter, the high steward, left a son, Robert, by his wife Marjory, the daughter of the King by his first marriage.† Walter Stewart had received, by charter, from Robert, the lands of Ricardtown, the barony of Rathen, Eringarh, Gallowhill, Berneys, and Brome, near the loch of Lithgow; the lands of Bondingtoun; an annual fourth of the Kers of Striveling; and the lands of Edinham, in the vice-county of Roxburgh.‡ Meanwhile, the lamented death of this chivalrous April 9. knight, one of the great bulwarks of his country, was in some measure compensated by the high talent which the Earl of Moray displayed in the art of diplomacy. He now left the Bishop of Rome for the court of France, where he was received with all the honours of a successful warrior, and induced Charles IV. to renew the ancient league with Scotland, and Robert rejoiced in the conclusion of a treaty which was signed at Corbeil, by Randolph, Earl of Moray, as ambassador, on the part of the Scottish King and the French plenipotentiary. By this treaty, each was engaged to declare war with England, at the request of the other; and when a vacancy occurred in either king-

* Barbour, vol. i. p. 386.

† Fordun, lib. xiii. c. 12.

‡ See Charters, Robert I. Ro. I. D. M. Robertson's Index and Charter, in the Register-house.

dom, the succession to the throne, if any doubt arose, was to be determined by the principal nobility of the two kingdoms, and the decision to be enforced by the other party proceeding in person at the head of an army to defend the rights and claims of the lawful heir.* Yet, so long as the truce continued, Robert was free from the effects of this engagement.†

This alliance with France, which did not take effect during the truce with England, has been deprecated as prejudicial to the interest of Scotland, which reaped the bitter fruits of it afterwards, and was led into many destructive wars with England, by which France alone could be benefited; but, upon this occasion, it was highly beneficial in supporting the throne of the Scottish King, which was not yet perfectly established, and in overawing the ambitious views of England. It was, however, afterwards a fertile source of war, and holds a prominent part in the development of Scotland's future tragic story.

These popular measures were followed by an event no less satisfactory and joyful. The power and dangerous clamours of the Lancastrian faction, which had for many years kept England in a continual ferment, had, by the

* P. Daniel, tom. iii. pp. 397, 398.

† Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1014.

accession of the profligate queen to their party, overturned the throne, immured their sovereign in a dungeon, whom they afterwards murdered, if we can believe one historian, with the most extreme cruelty ; and through the influence of the queen-mother, and her paramour and minion, Mortimer,* Edward, the young prince, was raised to the throne.†

The civil dissensions of England, the minority of Edward III., in his fourteenth year, and the administration of an adulterous favourite, whose accession to power must have been hostile to the union of the nation, were circumstances favourable to a lasting peace with England, or the ambitious views of the Scottish king. As was expected, the English confirmed the truce of Edward II., and renewed negotiations for a final peace ; but Robert, whose title had never been willingly recognized, nor the independence of the Scottish nation, to which the views of the present minority were equally adverse, resolved to renew the war, for the purpose of extorting these concessions, and frightening his enemies into terms. Not a few secret and fraudulent acts were committed against the Scots by the English, which were a virtual violation of the

* *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 243.

† *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 16. *Hemingford*, vol. ii. p. 267. *Fœdera Angliæ*, vol. iv. p. 243, January, 1327.

truce.* Many Scottish ships, trading between Scotland and Flanders, were seized by the English cruisers,—the sailors taken as prisoners without any reparation;† and perhaps the Scottish king, in retaliation for the many and grievous injuries which he had suffered from the English, was inclined to avail himself of the youth and inexperience of Edward III., and of the unsettled and disunited state of the English nobles, divided into so many blood-stained factions.‡

1327. On the night in which the coronation of the young king, Edward III., took place, the Scots, or perhaps some border clans, calculating on the absence of many of the border troops, made an attempt upon the Castle of Norham, which they endeavoured to carry by surprise, but without effect. The governor, Robert Manners, apprised of their intentions by one of the garrison, a native of Scotland, who seems to have been made aware of the secret attack, betrayed them; and after he had permitted sixteen of their number to scale the walls, gave the alarm to the troops of the garrison, who charged them,

* Fordun, lib. xiii. p. 12.

† Barbour, B. xix. pp. 191—202.

‡ Froissart, vol. i. p. 17.

and slew or made them all prisoners; upon which, the rest retreated.*

We are far from thinking that this infringement of the peace was in accordance with the usual policy and moderation of Robert the Great; but he had yet many just pretences for taking advantage of the unsettled state of England, his natural enemy.† Cumberland and Northumberland had belonged to the crown of his ancestors, which had been surreptitiously taken from them; his own properties in that country had been forfeited, and the youthful monarch of England was more forward to engage in war than to cherish and prolong a peace. The chief cause of this war was perhaps the imprudence of England in attempting to treat with the Scottish nation, rather than asking its king, and thus refusing him his just right and title.

They indeed ratified the truce in the name of the king, but denied him the kingly authority, and appointed commissioners to treat with his subjects instead of their sovereign. The youthful sovereign appears, indeed, to have desired peace, and appointed Henry Percy, and five keepers of the truce,—and the Abbot of Rievall, and Iwo de Aldburgh, swore on

* Richard Southwell.

† Froissart, vol. i. p. 17.

March 5. the soul of the king, that he would observe it; at the same time they named a day and place, where the commissioners of Edward and Robert would meet, nine in number, including the Archbishop of York, Percy, and Beaumont, and agree upon the terms of a final peace. While Edward III. confirmed the truce by letters patent,* Henry Percy had shewn his zeal in favour of the queen, by coming to her support a month after she had landed in England; he was appointed one of the council of regency for the young king, undertook to be keeper of the truce on the march toward the north, an office different from that of warden, until Whitsunday, with two hundred men-at-arms, and hobelars—that is, light-armed cavalry, mounted on small ambling horses, and his own followers; a service for which he received one thousand marks from the treasury.

Robert the Bruce agreed to send commissioners to a meeting on the Marches, to be held on the Sunday before the feast of Ascension, on 17th of May, for deliberating on the terms and conditions of a lasting treaty of peace; but, doubtful of the sincerity of the

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iv. pp. 156—271. The five conservators of the truce received the same powers as those of June 1, 1323.

English regency, and not at this time particularly anxious for peace, he directed all the forces of Scotland to be assembled on the march upon the Sunday, on which the negotiations should have been commenced.*

Edward took the alarm, and issued a summons for all the military vassals of the crown to attend him, on Monday, 18th May.

April 29. The tocsin of war was again sounded, the merry-men of England were called from their forests, the eastern and western fleets were ordered to anchor at Skimburness, near the mouth of the river Tees, and while the Marshal of England, the Duke of Norfolk, and uncle to the king, proceeded with the whole array of England to Carlisle,† the western key of England; the women and children of the northern counties took shelter in castles or remote parts.‡

Bruce was at this time suffering from severe sickness, termed at that time the leprosy, brought on by excessive bodily fatigue and mental anxiety. Douglas and Randolph, at the head of a considerable army, of two or three thousand men-at-arms, fully equipped, with about ten thousand light-armed cavalry,

* Rymer, vol. iv. pp. 282, 284, 287.

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 292.

‡ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 1 Edw. III. M. 9. Dorso, vol. i. p. 208. Barbour, p. 385.

besides the hoblers and camp-followers, amounting to ten thousand more, invaded England without regard to the former truce, advancing in a most menacing attitude with a herald preceding them, who either declared it to be at an end,* or, in the style of chivalry, bade Edward and his nobles defiance.†

Robert, disdainng to take advantage of Edward III., proceeded to England as a great warrior, and sent, by herald and sound of trumpet, a formal defiance to the young king, and charged him to intimate, in due form, that the Scots were about to lay waste England with fire and sword.‡

July 15. Randolph and Douglas were accompanied upon this expedition by Donald, Earl of Mar, and James, the brother of the deceased Lord Stewart,§ which was directed against Edward III, surnamed Wyndyssor.|| This irruption, which had been expected for some time, occasioned such a panic in the minds of the queen and her ministers, that she had not only issued orders to assemble the whole military array of England at York; but at a vast expense sent for three thousand

* Barbour, vol. xix. p. 237.

† Froissart, lib. xvii.

‡ Froissart, vol. i. c. 16.

§ Barbour, Buke 14. p. 387.

|| Barbour, p. 388.

cavalry, or men-at-arms, to the continent, which arrived under the management of Lord John de Beaumont,* followed soon after by a second division, commanded by John of Quatremars.†

This nobleman was received in the English camp with every mark of respect, and a sumptuous feast prepared for him. Edward III. was attended on this occasion by the royal family and queen-mother, and five hundred belted knights. While every one was enjoying himself, and the music and the dancing were kept up with much spirit, a violent affray took place between three thousand of the English archers and the attendants of the foreign mercenaries.‡ The English army amounted to sixty-two thousand men, twenty-four thousand archers, and fifteen thousand light-armed cavalry; fifteen thousand infantry, amounting in all to one hundred and sixteen thousand, in good order and equipment, including eight thousand knights and squires, armed with steel from head to heel, mounted on powerful chargers with metal housings.§

* *Fœdera Angl.* vol. iv. pp. 290—293.

† *Rotuli Scotiae*, pp. 219—223.

‡ *Froissart*, L. 17, 18.

§ *Froissart*, c. 35. *Barnes, Hist. Edw. III.* p. 9. *Buch. Chroniques Francaises*, vol. i. p. 80. *Barbour* says the English army amounted to fifty thousand, *Barbour*, 388.

The contrast between the English and Scottish armies was sufficiently striking. The former, which were far better mounted and equipped, were attended by a vast quantity of waggons, luggage, carts, and all the necessaries of a refined, gay, and luxurious court; while the latter, each with a little bag of oatmeal trussed behind him, and a girdle for baking their crakenel attached to the crupper of the saddle, frequently marched in a single night or day for twenty-four miles together without bread or wine. The pure stream of the river served them for drink, the cattle taken in the field afforded them meat, and instead of using pots and other superfluities of the English, they, in primitive style, boiled or seethed it in the skins of the animals, content with a moderate and ill-prepared meal;* and when they had supplied the wants of nature, which are simple, the raw hides, or seething pans, served them for shoes. The hardihood of their nature, and their small mettlesome horses, were admirably adapted for skirmishing and sudden surprise, a species of warfare in which they excelled; while the heavy-armed, belted knights and cavalry of England, were of slower progress, though better disciplined, and more formidable in the field.

* Froissart, vol. i. p. 80.

In this manner the kingly hosts of England moved onward to the north ; the marshal being stationed at Newcastle, and the Earl of Hereford and Sir John Mowbray at Carlisle, to intercept their progress, and convey the alarm to the anxious Edward, who was roused by the challenge of defiance, and advanced to meet the invaders. But the Scots, who being unencumbered with baggage, had already broken over the barrier, crossed the wild frontier of Cumberland, were busy carrying on their devastations in Durham, and through the northern provinces of England ; so that when the English approached the river Wear and Durham, they learned the advance of the Scots, by the devastations which they occasioned, and the smoke of the ruins.*

The Scottish army, dexterous in their movements, and well acquainted with all the intricate passes of the country, carried desolation and fire in their train, the only melancholy signs by which they could be traced by the English ; and while they moved around them in Northumberland, like so many furies, invisible to their enemies, scattering misery and ruin, burning their granaries, and surrounding them with a barren desert and the blackness of darkness ; panic-struck, the English marched

* Froissart, l. xvii.

in regular order for three days, without seeing an enemy, fearful of appointing advanced guards, flying parties, or picquets.

From this period, instead of the open column, they marched in battle order, with the smoke for their guide, without meeting with

an enemy, which so vexed the English, that they again marched back to the Tyne, when they arrived at Haiden, above Hexham, on the Tyne, where they intended to intercept the march of the Scots, who had pursued their destructive course towards the west, among the savage deserts, mountains, and valleys of Westmorland and Cumberland.* Wearied with the fatigue of the forced tumultuary march which they now adopted, the infantry encamped on the one side of the river, and the cavalry on the other; and the soldiers began to murmur that they had been led through many wilds, into a sequestered situation, without provision to support them, or an enemy to encounter.†

When the shades of the night began to envelope them, mixed with the smoke, they pitched not a tent, lest they should be surprised; but each cavalier lay down by his horse, vainly expecting to surprise the Scots

* Froissart, vol. i. c. 17. Scala Chronic.

† Froissart, vol. i. c. 17.

in their return, or to receive a night attack. A single loaf of bread was all that each soldier had taken with him, which he carried behind the crupper of the saddle; the rain fell in torrents, extinguishing the fires, and drenching the soldiers, who had nothing to cover them but the green boughs which they brought from the forest, and nothing else for their fire; while the horses were weary for want of food, and all was disconsolate and cheerless. In this situation, half way between Newcastle and Carlisle, twenty-five English miles from the former, and thirty from the latter, they continued for eight days without any intelligence of the enemy; and unable to render assistance to each other, had the Scots appeared, by reason of the swelling of the river; exhausted by fatigue and rainy weather, and destitute of provisions, as their baggage had been left at some distance; wearied of their present situation, they now changed their direction, and proceeded southward. A grant of land was offered by the king, and the honour of knighthood to any of those who could bring him intelligence where the enemy was to be found; and sixteen English knights and squires passed the river with great difficulty, and set out singly on this romantic expedition.*

* Froissart, vol. i. c. xix. Scala Chronica. Fœdera Angliæ, vol. iv. p. 312.

The proclamation was indeed a singular one to be given by a king in his own dominions ; within a two hours' march of an army, upwards of twenty thousand strong ; and shews a want of precaution and generalship, wonderful, indeed, for the future hero of Cressy. One of those cavaliers, Thomas de Rokéby, surrendered himself to the Scottish leaders, who dismissed him, when they learned his errand, that he might lead his sovereign and his numerous hosts to the Scottish army, which was prepared and anxious to encounter them. Rokeby approached Edward and his army at Blanchland, on the river Derwent, with tidings of the Scots.

Meanwhile a party of the Scots, under Archibald Douglas, had advanced far south into the bishopric of Durham, where he routed a party of English ; and the rest of the army was drawn up advantageously at Werdale, on a hill side, with the river Wear to the north, in the front, and defended by rugged and precipitous rocks, which effectually protected the flank of the army,—overhung the river Wear, full of great stones, and swollen with rain,—and rendered the passage dangerous. Following the track of Thomas de Rokeby, through Werdale, they arrived about mid-day in sight of

July 31. the Scots, who had waited for them in that situation for eight days, drawn up in two divisions on the projecting shoulders of the hill, and the summit of the rock.* It was in vain that the king drew up his army in front of the Scots, challenging them, by a herald, to descend to the plain, from their impregnable position, and fight them. He proposed that they should draw off their forces, and allow him to cross the river, or that they should pass the river, and he would afford them time and space to form the army in battle order.

The Scottish commanders dared them to advance to the charge, and take reparation for the injuries which they had received, for their country laid waste, and their people taken prisoners. The English army, in vain, drew themselves up on foot, in three divisions, in battle order, using every endeavour to entice the Scots to leave their strong hold. They replied to the herald who challenged them, that they had rendered their country a desert, and would remain there as long as they pleased. The shrill sound of the winding of the horns, and the carousing of a triumphant enemy, rich in all kinds of provisions, was heard in the

camp of the English, who lay on the bare rocks, with their horses in their hands, and their harness on their backs, without fuel, food, or covering. In this manner they continued in sight of each other for three days, the Scots living on the fat of the land, sheltered by the English wood, which they wove into huts, after the ancient manner of their country, and winded their horns all night, as if, in the words of the ancient historian, "all the furies of darkness had been there;" while they lay on the ground all night, under a heavy rain, in full armour, the horsemen each stretched by his war-horse, sleeping at intervals, and again roused by the slightest sound of the distant bugle horn.

In order, if possible, to draw them down from their fastnesses, Edward III. despatched a body of a thousand archers, who were drawn into ambush. The Earl of Mar, and Archibald Douglas who wore a gown above his armour, raised their banners on high, when the English archers, who had drunken a good deal of wine, were warned by Robert of Ogill of their presence; and rushing upon them from the ambush, dispersed the aggressors, with the loss of three hundred of the English. The horse of Sir William of Erskine carried him into the midst of the English, where he was taken

prisoner, and soon exchanged.* Another body of one thousand cavaliers, armed from hand to heel, were placed in ambush in a valley behind the Scots; the banners of the whole English army were then displayed, as if eager for battle; the men-at-arms having laid aside their spurs, they moved towards the river, and the impetuous Scots, anxious to engage with them, descended from their stronghold; but the Lord Douglas having discovered that the English were playing the same game as they had done with the English, ordered the army again into their stronghold, and thus saved them.† The situation of the Scots, although strongly fortified by nature, was one of extreme danger, as they might easily be conquered by famine and blockade, if not by force of arms, and in their present position their enemies, who were better mounted, with crested helmets, hitherto unknown in the north, were almost three to one; while they were supported by some "gynes" or cannon, a species of artillery which the Scots had never before heard of, from which we derive the name of our modern artillery guns.‡ This species of projectile, as every new

* Barbour, p. 391.

† Barbour, p. 394. Hume represents Douglas as advising to risk the battle, and the Earl of Moray as dissuading it; and Mr. Tytler takes no notice of this second attempt.

‡ "War Cracks," Barbour, vol. xix. p. 394.

invention does, gives every nation which is possessed of it, a decided advantage over the rest; a deadly instrument, which has changed the art of war, and was found capable of committing dreadful devastations in the ranks. Every new invention connected with the military life, especially its offensive or defensive armour, almost invariably changes the fortune of the day; and these dreadful instruments of death, on which the fate of nations now so much depends, gave to the English an incalculable and sure advantage, over their northern neighbours. The English army, which rested on its arms, approached nearer to the Scots, with whom they had some skirmishes; and Randolph, who knew the temper of his troops, their fortitude and obstinacy, saw the difficulty of his situation, and for various reasons left their fires burning in the night, their horns sounding, and moved two miles up the banks of the river, which still lay between the two armies, to the middle of a wood on the same side.* This position in Stanhope Deer Park, which was of still greater strength, and of more difficult access than the former, was surrounded by a wall, and the property of the Bishop of Durham, and rendered the crossing of the river by the

* Froissart, vol. i. pp. 97, 98.

enemy almost impracticable.* It was covered with wood, which gave them a great advantage, and rendered an attack by cavalry impracticable, while it concealed their movements. The brave Lord Douglas, who was ever intent on some heroic exploit, accompanied by a chosen troop of cavalry, amounting scarcely† to five hundred,‡ gained the rear of the English without observation, on the second night after their arrival, who thus out-manceuvred, had encamped on a hill opposite, on the farther side of the Wear.

As they approached the outposts of the English army, with their swords drawn and their spears in the rest, an Englishman, who lay warming himself by the fire in his tent, observed to his fer or companion, "I wot not what may befall us here, but I feel a 'grewing' stealing over me, for fear of the Black Douglas."

"Perfay thou shalt have cause if I may," answered Douglas; who, with his company, rushed in upon them, and they bore down the pavilions with their spears, and slew in that quarter a great number, before they had time to muster or arm themselves;§ such was the

* Froissart, L. xix.

† Froissart says two hundred.

‡ Barbour, B. xix. pp. 581. 616, reports them at five hundred.

§ Barbour, p. 397.

fury and bravery with which they charged, that upwards of three hundred fell in the first onset.*

Having approached almost to the royal camp, by a secret, unfrequented path at night, he challenged the English, as one of their own officers of rank going the rounds, calling out the watchword, "Ha, St. George, no ward!" and while another party took a different route, he reached in this manner the royal tent, raised a tremendous shout and onset, as he endeavoured, in the darkness of the night, to take prisoner the youthful monarch, who, by the bravery of his domestics, many of whom paid for their fidelity with their lives, made his escape, not, however, without difficulty, since the Scots carried off two or three cords of the royal tent, and slew his chaplain.† By this time the whole camp was in motion, and having called together his scattered band, by winding his horn, Douglas charged with impetuosity through the English army, now in confusion, and led with inconsiderable loss his brave followers across the river, through the midst of the enemy, by one of the most daring and successful stratagems which was ever yet

* Froissart, vol. i. p. 24.

† Froissart, vol. i. p. 24.

attempted.* When the chieftain blew his horn, he ordered his band to make their way to the river; and while bringing up the rear, lest any should be left, for he himself was the last man on the march, he was nearly felled to the ground with a heavy mace or club; but, parrying the blow, he brought the foeman down.

When the Scots had penetrated through the midst of the enemy to the Wear, and were fighting their way through the enemy's camp, they missed their lord, and resolved to return in search of him; when the well-known sound of his horn was heard, and immediately they joined him, returning to his aid. When Douglas and his heroic band had cut their way through the hostile thousands of England, mounted on their noble chargers, aided by the darkness of the night and the terror of a night attack, they found that they had suffered little loss, and slain many of their enemies.

When Randolph, Earl of Moray, asked his friend what success they had, upon his return to the Scottish camp, Douglas replied, "We have drawn blood."

The Scottish army was now in a somewhat dangerous position, and a council of war was

* Froissart, vol. i. p. 19. Barbour, vol. xix. pp. 581.
—616.

called, at which Randolph, the Earl of Moray, recommended that they should give battle to the English. But Douglas, who was no less distinguished for his sagacity and wary prudence, than his undaunted courage, could not counsel an attack upon this occasion, in the face of an enemy so much more highly equipped and numerous. In the front flowed the river Wear, which was guarded by the English army, and on either side were bold and precipitous rocks; so that their only return could be over a wide-stretching morass of two miles behind the camp, the only outlet from their present fortified camp. A Scottish knight had been taken prisoner by the English, and from the captive they learned that the troops were ordered to be in readiness to attend the bold Douglas in the evening; and believing that another night attack was about to be made, Edward drew up the army, and stood under arms during the night. Meanwhile, so far as seen through the wood, numerous fires, and parties apparently cooking their repast, were observed; the camp, in contrast to the English, resounded with gay and martial music, the trumpets or horns were sounded to call in the foraging parties, and an unusual commotion was heard in the camp.

Had the Scottish army passed the river,

Randolph seemed to think, they would have discomfited the English; "That might well have happened," Douglas observed, "for securely enough we entered upon the adventure; but had we been vanquished, who passed over to yonder warlike camp, it would have astonished all who are here."

The earl then urged the propriety of hazard-
ing an engagement in the open field, since they might, without jeopardy, assail their felon foes. "By St. Bride!" said the Lord Douglas, "it would be great folly for us to fight at this time with such an host, which increases daily, has abundance of provision, and is in 'its own country, where it may receive succour and aid, while we must take what we can find. We will deal with them rather as the fox did with the fisherman. The fisherman had built a hut by the river side, where he had set his nets to take fish, in which he had a little bed and a fire. One night, as he went out to look after his nets, and was sometime absent, upon his return to his hut, he found, by the light of his little fire, that a fox was engaged in eating a salmon which he had taken. Upon this, the fisherman ran to the door and drew his sword, calling out, 'reiffar!* thou shalt not escape.' The fox, in terror, looked for a hole by which

* Robber.

he might pass out of the hut, but finding none, he espied a 'lauchtane' mantle lying on the bed, which, with his teeth, he snatched and drew across the fire, and while the fisherman ran to save his good mantle, the fox got out of the hut in great haste and made for his warren, so that the fisherman was left alone to lament the loss of his good salmon, and the burning of his mantle, whilst the fox escaped without hurt. We are the fox, and the English host is the fisherman; they think to circumvent us, but, like the fox, we shall effect a retreat in a way they little believe."*

To escape in front, where one of the greatest armies hitherto raised in England guarded the Wear, was impossible. In the rear of the Scottish camp, however, there was a morass very extensive, through which the heavy-armed cavalry and artillery of Edward would find it impossible to pass; while those of Scotland, which were light and hardy, might cross; through this, they proposed to retreat with the Scottish army.†

Aug. 6. Provisions began now to fail in the Scottish camp; they prepared secretly to make good their retreat, as it would have been madness with their handful to

* Barbour, pp. 399—401.

† Barbour, vol. i. pp. 401, 402.

attack the hosts of England, and they could not continue much longer without an engagement. After having replenished their numerous fires in the night, and made a great noise by horns and shouting, and prepared a sort of bridges or hurdles made of boughs, for enabling them to pass an extensive moss in their rear way, they retired from the enemy in good order, and in perfect safety. The English, never suspecting it to be flight, were drawn up during the night in order of battle, in three divisions, with blazing fires to warn them of the approach of the enemy, and a strong guard to prevent them from being surprised. So firmly were they possessed with the idea, that the Scots would start up from some ambush, and attack them in front, flank and rear, and of the valour of those soldiers who had occasioned such an uproar in their camp, under the banner of Douglas, that they stood in battle order under their arms for several hours, not daring to advance or retreat, after they had learned from two Scottish trumpeters, who had fallen into their hands and were carried to the camp, that they had decamped and marched northward. When the youthful Edward III., who had already given proofs of his future character, learned with certainty that the Scots had retreated, he wept for shame and regret that they

had escaped out of his hands ; but such was the tribute that he paid to their bravery, that he gave up as hopeless all idea of pursuing, afraid of the danger and difficulties of the attack.*

The English, instead of a rich booty, found little in the Scottish camp, but a number of caldrons and kettles, to the number of three hundred, made of the raw skins of cattle, suspended upon stakes for boiling their meat, and full of meat, and the gridirons for making cakes, with one thousand spit racks for the roast beef upon the fire ; ten thousand rough rullions, made of raw hides, and laced with thongs, which served them for shoes, together with five hundred slaughtered beeves ready for use, and five English prisoners, maimed and naked, and tied roughly to trees by the legs, which were hurt,† but whether wounded by accident or design does not appear, who were immediately set at liberty, and allowed to depart.‡

These prisoners were charged with a message to the King of England, not of a very conciliatory description, "that if he were dis-

* Hemingsford, vol. ii. p. 268. . Scala Chron. ap Leland, vol. i. p. 551.

† — "les jambes toutes rompues," Froissart, vol i. c. 19. Their legs appear not to have been broken, but hurt, as they were untied, and allowed to go away.

‡ Froissart, vol. i. p. 19.

pleased with what they had done, he might pursue them to Scotland and take his revenge."

This singular spectacle, from which the English might have learned a lesson of simplicity and temperance in their campaigns, accounts for the celerity of the Scottish movements, the hardness of their nature and their warlike character, and shews that they could subsist upon the most simple viands, with the brook for their wine, and the enemy's country for their cook-shop.

The English army, worn out by the privations already endured, and the fatigues of service, began to feel the want of provisions, and with an indulgence and a want of courage which rendered it contemptible in the eyes of the world, retired from Stanhope Park, and returned home without pursuing the enemy, or taking advantage of those circumstances which accident or providence had thrown in its way. The Scottish commanders, on the contrary, who perhaps acted with some degree of imprudence and temerity, in allowing the English to intercept them in their route, extricated themselves from their danger, with a boldness and dexterity, which added still more to the laurels of those experienced generals, who returned and conducted the

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troops in triumph and safety to their native homes.*

The termination of this mighty armament, which was equipped in the most complete manner, at an expense of upwards of three hundred thousand pounds, conducted by a youthful monarch, who threatened to extinguish the liberty of Scotland for ever, and blot it out from among the nations, was disastrous indeed; and like another Alexander, he sat down and wept, not because he had no more worlds to conquer, but because he himself had nearly been vanquished and made prisoner. They retired to Durham greatly mortified and distressed for want of provisions, throwing the blame on Mortimer, and issuing, by sound of trumpet, a bravado, that the Scots, afraid to face them, had fled like cowards; while the knights and men-at-arms belonging to John of Hainault, unaccustomed to such barbarian warfare, were vanquished, if not by the sword, by an equally powerful weapon, most of their horses having died from want, and the privations of the campaign.* Few of them reached York, and these few became unserviceable, and the English cavalry were in

* Barbour, vol. xix. pp. 797—806. Fordun, B. xiii, p. 12.

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 301.

little better condition ; but the Scots, inured to hardships of this kind, returned in safety, showing that under two such leaders, by discipline and valour, they became superior to any number of their enemies.

Robert, who was anxious for a lasting peace, aware that the disgraceful conduct of the English army would shake the power and influence of the queen and her minion Mortimer, and raise up new factions among the nobles, whose sway had already become odious to the English barons, and whose criminal conduct, together with the failure of the expedition, had exhausted the resources of the administration, resolved, by incessant inroads, to frighten them into favourable terms, and reduce them to the necessity of accepting a peace. With this design, the Scottish sovereign assembled an army, soon after the arrival of Lord Douglas and the Earl of Moray, of all who were capable of bearing arms. One division was sent to lay waste Northumberland, and procure provision for the rest ; a second was committed to the charge of Douglas and Randolph, and led out to the siege of Alnwick Castle ; and the third was commanded by Robert, who laid siege to the castle of Norham, intending to take possession of the fortresses and castles on the border, by

means of which he might protect his northern provinces from the inroads of the English, and preserve an effectual barrier between the two hostile nations.*

The Scots, although they had become brave and skilful soldiers by this long-protracted struggle for liberty and independence, capable of performing their duty with calm and unflinching coolness, wanted those engines which were requisite for scaling massive stone walls, and the skill and experience necessary for carrying on a siege. The Earl of Moray and Douglas, unable to make any impression on the castle of Alnwick, returned to aid the King in the blockade of Norham, which made a gallant defence, under its governor, Maners.† The siege of Norham was conducted with great spirit by the Scots, and before it three Scottish knights, Sir William de Montalt, Sir John de Clapham, and Sir Malis de Dobery, were slain.‡ While these sieges were carrying on, the King of the Scots was employed in subduing Northumberland, and is said there to have distributed lands among his followers,

* *Fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 12. *Barbour*, vol. xx. pp. 16, 17. *Scala Chronicon*.

† *Fordun*, vol. xiii. p. 12. *Scala Chronic.*

‡ *Holm's Scottish Chronicle*, *Fordun*.

in fee and heritage, as a reward for their fidelity and military skill.*

The animosities which had hitherto been repressed between the aristocracy and the crown of England, began to break out anew; those of the northern counties dared not to oppose the Scots in the field, who were scouring Northumberland and the northern provinces; and the English began to think of a lasting peace, as the only means of quieting the civil dissensions of the barons, and strengthening the tottering power of the administration.

Oct. 9. William de Denoun, a lawyer, who was empowered to make some amicable proposals to the Scots, as the most effectual way of disarming their enmity, arrived in the camp before Norham, and proposed to Robert de Bruce a marriage between David, his only son, and the Princess Joanna, of England, with a positive assurance, that Edward and his parliament, in the event of the marriage, would acknowledge the independence of Scotland, and concede all feudal superiority which it might claim over that country.† A truce was in the meantime agreed upon for four

* Barbour, vol. i. p. 405.

† Scala Chronicon.

months, and sworn to on the seal of Edward III., that the negotiations might not be frustrated or disturbed. This truce was in force until Sunday in Midlent.*

The veteran warrior had achieved the liberty of his people and the independence of the crown; he had purchased this crown with his own sword, and adorned it with many trophies of his country's glory and liberty; and it was but natural that he should hand down this rich and noble inheritance to his descendants. He had therefore many reasons for concluding a lasting peace with England, and thus perpetuating to his subjects, worn out with war, that noble freedom and independence which he had purchased for them at the expense of so much blood and treasure. The people, whose spirits had been raised by his noble deeds, were now better able to appreciate the blessings of liberty, and their own best interests, and the advantages of peace after a war of thirty-two years' continuance, than they were when serfs, under the tyranny and dominion of England. Out of the numerous family to which he belonged, he, his son, a boy, and his grandson, ten years of age, only remained, and to him, as to England, peace was most desirable. He therefore summoned

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iv. p. 335.

a parliament, to consider the overtures of peace made by England.*

A commission was named on the part of Scotland and England, to settle upon the articles of a definite peace between the two nations, with a reservation, by which the sanction of the English parliament was necessary on the part of Edward, before its final conclusion, which, for several reasons, expired without coming to any settled resolution.† A passport was again issued for a hundred persons, on the part of the Scots, to pass over to York, where the English commissioners met the Scottish envoys, for the purpose of renewing a pacific treaty, when the truce should expire. The English were very desirous to make peace with Scotland; and a truce was proposed at Fonteley, between the English King and Robert the Bruce;‡ but this truce seems not to have been agreed upon for some months.§ In order to facilitate this arrangement, a passport was allowed to the Scottish ambassador, with a train of a hundred, who were expected to the Feast of the Purification

* It expired March 22, 1338. *Fædera*, vol. i. p. 326.

† *Fædera*, vol. iv. p. 329.

‡ *Calend. Rotulorum Pantentium*, 20 Edw. II. m. 18, August 29, 1327.

§ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, p. 222. November.

of the blessed Virgin; and William, Archbishop of York, John de Warrene, Earl of Surrey, William de Ross, and others, were empowered by England to agree to a truce, but not with the King of the Scots, and to draw up the terms of a lasting peace.*

The usual procrastination took place, obstacles were raised on either side, the truce was all they could agree upon; and although they endeavoured to come to terms in regard to a final peace at Kenilworth, yet they seem to have failed †—the Abbot of Rievall and Ivoni de Aldeburgh having received a commission to swear to the truce, upon the soul of Edward III. ‡ It is quite evident, that the reason why the English commissioners did not succeed in securing a treaty of peace for their country, was the unwillingness of Edward to acknowledge the liberty of Scotland, and to yield to the hero of Bannockburn the title of king.

Jan. 22, 1328. The envoys or ambassadors of Scotland, who were by authority ordered to be received honour-

* Rotuli Scotiæ, Sept. 30, p. 221. Nov. 23, p. 223.

† Dec. 26, "De tractando de finali pace cum Roberto Bruce, apud Kenilworth, Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium."

‡ Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium, 1 Edw. III. m. 19.

ably, and treated with all due respect,* still endeavoured to procure for their country a lasting peace, on honourable terms. In order to facilitate the negotiations, and as a fundamental article, on which Robert and the Scottish nation insisted, the sovereignty of Scotland, and all feudal claims and privileges over that country, were renounced for ever in favour of King Robert and his people, by the English king in council, and parliament assembled, and the marches adjusted from the days of Alexander III.,† and a treaty of peace agreed to in the following terms.

The parliament in which this important measure was discussed, assembled at York, and a preliminary deed was agreed to, in which all prior claims of sovereignty, or superiority over Scotland, were for ever renounced by England, and all conventions concerning the subjection of Scotland discharged; and the king agrees to confirm the said deed, by an oath to be taken on his soul, by Henry Percy and William Zousche, of Ashby, who received letters patent for this purpose, while the parliament declares

* *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 1 Edw. III. Jan. 22, 1328.

† See the deed of recognition in the General Register of Edinburgh, Parliamentary Record of Scotland, vol. i. p. 85. Vid. *Fœdera Angliæ. Rotuli Scotiæ*, March 1, 1328. The original treaty, which was unknown to Lord Hailes, Carte, and Lingard, with the seals of the Plenipotentiaries, is still entire.

all papers and instruments which, in any way, interfered with the independent rights of Scotland, null and void.

“ To all the faithful in Christ, about to inspect these present letters, Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitain ; sends safety and eternal peace in the Lord. While we, and some of our predecessors, Kings of England, have endeavoured to obtain a right of superiority and dominion over the kingdom of Scotland, and have, therefore, been the cause of long and grievous wars between the two kingdoms ; we, therefore, considering the numerous slaughters, sins, and blood-shed ; the destruction of churches, and other innumerable evils, brought upon the inhabitants of both kingdoms by such wars ; and the many advantages which would be gained by the inhabitants of both realms, if, by the establishment of a firm and perpetual peace, they were secured against all rebellious designs at home and abroad, have with the common council, assent and consent of the prelates, peers, earls, and barons, and community of our kingdom, in parliament assembled, granted, and hereby do grant, by these presents, for us, and our heirs and successors, whatsoever ; that the kingdom of Scotland, by its own proper marches, shall re-

main for ever to the magnificent prince and lord, Robert Bruce, by the grace of God, the illustrious King of the Scots, our ally and dear friend; and to his heirs and successors, free, entire, and unmolested, and separated from the kingdom of England, in all things, agreeably to the marches in the time of Alexander, King of Scotland, lately deceased, of good memory, without any subjection, servitude, claim, or demand whatsoever. And we hereby renounce and convey to the said King of Scotland, his heirs and successors, whatever right we or our ancestors in times past have, or may have laid claim to, in any way over the kingdom of Scotland. And by these same presents, we renounce and declare void, for ourselves, our heirs and successors, all obligations, agreements, or treaties, whatsoever, touching the subjection of the kingdom of Scotland, and the inhabitants thereof, entered into between our predecessors, and any of the kings thereof, or their subjects, whether clergy or laity. And if there shall anywhere be found, any letters, charters, muniments, or public instruments, which shall have been framed, touching the said obligations, agreements, or compacts; we declare that they shall be null and void, and of no effect whatsoever. And in order to the fulfilment of all these premises, and to the faithful observation thereof, in all

time coming, we have given full power, and special authority, to our faithful and well-beloved relative, Henry de Percy, and to William de la Zouche, of Asheby, to take oath upon our soul, for the performance of the same. In testimony whereof, we have given these our letters patent, at York, on the first of March, and in the second year of our reign, by the king himself and his council in parliament.”*

Northumberland and Cumberland were conceded to David, King of the Scots, by Stephen, King of England; † but Northumberland was again restored to the crown of England in 1136; yet, in 1154, these three counties were in possession of the King of Scotland; ‡ and

* From Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 262. An. 1328. The copy of the instrument in Rymer, vol. iv. p. 337, is the same as that in this Chronicle, which must have been copied from each other, and the new edition from a copy in the possession of the Scottish College at Paris. Another copy in Fordun, vol. ii. p. 289, Goodal, was copied by Bishop Wardlaw, of St. Andrew's, March 17, 1415. There is very little difference between the transcript in the Chronicon de Lanercost, and that found in Fordun; and from that of the Scottish College at Paris, the copy in Lanercost Chronicle was amended in one or two slight particulars.

† W. Newbrigensis Historia, p. 115. Regi Scottorum qui aquilonales Angliæ regiones scilicet Northumbriam, Cumbriam, Westmeriam ejus olim à David Scottorum rege adquisitas, tanquam jus proprium.

‡ Chronicon de Mailros.

in addition to these, Lancaster was demanded as having, of right, belonged to his predecessor in 1193, together with the dignities and honours which his ancestors possessed in England.* About one hundred years afterwards, the kingdom of Scotland, by the treaty of Brigham, in 1291, in the reign of Alexander III., was for ever to remain an undivided and distinct kingdom from England; free in itself, without being subjected to England, according to its ancient boundaries and marches, which were as above specified; and the boundaries of the kingdom were now settled and agreed upon according to this treaty of Brigham, to remain as they were in the time of Alexander III. The question as to the right of possessing Northumberland, Westmorland, Cumberland, and Lancaster, was therefore left open to the Scottish king; and, whether conceded, virtually, by England or not, they might by this pacification be claimed as the inalienable rights of the King of Scotland, according to the ancient boundaries and marches of the kingdom.

Edward, the same King of England, granted

possidebat, mandare curavit (Rex Henricus); W. Newbrigensis, Historia, p. 115.

* R. de Hoveden, p. 736. There is no evidence that the King of England restored these counties to the Scottish crown.

letters, in which he protests, that he expressly and entirely renounces all right, action, and prosecution, upon the occasion of processes and judgments against the said Lord Robert, King of Scotland, and any of his subjects, by the lord high priests and cardinal legates, the Lord Gancelin, presbyter, and Luca, a deacon.*

The great obstacle to the treaty of peace was thus happily removed, all claim of superiority ever made by England over Scotland, was thus conceded by the English parliament held at York; and a treaty of peace with England was agreed upon, by the Scottish commissioners at Edinburgh, on March 17, 1328, and confirmed

on the part of England, on the 4th Mar. 17. of May, in the same year.† By this treaty, which is still extant, a definite and perpetual peace was established between the two nations; and David, the eldest son and heir of Scotland, now five years of age, was promised

* *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 263. in anno ætat. Edw. decimo sexto.

† Mr. Tytler, vol. i. p. 407; says, "the treaty of peace was concluded on March 17, 1327; and confirmed by the English parliament May 4, 1328." It appears from *Rotuli Scotiæ*, that both transactions took place in 1328; and from *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, 2 Edw. III. m. 27, that commissioners were appointed by the English to agree to this peace, in this year. The mistake arises from the change of the beginning of the year, probably. Some extraordinary forgeries appear, years after this transaction, for an account of which, see note K, Appendix.

in marriage to Joanna, the sister of the King of England, only seven, and to whom Robert engaged to give a jointure of two thousand a year in land; and, upon the death of either party, before the solemnization should take place, the two nearest in kin of the royal families of England and North Britain, were, as a substitution, to be united in marriage. Robert, on the other hand, renounced the right of aiding and fomenting rebellion in England, and Edward became bound not to encourage those of the Western Isles, who might attempt to throw off the dominion of Scotland; and although by the articles of Northampton, Thomas, Lord Wake, of Lidel, Henry de Beaumont, Earl of Buchan, and Henry de Percy, were to be restored to their possessions in Scotland, the execution of this article, so dangerous to the peace of the realm, was waived by consent.

The alliance of Scotland and France was also preserved inviolate; all the writings, instruments, and obligations relative to the subjugation of Scotland, were annulled, and those relating to the privileges and freedom of that country, together with the ragman's-roll, the fatal list of Scottish barons who had fought against Scotland, were delivered up to the King of the Scots by Edward, who was bound

to interpose his good offices towards the revocation of all spiritual censures, and church fulminations from the papal see.

The sacred stone on which the Scottish monarchs were accustomed to be crowned, was ordered to be restored;* as appears from a writ, under the privy seal, served on the dean and chapter of Westminster, although not stipulated in the treaty; but the superstitious populace refused to let it be removed, as it was believed that it was inseparably connected with the sovereignty of Scotland; and the wizards for once were right, when James VI. of Scotland, succeeded to the crown of England.†

The laws of the marches were to be strictly observed by both kingdoms; and in compensation for the late destructive ravages which they carried into England, the Scots were to pay twenty thousand pounds,‡ and restitution was to be made of the possessions belonging to ecclesiastics, and some other private families in either nation.§

* Vide Calendars of Ancient Charters, Introduction 58, for the last article, which was not specified in the copy of the treaty.

† Rymer, vol. iv. p. 454. Rotuli Scotiæ, C. C. 4 Edw. III. in B. dorso. Chronicle of Lanercost.

‡ Parliam. Record of Scotland, vol. i. p. 85.

§ Fœdera, vol. ix. p. 467. The doubts thrown upon this part of history, by Carte and Dr. Lingard, England's last historian, whose account of Scottish affairs is

The parliament of England was assembled April 24. at Northampton, and gave its sanction to this treaty, which was fraught with so much advantage and happiness to both kingdoms.*

By this important treaty, so equitable and advantageous to both nations, which owed its success, not more to the weakness of Edward, and the embarrassments of his government, than the judicious and moderate policy of Robert the Bruce; the war, which had raged with unabated fury for the period of nearly forty years, was closed, and the two nations were restored to that tranquillity and friendly intercourse of which each of them so much stood in need. The Scots in this national struggle had many and almost insurmountable difficulties to overcome: England is a country of greater extent, of a richer and more productive soil, and possessed of greater power and resources than Scotland; yet with all these obstacles to contend with, a small band of patriots, whose energies were cramped by the indifference and actual opposition of the rest of their countrymen, redeemed these unworthy minions from the slavery of England; opposed

partial and prejudiced, are now removed by the publication of the treaty.

* Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 351.

successfully the mighty power of Edward I., who had by fraud and treachery reduced Scotland under his subjection ; expelled the English from their native land, and seated the brave and generous representative of its ancient monarchs on the throne of his ancestors. The Scots fought for their lives, their properties, and their liberties, and even their existence as a nation ; they were the inhabitants of a mountainous country, whose bodies were more hardy, and their energies more ardent, and their minds more illuminated, when influenced by patriotism, than either the slave or subject who implicitly obeys the will of another, or the mercenary troops employed by Edward, who had no interest in the struggle. Mortimer, the paramour and minion of the queen-mother of England, had motives of private interest, which induced him to concede a treaty so glorious to Robert, the Scottish king, and yet, by no means degrading or unjust to England, although unpopular in that country. But the first and the most obvious cause, which contributed to the success of the Scots, was the steady bravery and skill of Robert de Bruce and his gallant commanders, who directed the savage energies of a naturally lofty-spirited people, guided in this struggle by the hand of God, and in the school of hard dis-

cipline and dear-bought experience, trained them up till they became, perhaps, with their scanty means, the bravest if not the most skilful soldiers in Europe.

No sovereign or minister of England could have resisted the just claims of the Scots, supported by the skill, bravery and enlightened energy of a conqueror such as Robert, King of Scotland; and this treaty, the consummation of all their herculean labours, was a triumph over the powerful armies, gallant fleets, and boundless resources of the English nation.

This treaty of peace, as might be supposed, was very unpopular in England; and the marriage of the princess with the son of the illustrious King Robert deemed base; and with a partiality not unusual with the English at these times, which yet appears very extraordinary, the treaty was refused a place among the records of that nation. We can, however, have less sympathy with her modern historians,* who deem the treaty of Northampton ignominious and dishonourable, and endeavour to disprove its existence, which, though it may by some be deemed disadvantageous to England, was both equitable and necessary; which

* Dr. Lingard, vol. iv. History of England, and Carte.

was alike demanded by justice, the youth of the English King, the dangers to which England was exposed from a victorious army, led on by the most skilful general of his age, who had destroyed the country with impunity up to the banks of the Humber, and beyond it,* even into the heart of the kingdom.

In the meantime, Elizabeth, the royal consort of Robert, expired, before she saw the happy termination of this long-wished-for peace, the overture for which was made before her death, by which her husband's title to the crown of his ancestors was recognised by his enemies, and the unhappy troubles, in which she herself had been a principal sufferer, had come to a close. After being kept a prisoner for many years in England, and undergoing several reverses of fortune, her remains were at last interred at Dunfermline Abbey, now the repository or burying-place of the royal family of Scotland.†

That part of the treaty of Northampton, by which it was to be cemented by the marriage of the Princess Joanna, in her seventh year,

* We find in the *Rotuli Scotiæ* and *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, full proofs of the agreement of the treaty of peace; but the instrument itself was deemed too ignominious to that nation to be found recorded there.

† She died Oct. 26, 1327. Fordun, vol. xiii. p. 12.

with Prince David, of Scotland, only in his fifth year, still remained to be executed.

In order the more effectually to bring this treaty into operation, in which the English government avowed great interest, Sir Roger Manduita and Robert de Frighale were appointed by Edward III. to receive annually the dower or settlement which was made in favour of the princess of England, until her marriage with the heir of the Scottish throne;* the Pope was strongly advised to revoke all spiritual censures issued against the Scottish monarch and his subjects;† and Joanna set out on her journey as the bride of David, the young prince of Scotland, accompanied by the Queen-Dowager of England, and a splendid retinue of attendants, among which were the Earl of Mortimer, and the Bishop of Lincoln, the high chancellor of England. She was met at Berwick by Prince David, where the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence, and every demonstration of joy and rejoicing, accompanied by the Earl of Moray, and James, the good Lord Douglas, who represented their beloved sovereign

July 12. upon this interesting occasion, the prince being only five years of age, and the

* *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium.*

† *Fœdera Anglia*, vol. iv. pp. 350—354.

princess seven.* The young and interesting bride, whose tender age, and that of her betrothed, was not deemed a barrier sufficient to prevent the solemnization of the marriage between the two children, where the union and peace of two kingdoms required it, was admitted to be a female of great promise and beauty.

The celebration of the marriage was conducted with great magnificence, gaiety, and solemnity; Englishmen and Scotsmen, who had for almost half a century met only in the hostile field as enemies, now sat down at the same table as friends, and exchanged with each other pledges of social happiness, and the courtesies of chivalry in its most amiable forms. The festival was protracted for many days, as if the noble knights, and ladies of high degree of either kingdom, were unwilling to give up that social flow of spirits, in which they found more enjoyment, than they ever felt in the noblest triumph of arms, and infuriated passion. The meeting betokened peace and contentment, the revival of arts, commerce, literature, and religion to both kingdoms; and the Queen Dowager of England gave up her daughter Joanna, as the pledge

* Hemingford, f. 11, p. 269. Fordun vol. xiii. p. 14.

of peace to both nations, and all those blessings which follow it, into the hands of David, Prince of Scotland, and the noble representatives of the King, and took her leave.*

Robert received them at Edinburgh with much state and affection, and rejoiced at this last proof of the consummation of all his wishes; both a political and Christian mode of terminating hostilities. By this treaty the rights of the Church were preserved, and in order to its accomplishment, Edward III.

Oct. 28. made restitution of the lands and annual allowances which the abbeys of Kelso, Jedburgh, and Melrose, derived from England, and which during the national wars were appropriated to the use of the late King; and also the possessions of the convent of Dundronan, of Galloway, in Ireland. While the English King thus gave his protection to the Church, Robert did a similar act of justice to those religious establishments in England, which laid claim to possessions and revenues in Scotland,† as well as the lands and possessions held by Henry Percy, in Scotland, which Robert had seized during the last war, not only in terms of the treaty, but of letters patent by King Robert, promising restitution.

* Barbour's Bruce, b. xiv. pp. 406, 407.

† Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 384, 461.

The family of Douglas held possessions in England, in the time of William Douglas; and as these lands had been forfeited at the commencement of the war, in the time of Edward I., they were restored by the special favour of Edward III., not in terms of the treaty of peace, but by an act of special grace.*

On the day previous to the conclusion of the treaty by Edward III., in order to do justice to Robert, he wrote letters to the pope, and seventeen of his conclave, desiring their intercession with the holy father, that he would be pleased to renounce any processes which he had carried on against the King of Scotland, or any of his subjects, and announce to the ambassadors of the Scottish King the plenitude of his grace, in thus conferring his blessing.†

The King had been so long under ecclesiastical censure, that he became desirous to be again restored to communion with the universal Church, and for this purpose sent James, Bishop of St. Andrew's; John, Bishop of Moray; Adam, elect of Brechin; James, Archdeacon of St. Andrew's; and Adam de Moravia, Doctor of Canon Law; who made

* Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 384. 461.

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iv. pp. 350, 351.

oath that the King was willing to adhere to the decision of the pope; upon which the interdict was recalled, and he was charged to adhere to the arrangement about truces, and hostile incursions into England, which may be made by the papal council.* The marriage of the young prince, David, was not more gratifying to the Scots, than the happy termination of the negotiations with the holy see some time afterwards, which, by the hands of its pontiff, John the twenty-second, May 13, appointed the Bishop of St. Andrew's to attend the coronation of Robert I., and anoint him, and his heirs, and successors, as King of the Scots, and remitted all ecclesiastical censures and excommunications, which may have ever been issued against him or his subjects.†

The Ragman-roll, which contained the names of all who had sworn homage to England's King, together with the other records and muniments, which Edward had carried with him to England, was on this occasion delivered up to the Scottish sovereign. Robert, who had now seen a happy termination to all his troubles, and who had passed such an

* The document is contained in Raynaldi, n. 1328, § 73, 74.

† The document is contained in Raynaldi, n. 1328, § 73, 74.

eventful life,—stooping under infirmities, but not of age,—began to decline in health, and had for nearly two years retired from the busy scene, where he had acted such a conspicuous part, to Cardross, on the eastern shore of the Firth of Clyde, in Dunbartonshire. He seems to have been seized with an incurable complaint, of the nature of leprosy.

Here he passed his time in all the elegant amusements of the day, in the construction of ships, excursions upon the Firth, hunting and fishing, and following the hawk and falcon, and in the pursuit of natural history, to which he was strongly attached; reviving the ancient hospitality of the country, distributing alms to the poor, and attended by a numerous and kindly retinue. Like every great man, he kept a fool, who enjoyed the privilege of declaring his mind freely, and entertaining the court; and many jokes were no doubt passed off by Patrick, the king's fool, whose practical use was not lost, either on the sovereign or his obsequious courtiers.*

It is difficult, however, to say, whether this practice originated in feelings of pure benevolence for that unfortunate class of individuals who were deprived of reason, or from motives less honourable to human nature. He also

* Chamberlain Rolls, Register Office, Edinburgh.

kept a lion, the emblem of his own noble qualities and character. Upon the arrival of David the prince, with his youthful consort, a parliament was called, in which the members swore fealty and allegiance to the successor of Robert I.; in which the succession to the crown was sanctioned in the male line of David, or heirs of Robert Stewart; and if the renowned King Robert should die, while David and his queen were under age, Randolph, the brave Earl of Moray, and the Lord Douglas, were to be appointed regents during their minority, and gave their oaths of fidelity to the parliament, while all the nobles, barons, and commoners, swore fidelity to these two wardens, that they would be subject to their authority, if they should be required to assume this office.*

The Scottish king did not long survive these events, but was seized with a severe complaint, then supposed to have been leprosy, which at length proved fatal. The King of the Scots, although actively engaged in military operations during the greater part of his life, could not divest himself of the melancholy reflections, consequent on the sacrilegious assassination of Comyn: his share in this affair hung heavy upon his mind, and the feeling was not

* Barbour, pp. 408, 409.

alleviated by the spoiling of ecclesiastical property, of which his followers were often guilty, and his disobedience to the church. While the hand of death lay heavy upon him, and he felt his latter end approaching, he called his peers and barons around his couch, and commended to their care and fidelity his youthful son, David; entreating them, by that fealty which they owed him as their sovereign, to wear the independence of the nation next their hearts, preserve for David the kingdom, and when of age place the crown upon his head;* a ceremony which seems to have been gone through before the death of the king.†

He then called his faithful companion in arms, that brave and gentle knight, Sir James Douglas, entreating him, by his friendship for him, and his renown in arms, to take his heart from his body after his death, cause it to be embalmed, and carry it to the Holy Land, and leave it there, in the tomb of our Lord, in obedience to a vow which he had made, that if it pleased heaven to prosper his arms, and send peace and freedom to Scotland, he should assume the cross in person, go to Palestine, and fight in the sacred wars. "When I was very hard beset," observed he, "I made a vow

* Froissart, vol. i. p. 113.

† Barbour, p. 408.

which it grieves me deeply that I have not been able to accomplish. I vowed to God, that if I should live to see an end of my wars, and be enabled to govern this realm in peace and security, I would then set out in person, raise the sacred standard, and carry on a war against the enemies of my Lord and Saviour, to the utmost of my power. Never has my heart ceased to bend to this point; but now my hour is come, and my God calls me; and since I cannot accomplish that which my heart has so much desired, you, my dear and tried friend, for the love you bear to me, than whom I know not a knight more hardy, or better suited for accomplishing my vow, will undertake this voyage, and acquit my soul of its debt to my Saviour. I hold this opinion of your truth and nobleness, that whatever you undertake, I am persuaded you will accomplish it successfully; and thus shall I die in peace, provided that you will do all that I shall tell you. It is my earnest desire, then, as soon as I am dead, that you take the heart out of my body, and cause it to be embalmed, and take as much of my treasure as may seem to you sufficient for the expenses of your journey, both for you and your companions; and that you carry my heart along with you, and deposit it in the holy sepulchre of my God, since

this poor body cannot go thither. And it is my command, that you should use that royal state and maintenance in your journey, both for yourself and your companions, that unto whatever land or cities you may enter, all men may know, that you have in charge, to bear beyond seas, the heart of King Robert of Scotland."

These affecting words drew tears from all around ;—they looked with reverence and with pity on their beloved sovereign ; and Lord Douglas replied, with tears in his eyes, " Ah ! most gentle and noble king, a thousand times do I thank you, for the great honour you have done me, in making me the depository and bearer of so great and precious a treasure ; most faithfully and willingly, to the best of my power, shall I obey your commands. Albeit, I would have you believe, that I think myself but little worthy to achieve so great an enterprize."

" Ah, gentle knight," said the king, " I heartily thank you ; now praised be God, for I shall die in peace, since I am assured, by the faith you owe to your God, and to the order of knighthood, that the best and most valiant knight of my kingdom, has promised to achieve for me, that which I myself could never accomplish."*

It was superstition which dictated this re-

[* Froissart, vol. i. p. 113. Fordun, vol. ii. p. 300.

quest of the dying monarch, a mistaken view of Christian duty. But we may well be permitted to hazard the opinion, whether it was prudent to send out of the kingdom, at a time when he was only newly seated upon his throne, one, through whose noble services he had, in some degree, been raised to that throne, more especially when his heir was a mere child, and in the hands of any one who had power sufficient to direct him. And yet, perhaps, it was this very circumstance, which induced the king to send him upon this dangerous and distant mission. He may have dreaded the effects of the rivalry of these two distinguished and powerful warriors, who were associated in command in the government of the country, and contrived this crusade in order to separate them, and save the kingdom from anarchy and rebellion.

Such, according to the superstitious views of the age, which believed it was a Christian duty to rescue the sepulchre of our Saviour out of the hands of the infidel, was the dying scene of King Robert of Scotland.

June 7, 1329. Upon this, he sunk into rest, and breathed his last, at Cardross, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign.* His remains

* Barbour, p. 410.

were deposited in the choir of the church of Dunfermline;* and when the body of the good King Robert was placed in the grave, the prelates and bishops who were present, "assoiled" him in the best manner they could; by which we must understand, absolution from his sins, according to the superstition of the times, by which the priests had usurped a power which alone belonged to God, for the censures of excommunication pronounced by the pope, had already been removed. He was enshrined under a rich marble monument from Paris.†

Those who, in modern times, have been reaping the advantages for which this magnanimous king fought, have been favoured with a view of the remains of their deliverer; and when his tomb was laid open, the lead in which his body had been wrapped, was found twisted into the shape of a rude crown, covered with a rich cloth of gold, which had been thrown over it, and it was found that in order to enable them to take out his heart, they had sawn

* Hemingford, vol. i. p. 170. Barbour, B. xx. pp. 285—292. Fordun, vol. xvii. p. 14.

† The following is the epitaph on Robert I. :

"Hic jacet Robertus invictus, rex benedictus,
Qui sua gesta legit, repetet quot bella peregit,
Ad libertatem perducit, per probitatem,

Regnum Scotorum : nunc vivat in arce Polorum."
—Fordun, Lib. xv. p. 293. Goodal edit.

asunder the breast-bone; but scattered was now that dust, which had made the King of England tremble on his throne.*

Few men have made a more illustrious figure in history than Robert the Bruce. We cannot venture to characterise the early part of his history as fickle and indecisive, though, to all appearance, his conduct was irresolute; for the step which he was about to take, when he unfurled his banner in Scotland, must lead either to a crown or a grave; and to have drawn his sword before he had ascertained the strength of his party, amidst the discordant factions of his ill-fated country, would have betrayed a desperate boldness and precipitancy, inconsistent with his character. He was of a grateful and generous disposition, munificent to his friends and the church.

Robert, King of Scotland, is one of the most exalted warriors to be found in ancient times; yet the virtues of his character were formed, and acquired their bright polish in the school of adversity. The courage for which he was so distinguished, and the generosity of his character, were inherent in his nature, and displayed themselves in very early life: but his magnanimity, his wisdom, his steady heroism, were the fruits of after-years.

* Transactions of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, part ii. p. 425.

But when he was deserted by his friends, after his first feeble attempts to wield the sword of independence, and saw that he must either perish unhonoured, or steadily pursue the path of glory and freedom, he resolved to achieve the redemption of his countrymen from a foreign power, or perish in the attempt. From this period, the dauntless courage which he shewed, the patient endurance of suffering, cheering his faithful followers in their weary wanderings with tales of old, the energy of character which he displayed, the magnanimity, candour, and integrity of his name, drew around him the valiant and the good, and enabled him to accomplish the emancipation of his country.

His true greatness appeared in that humanity, moderation, and pity, for the sufferings and hardships of others, which, in the hour of victory, were not unheeded; and although cruelly treated by the English king, he shewed great humanity to his prisoners.

True courage is seldom allied with cruelty; and that humanity, in which he bore a striking resemblance to Wallace, and wisdom in the arts of government and war, gave him a key to the hearts and confidence of his countrymen, and especially of some kindred spirits of the age, who shared with him his renown in

arms. The only blot on his humanity was his treachery and cruelty when he stabbed Comyn in the Convent of the Minorite Friars. He shewed in the spirit of legislation, no less wisdom than in the military art, in the protection which he held out to person and property, the strict administration of justice, and in his strict and rigorous punishment of criminals.

The circumstance of Robert rising from a private condition, and purchasing with his sword the crown of his ancestors, along with the freedom of his people, and preserving to the last his attachment to all, bespeaks extraordinary energy, and great worth of character. Robert Bruce, regarded the kingdom, in liberating and defending of which from the ambition of England he had spent so many years of peril and excessive fatigue, with the affectionate solicitude of a father; it was the object of his dying thoughts, and calling before him his nobles, he instructed them briefly before his death, it is said, in those principles of national defence, by which he had triumphed so signally over the giant power of England,—and to a departure from which are to be traced all the national misfortunes and defeats arising from aggression, which the Scots afterwards sustained. His knowledge in the military art was of the highest order, and he be-

queathed to his countrymen, as the last legacy which he could give them, the wisdom and experience of his eventful life.

He and his kindred companions in arms, inspired the common people with sentiments of liberty and independence, which they had not before experienced, for they were in a state of slavery ; and the wars in the time of Wallace and Bruce, and their enlightened policy, served more to emancipate their class from slavery than any event, with the exception of the Christian religion, which had hitherto taken place in the history of Scotland. By forming the burghers in towns, and the cultivators of the soil in the country, into that impenetrable column of spearmen before which the far-famed chivalry of Europe could not stand, he inspired all with a spirit of confidence and freedom which has never died.

We have already remarked the singular and moral effects produced by the collision of infantry and cavalry at the battle of Falkirk and Bannockburn ; and from experience, and the history of Wallace, he recommended them always to fight on foot, with a select body of light horse to disperse the destructive bands of English archery ; to trust neither to walls nor fortified castles, but strip the country of all its produce, cattle and moveables ; carrying

them to the remote mountains, glens, and morasses, thus enlisting famine as well as the sword on their side, and compelling the enemy to retreat for want. He recommended that they should harass them in every possible way, adopt the mountaineer and partisan system of warfare, by surrounding them with misery, desolation, and want; and while they were suffering from the hardships of their situation, keep a perpetual alarm by night attacks, charge home upon them on the first appearance of flight, aiding, but not preceding the ravages of famine.

His manners were kindly and engaging; his disposition singularly gentle, courteous, and without selfishness, yet he was of a high spirit; his person tall and well proportioned, being five feet ten inches high; his shoulders broad; his chest capacious; his limbs powerful, with an open and cheerful countenance, shaded by short, curled hair, which hung around his manly neck.* His forehead was low; his cheek-bones strong and prominent, with a wound on his lower jaw; and although possessed of an open and happy countenance, he could put on a look of stern kingly dignity,

* Fordun, vol. ii, p. 295. It appears that he was five feet ten inches, according to measurements, taken from his coffin, when lately discovered, by a brass plate, at Dunfermline.

when it suited his purpose to do so, and was accounted for his skill in arms and chivalry, the third best knight in Europe.* Yet, if we consider the conquests which he made, it is doubtful whether he is not entitled to the first rank in chivalry.

As he broke down the barrier in some measure which separated the feudal lords from his vassals, he still encouraged this liberty which he had been the means of inspiring, and was the first sovereign to introduce and perpetuate the representative system of the people in parliament. Before the fire of liberty, the differences of half-independent septs dissolved; and the Picts, Scots, Strathclyde Britons and Saxons, were fused into one body, worthy to be called a kingdom, and all classes and tongues, united with heart and hand, actuated with the same principle of liberty,—fought for their altars and homes, resisted the grinding tyranny of England, and were favoured by Divine Providence.

The petty differences, political distinctions, and peculiar customs which distinguished the various tribes into which Scotland was divided, did not prevent them from rallying round the standard of liberty which was raised by Wallace and King Robert, who awakened a spirit which has never been extinguished. The

* Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 295.

sufferings and indignities inflicted on Scotland by Edward I., and the indomitable spirit of resistance before which the mighty hosts of England disappeared, during the war of independence, laid the foundation of that character for which the Scots have ever since been distinguished,—unconquerable steadiness of purpose,—resistance to all oppression, and an enterprising spirit and love of country, which has been perfected by religious education.

He had by his first wife, Isabella, daughter of Donald, Earl of Mar, a daughter, Marjory, who died before her father.* By Elizabeth, daughter of Aymer de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, he left three daughters, Margaret, Matilda, and Elizabeth, and his son David, who succeeded him on the throne. He had also a natural son, Robert, who survived him,†

Margaret married William, Earl of Sutherland; Matilda became the wife of Thomas Isaac, a private gentleman; ‡ and Elizabeth was united in marriage to Sir Walter Oliphant of Gask.§

* Between Paisley and the castle of Renfrew, there is a cross called "Queen Blearie's Cross," said, by tradition, to have been erected where she was thrown from her horse.

† Fordun, Lib. v. p. 23. Charter of Sutherland, 14th Oct. 1347.

‡ Fordun, Lib. xi. p. 13. Lib. xii. p. 23. Lib. xiv. p. 25.

§ Chart. of David II. in the MS. Collection of Sir Alexander Seton, Lord Pitmedden.

Christian Bruce, the sister of the king, possessed the lands of Garviach, in the county of Aberdeen, by charter from Robert I.,* as she had been first married to Grartney, Earl of Mar, by whom she had, Donald, Earl of Mar, slain at Duplin, in 1332; Ellyne, through whom the earldom was handed down to the family of Erskine.† Among the other possessions belonging to the royal family, Mauld Bruce, the sister of the king, held the lands of Fromerteine, and the thanage of Kintore, in the county of Aberdeen, which was afterwards bestowed upon Keith.‡ The nature of the tenure by which they possessed their lands in this reign was frequently blench, and usually rendering feudal service, sometimes by giving a pair of gilt spurs, and at other times a rose.§

The gallant Douglas now undertook the important charge of conveying the heart of his deceased sovereign to the Holy Land; and

* Robertson's Index of Charters. Charter Robert I., "and on his dear son, Robert, he bestowed the lands of Fothenevin and Cassegonony in Forfar, and the lands of Alexander Abernethy, the lands of Liddesdale and barony of Sproustoun, and the hostilage of Scoon and those of Roger Moubray," Index, pp. 12, 15, 19.

† She was afterwards married successively to Christopher Seton, and Sir Andrew Murray.

‡ Robertson's Index.

§ Nicholas Skirmischour held the lands of South Bordland and Marisland, for a pair of gilt spurs, Chart. Rob. I., H. R. I. 52.

after having procured a passport from Edward III. for his journey, and settled his affairs, he proceeded with the heart of King Robert, enclosed in a curiously-enamelled silver case, which he wore suspended from his neck by a silver chain,* attended by a royal retinue of knights and squires, splendidly equipped, befitting the representative of so great a king.†

As the representative of his sovereign he was magnificently attended by eight noble Scottish knights, who followed in his suite, one of whom bore the royal banner; and was served at table by twenty-six squires, all “comely young men of good family, and in honour of his late revered master, he kept a royal court, with sound of cymbals and trumpets. All the vessels for his table were of gold and silver, and whatever persons of good estate went to pay their respects to him, were entertained with two sorts of wine and two kinds of spices.”‡ He left the shores of Scotland full of hope, and after a prosperous voyage, he anchored off Sluys in Flanders, at that time reckoned the great emporium of the Netherlands.

As there was no crusade at this period, the

* Barbour, p. 414.

† Barbour, B. xx. pp. 303—316. *Fœdera Angl.*, vol. iv. p. 400. Froissart, vol. i. p. 113.

‡ Froissart, vol. i. p. 113.

restless Douglas, whose chivalry had turned scenes of war in which he delighted, turned aside into Spain, to assist Alphonso XI, King of Castile and Leon, against Osmyn, the Moorish King of Grenada, and the Saracens, the enemies of the Christian faith. When he arrived at Seville, after a tempestuous passage, men and horses were landed. He was presented to the king, who received him most graciously, for the renown of this knight had passed before him; and he was waited upon by the knights of that country, and particularly by the English knights who were there, who kept him company, and a goodly priest of the Christian religion, the great master of St. Jago, with whom he became very intimate.*

This knight of great renown, who was one of the good priests of Christianity, whose face, in the language of the age, was held so steadfast to heaven, that it was all covered with scars and wounds received in the holy war, looked with astonishment when he first saw Lord Douglas, that a knight of such gallantry and fame, who had distinguished himself in so many engagements, should have escaped without a wound on his face. "I thank God

* Barbour, p. 416.

that I had always hands to protect my head," Douglas replied, with modesty.*

While he remained in that country, he heard that the King of Balmereyne, with his moody Saracens, had entered Spain, whose object seems to have been to raise the siege of Gibraltar, then closely invested by the Spaniards. On their approach, Alonso, or Alphonso, raised the siege, and marched against the enemy,† and coming up with the Moorish troops at Theba, on the frontiers of Andalusia, near Castile,‡ his troops were divided into three divisions, the van Aug. 26. of which was led on by Douglas; the second division under the great master of the Order of St. Jago; and the reserve was brought up by the King of Castile, in person. The Lord Douglas, who had the charge of the first division, consisting of strangers, discharged his knightly duties with valour and success, and many Saracens fell before him. At length the cavalry were put to flight, and Douglas, eager in pursuit, rode after them, till scarcely ten remained with him, when he returned to join the Christian army, followed in his turn by the Saracens.

* Barbour, pp. 415, 416.

† Froissart, vol. i. p. 118. Barbour, p. 416.

‡ Mariana, xv. p. 21.

Before he had reached his division, he observed Sir William de Saintclair, or Sinclair, of Roslin, environed by his enemies, and in extreme hazard of being cut off, and striking spurs into their horses, he and his few followers threw themselves upon the Saracens, and quickly enlarged the space around them.* But being surrounded by the thick bands of the infidel, he took from his neck the silver casket, which contained the heart of the King, and in the vain attempt to cut his way through the embattled foes, he threw it into the midst, of the enemy, calling out as if to his royal master, "Lead on! lead on! as thou wert wont, and Douglas shall follow thee or die!"† With these heroic sentiments, he rushed into the midst of them, supported by Sir William Sinclair, of Roslin, Sir Robert Logan, and Sir Walter Logan, who were all slain; upon which the party fled. Sir William Keith, who had broken his arm, and was not in the battle, had his body, which was found with the casket, in the field of battle, disembowelled, and bringing the bones of the good knight along with them,

* Barbour, B. xx. p. 418. Jamieson's edit.

† Barbour a Pinkerton, vol. iii. p. 171. Jamieson's edition does not contain this incident.

they were buried in the parish church of Douglas.*

Douglas may well be called, as he has been, the hero, not of a hundred, but of seventy battles, for he actually fought this number of engagements, in which he was thirteen times defeated, and was fifty-seven times victorious.† This ancient Scottish knight was of tall and slender, but handsome form, with large bones betokening strength, and broad shoulders. His appearance was meek and gentle in time of peace; but when seen in battle he had another countenance; he had a lisp in his speech, which became him well, and a complexion dark or swarthy, with dark hair.‡ In many points he was compared to Hector of Troy; and on account of the goodness of his heart, and his many virtues, was called the good Sir James Douglas, and was generally beloved by those who knew him.§ He was one of those ancient heroes, who, trained in the school of Robert the Bruce, achieved for Scotland that liberty, under which her sons still recline, and left them an example of dauntless fortitude and chivalry, which has not been lost.

Thus fell Lord Douglas, acknowledged to

* Barbour, pp. 419. 422. Vid. Bower.

† Fordun, lib. xiii. c. 25.

‡ See Appendix, M.

§ Barbour, p. 15. See Appendix, M.

be one of the most heroic and chivalrous knights in Christendom, the champion of Scottish liberty, and of every military virtue.* The casket containing the heart of the King, which was carried back to Scotland, was buried at Melrose Abbey by the Earl of Moray, under a tomb richly cut of alabaster, which was erected by Sir Archibald Douglas, his son.†

The distinguished services of this chivalrous knight had not been forgotten by his sovereign; for upon James Lord Douglas he bestowed, by charter, a bounding infestment of the lands of Douglas and Kirkmichaell; the barony of Stabligortoun, on the Esk, belonging to John Lindsay; the mercat town and forest of Jedworth; the castle of Bonjedworth, and many other properties,‡ which he held in regality; that is, enjoyed a criminal jurisdiction within his domain, and could reclaim ever from the court of the King's justiciar, any subject or

* Barbour, vol. xv. pp. 410. 474.

† Barbour, vol. xv. pp. 481. 495.

‡ Robert I., D 75 to 26. Chart. Robert I. Robertson's Index, p. 10. Amongst these were the lands of Polbuthy, in Annand; the lands of Botill, in Galloway; of Cockburn, forfeited by the Patrick Luband; the lands of Bethcrulle, in Teviot, belonging to Cumin; certain lands in the barony of Westerker and in Hidgait, in Berwick; and the forests of Selkirk, Ettrick, and Traquair, in a free barony. Chart. Robert I. Robertson's Index.

vassal who lived upon his land. This privilege was conferred upon him by the symbolical act of the King, putting a ring with an emrod on the fingers of the earl and his successor, on the day when he should take sasine of his lands.*

Thus was closed the mortal career of two of the greatest heroes which Scotland ever produced; whose noble virtues raised for that kingdom a monument of independence which is still enduring; and as they lived together during a long career of perilous enterprise and success, so they were not long divided by death.

* Chart. Jacobi Domini de Douglas. 26 Robertson's Index, p. 10.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A, vol. i. p. 26.

In the Hanseatic city of Lubec, a letter has been discovered among its archives, of date the eleventh of October, 1297, addressed by William Wallace and Andrew Murray to the towns of Hamburg and Lubec, of which we shall subjoin a copy of the original.

“ Andreas de Moravia et Willelmus Wallensis, duces exercitûs regni Scotiæ, et communitas ejusdem regni, prouidis uiris et discretis ac amicis dilectis, maioribus et communibus de Lubek, et de Hamburg salutem et sincere dilectionis semper incrementum. Nobis per fide dignos mercatores dicti regni Scotiæ est intimatum, quod vos vestri gratiâ, in omnibus causis et negotiis, nos et ipsos mercatores tangentibus consulentes, auxili- entes et favorabiles estis, licet nostra non præcesserent merita, et ideo magis vobis tenemur ad grates cum digna remuneratione, adque vobis volumus obligari; rogantes vos, quatenus preconizari facere velitis inter mercatores vestros, quod securum accessum ad omnes portus regni Scotie possint habere cum mercandiis suis, quia regnum Scotie, Deo regraciato, ab Anglorum potestate bello est recuperatum. Valete. Datum apud Badsingtonam* in Scotia, undecimo die Octobris, anno gracie, millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo Septimo. Rogamus vos in super vt negocia Johannis Burnet, et Johannis Frere, mercatorum nostrorum promoneri dignemini, prout nos negocia mercatorum vestrorum promovere velitis. Va- lete dat: ut prius.”

* Haddington ?

NOTE B, vol. i. p. 71.

Charter of protection to the Prior and Convent of Hexceldsham, by Sir William Wallace and Sir Andrew Murray.

“ Andreas de Moravia et Willelmus Wallensis, Duces exercitûs Scotiæ, nomine præclari, Principis Domini Johannis, Dei gratiâ, regis Scotiæ illustris, de consensu communitatis regni ejusdem, omnibus hominibus dicti regni ad quos præsentis literæ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis, nos, nomine dicti Regis, Priorem et Conventum de Hexhildesham in Northumbria, terras suas, homines suos, et universas eorum possessiones, ac omnia bona sua, mobilia et immobilia, sub firma pace et protectione ipsius Domini Regis, et nostra justè suscepisse. Quare firmiter prohibemus, ne quis eis in personis, terris seu rebus, malum, molestiam, injuriam, seu gravamen aliquod, inferre presumat, super plenaria forisfactura ipsius Domini Regis, aut mortem eis, vel alicui eorum, inferat, sub pœna amissionis vitæ et membrorum; præsentibus post annum minime valeturis. Dat apud Hexhildesham, vii die Novembris.” Vid. W. Hemingford, t. i. p. 135.

NOTE C, vol. i. p. 80.

1

Ludere volentibus ludens para liram, De Mundi malitia rem demonstro miram, Nil quod nocet, refero; rem gestam requiram: Scribo novam Satiram, set sic ne seminet Iram...	}	Morus.
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46

Falsus dux Fallacie convocavit cetum, (Sciensque abierit Rex noster trans Fretum) Cremare Northumbriam statuit decretum: Sepe videmus, ait, post gaudia rumpere fletum..	}	Omerus.
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47

Luge nunc, Northumbria nimis desolata, Facta es ut vidua Filiis orbata! Vescy, Morley, Summerville, Bertram sunt in fata! O quibus, O quantis, O qualibet es viduata!	}	Ovid. Omer.
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48

In te, cum sis vidua, cunei Scotorum
 Redigunt in cinerea prædia proborum ;
Willelmus de Wallia dux est indoctorum,
 Gaudia stultorum cumulant augmenta dolorum. } Cart.

49

Ad Augmenta sceleris actenus patrati,
 Alnewyk dant ignibus viri scelerati ;
 Circumquaque cursitant velut insensati :
Electi pauci sunt, multi vero vocati. } Veritas
 } Evan-
 } gelica.

N. 4934. The Donation Manuscripts (in the first volume of Francis Peck's Collections for a Supplement to Dugdale's Monasticon), a transcript "Prioris Alnewicensis de bello Scotico apud Dumbar, tempore regis Edwardi I. Dictamen, sive Rithmus Latinus quo de Willielmo Wallace, Scotico illo Robin Whood, plura, sed invidiose, canit."

NOTE D, vol. i. p. 111.

S. Machutes seu Macutes seu Maclouius Scotus S. Brandani socius episcopus in Scotia, sed cujus loci non observavi inepte Joannes Generbrand a Leidis Carmelitanus lib. i. chr. Belg. cap. xiv. S. Magutus perpetuo virgo in Anglia vixit de quo Sigebertus Gemblacensis in Chronico. "Hoc tempore in Scotio Brandanus claruit, qui fortunatas innilas septennali navigatione requirens multa miracula digna vidit à quo Macutes, qui et Maclauius regulariter educatus et ipsius navigationis socius, in Britannia sanctitate, et miraculis claruit, qui à Britannis exacerbatus eis maledictis transivit ad Gallias et sub Leontio Sanctorum episcopo multo terori virtutibus claruit Britannos verò propter suam maledictionem variis cladibus addictos, data rursus benedictione absolvit et sanavit."

Vitam ejus scripsit idem Sigebertus Gemblacensis, qua recitat Laurentius Surius tom. vi., qui cap. i. hæc habet. "S. Maclauius nobilitate parentum apud homines seculi inter suos non mediocriter inclytus circa oram Britannici maris fuit editus, pater ejus Guent nomine, comes fuit qui urbis Gimicastrum nomine conditor extitit, matrem ipsius Darnal appellatum accepimus."

Fatetur idem alios ejus de acta, sed antiquiores celebrasse. Ita enim in Epistola ad Tictmarum Gemblacensem abbatem vita piissimi confessoris Christi Macloii, qui, et Machutes dictus est diligenter quantum ad veritatem historiæ antiquorum stylo-erat exarata, sed quia minus, ordinate digestæ, &c. Adi ad Petrum, lib. x. Catalogi cap. lxiv. Trithem. devit. illust. ordin. S. Benedicti cap. xxxv. Acta ejusde extant MS. in Bibliotheca Vaticana Baronio teste.

Recolit sanctissimam ejus memoriam ecclesia die xv. Novembris Martyrolog. Roman. ex die in Britannia natalis Machut Episcopi qui à primeo ætatis suæ tynocimo miraculis emicuit. "Clarius Joannes Molanus addition. Usuardi. Ipso die Santonas ciuicate, depositio S. Macloui episcopi, et confessoris in Britannia, urbe Alectes, qui à primauo ætatis suæ tyro cinio, innumerabilibus miraculis splendide emicuit." Falso urbem "Alethem natalem S. Maclouii patriam vocat cum illa sit in Minori Britannia, voectur qui 'S. Mala' hodie falso inquam.

Si Alethæ natus, ut contendit Melanus, quomodo fuit ei longus navigationis in Santones vicinos cursus? Deinde cur an Christiani ibi vigerent cultus, ignorauit? Esto igitur verum in Scotia natum sede suo Episcopali patria dejectum in Armorica aliam "Alectæ" dignitatem episcopalem gessisse scripsit.

De fortunatis insulis, lib. ii.

Epistolas ad Britannicas ecclesias, lib. i.

Epistolas ad Brendanum, lib. i.

Ordinationes suæ ecclesiæ, lib. i. quo "Alethæ" in Armoricis asseruantur, quæ urbs ab eo nomine sortita est.

Claruit Anno DLXIII. Sigebertus loco landato, et aliî.

MacLow or Saint Machut, whose day in the Romish calendar is the 15th of November, appears to have lived at a very early period, when the priory of Lismahagow, dependent on the Abbey of Kelso, which was founded by David I. in 1144, was dedicated to Maclauius MacLow, or Saint Machut, which was understood, from a grant by Robert I., to have claimed his body, or at least was in possession of his shrine, for he was canonised by the superstition of the Romish church. He was descended of a noble family in whatever century he was born, being the son of Guent, the comes or Earl of

Guincaſtle,* a city which he built at the mouth of the Britiſh ſea, and Darnal, his mother, (Sigebertus Gemblaceniſis, who quotes Laurentius Surius, Tom. vi. c. i.)

NOTE D, vol. i. p. 128.

Edmund, the ſon of Edward the Elder, granted Cumeria to Malcolm, king of the Scots, on condition of military ſervice, (A. 945-6. Malmſb. de Geſt; Floren: Wigorn; Simeon Dunelm: Saxon Chronicle, Henry Huntingdon), which explains how Kenneth III., who did homage for Lothian in England, ſubmitted: (I. de Wallingford, p. 545); how Malcolm III. became the man of the Conqueror, who met him at Abernethy in 1072. (Floren. Wigorn., Hen. Hunt., Mailros. Chron., Saxon Chron.); and Malcolm IV. “became the man of Henry II., as his grandfather, David I., had done to Henry I., ſaving all his dignities,” (Mailros. 1157.) After this, the homage which was offered by William and the Alexanders, was for the principality of Cumbria, or lands in England. Ingulphus, p. 79, ſays, “Malcolmum regem ejus ſibi hominem facere, et fidelitatem jurare, apud Abernethi coegit.” William Ingulphus; it now appears, is not an original Chronicle, but compoſed in the time of Edward II., ſince there is no alluſion to this paſſage in the Croyland Abbey returns of Edward I., although the monks eſteemed this work of Ingulphus their peculiar treaſure and pride; nor to the name of this writer, though in after-times he was conſidered to be the chief favourite and boaſt of the Abbey of Croyland. It could not therefore have exiſted then, without being returned to Edward I., who commanded from the abbey a return of ſuch paſſages relating to Scotland; (ſee Extracts from Croyland Abbey, 19, 20 Edw. I., Doc. 24, pp. 77—85, Palgrave Editor). William did homage to John, (“ſalvo jure ſuo,” R. Hoveden, p. 811), it is ſaid upon the croſier, becauſe there was no book at hand at Lincoln, (Bridlington, 19, 20, Edw. I. pp. 60—67, Palgrave Editor), for before this time Richard had acknowledged the independence of Scotland (6 Dec. 1189, Benedict. Abbas, 575, Fœdera, i. 64, Palgrave Edit.).

* Ribadeneira de Vitis Sanctorum.

When prisoner in England, he was induced to do homage as king of Scotland; (Fœdera). There is amongst many others, a forged document, now published by authority of government, edited by Sir Francis Palgrave, in his first volume of Documents and Records on Scottish Affairs, (Appendix No. 1), purporting to be a charter of homage performed by Malcolm Canmore to Edward the Confessor, with a fragment of a real seal attached by thread, in which letters patent, which have been pronounced a forgery, he is said to have held the whole kingdom of Scotland and the adjacent islands of Edward the Confessor, by liege homage and fealty, as his predecessors had done, as appeared by ancient records of the Scottish crown. John Hardyng of Ryme, author of a metrical chronicle of English history, who brought this, and six other forged letters patent from Scotland, and delivered it to Henry VI., complains, that he did not obtain any reward for the same; Hardyng, by Ellis, i. 239.

In another forged letter patent, David Bruce is made to testify that he had inspected a charter of Alexander, king of Scotland, who grants rights, liberties to all the clerical and lay lieges of his realm, "saving in all things reserved unto his most revered overlord Henry and his heirs, all his and their rights of superiority, as over Lords of the kingdom of Scotland." And on the Church of Scotland, Alexander is made to confer all her rights as they were of old, reserving, however, unto the archbishops of York all their metropolitan rights, throughout the whole kingdom of Scotland, as also those of the bishopric of Durham, for ever. This alleged charter of Alexander is pretended to be ratified by David II., with assent of Parliament, at Perth, 2nd of June, in the first year of his reign. (Forged letters patent of David Bruce, 2nd Docum. Appendix Palgrave, 1837, published by government.) These two, and other documents, which profess to give the most complete and formal proofs of the superiority of the English crown over Scotland, were in November, 1457, deposited by John Hardyng in the Treasury, specified in an indenture (Palgrave, Appendix, No. X., p. 377, postea), and now published with four other forged documents on the same subject. He says he

paid 450 marks for them in Scotland, in the reign of Henry V. of England, and received a pension of twenty pounds per annum by Henry VI.

NOTE E, vol. i. p. 131.

An account of the reign of Baliol is found in the following Latin contemporary verse:—

Johannes jam Scotiæ clemens rex et castus,
Regni tenens regimen, ut rex erat pastus,
Hunc tandem deposuit gentis suæ fastus.
Exulat ejectus de sede pia protoplastus.

Exulat et merito, quia, sicut legi,
Spondit homagium Anglicano regi;
Declinavit postea frango, frangis, fregi;
Omnia quæ pepigi prodendo pacta peregi

Pactum prætergressus est princeps prænotatus,
Quando non compescuit provorum conatus;
Vox in Rama sonuit, fletus et ploratus;
Mitis prælatus facit ignavos famulatus.

From the accounts of Thomas de Normanville in regard to the lands and tenements which belonged to Alexander III., in the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, it appears that the demesnes held by the king of the Scots, present the following abstract of gross rental in modern computation.

	19 Mar. 1285			1286—1287.		
	—Sept. 1286.			£	s.	d.
Northumberland—Werke or Wark in Tyndale and Grendon . . .	46	16	8½	115	16	7½
Cumberland—Penrith . . .	40	16	1½	75	7	9½
Scatteby . . .	11	5	7	26	18	4½
Carlton . . .	6	16	9	19	4	2
Langwathby . . .	23	12	0	44	6	0
Salkeld . . .	18	17	9½	35	15	2
Sowerby . . .	34	10	2½	64	7	0½
	182	15	2	381	15	1½

NOTE F, vol. i. p. 180.

Edward is said to have penetrated even to Inverness, a greater distance than ever his grandfather had done, by W. Hemingford, t. ii. p. 278, *permulta millia ultraquam unquam fuerat avus suus*. But from a contemporary chronicle it appears that he did not proceed so far to the north. *Chronicon de Lanercost, anno 1336, p. 285—288.*

NOTE G, vol. i. p. 200.

There can be no doubt now of the treacherous part which Sir John Menteith acted in regard to the capture of Sir William Wallace, as appears from the subjoined evidence.

Novel avoins oy entre compayg nouns
 De William le Walays, mestre de larouns :
 Sire Jon de Menetest li suist à talouns,
 Enprès de sa putayne li prist en tapisouns ;
 A Londres le menait en ferges et laceouns,
 Où jugez esteit sur cels condiciouns ;
 En primer à fourches fust trayné pur tresouns,
 Pendu pur robberyes et pur occisiouns,
 Et pur ceo k'il avast ennemy par arsouns
 Viles et eglises et religiouns,
 Avalez est de fourches, et overt les ventrouns
 Le quoer et la bowel trullez en carbouns,
 Et cope la teste par tets mesprisiouns
 Pur ceo ke il avait par ces havyllouns
 Maintenez la guere, doné protecciouns,
 Seysye seynurye en ses subjecciouns
 De altri realme par ses entrusiouns,
 Copé li fust le cors en quatre porciouns,
 Chesunc pende par say en memor de ses nouns,
 En lu de sa tanere cels sunt ces gunfanouns.

Peter Langtoft.

Captus fuit Willelmus Waleis per unum Scotum, scilicet per Dominum Johannem de Mentiphi, et usque London ad regem adductus, et adjudicatum fuit quod traheretur, et suspenderetur, et decollaretur."

Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 203.

This Chronicle in MS. is preserved in the library of the British Museum, Claudian D. vii. art. 13, and has been printed by the Maitland Club.

“ William Waleys was taken of the Count of Menteth about Glaskow, and sent to king Edward, and afterwards was hangid, drawn, and quarterid at London.” Leland’s translation of *Scala Chronicle*, Collect. vol. i. p. 541. The *Scala Chronicle*, which we have frequently quoted, has recently been published.

Anno Domini MCCCXV. “ Willelmus Wallace per Johannem de Menteth fraudulentè et prodicionaliter capitur, Regi Angliæ traditur, Londoniis demembratur.” Fordun, iv. p. 996. He received many parts of his history from Wardlaw, bishop of Glasgow.

A thousand thre hundryd and the fyft yere
After the byrth of our Lord dere,
Schyre Jon of Menteth in tha dayis
Tuk in Glasco Willame Walays.

Wyntown, vol. ii. p. 130. He says with Fordun, “ Menteith deceived good William Wallace.”

Sir Jon of Menetest sewed William so nehi,
He tok him whan he wepd lest, on nyght his leman bi.
Thát was thortht treson of Jak schort his man,
He was the encheson, that Sir Jon so him nam
Jak brother had he slayn, the Waleis that is said,
The more Jak was favn, to do William that braid.
Langtoft, vol. ii. pp. 329, 330; vid. *Scala Cronica*, p. 126.

• Dominus Wallas Scotiæ custos, cum Johanne Grahame et Johanne de Menteth, militibus vid Bower capus per dominum Johannem de Mentiphe, Lanercost MS. Wyntown Cronykil, viii. c. 20.

We have been thus particular in establishing the fact that Wallace was betrayed, and taken by Sir John Menteith, a son of the Earl of Menteith, because Lord Hailes believed it to be only founded on tradition.

NOTE I, vol. i. p. 311.

Stanzas of an original ballad of the times, written on

the 'fate of Sir Simon Fraser, or Frizel, from whose family the house of Lord Lovat is descended.

This was before Saint Bartholomew's mass
That Frizel was y-taken, were it more other less,
To Sir Thomas of Multon, gentil baron and free,
And to Sir John Jose be take the was he
to hand

He was ye fettered wele
Both with iron and steel
To bringen to Scotlande.

Soon after the tiding to the king come,
He sent him to Londone with mony armed groom.
He came in at Newgate, I tell you it on a plight,
A garland of leaves on his heued y-dight
of green,

For he shold be y-kno
Both of heigh and of low,
For the traitour I ween.

Y-fettered were his legs under his horses wombe,
Both with iron and with steel manced were his hond,
A garland of pervynk,* set up his heved,
Much was the power that him was bereved,
In land.

So God me amend,
Little he ween'd
So to be brought in hand.

This was upon our lady's even, forsooth I understand,
The justice sat for the knights of Scotland,
Sir Thomas of Multon an kynd knight and wyse,
And Sir Ralph of Sandwich that mickle is held in price,
And Sir John Abel,

Moe † I might tell by tale
Both of great and small
Y-know south well

Thenne saide the justice that gentil is ant free,
Sire Simond Frysel the kyng's traytour hast thou be ;
In water ant in londe that monie myhten se,
What sayst thou thareto, how wolt thou quite the ?

* Periwinkle.

† More.

Do say !

Sa foul he him wiste,
Nede waron truste

For to segge nay.

Ther he was y demed, so hit wes londes lawe
For that he wes lords wyk furst he wes to drawe,
Upon a retheres hude forth he wes y tuht,
Sum while in ys time he wes a modi-knycht,
In huerte

Wickednesse and sunne
Hit is lutel wunne,

That maketh the body smerte.

For al is grete poer yet he wes yloht,
Falsnesse ant swykedom alhit g'eth to nocht
Tho he wes in Scotlande lutel wes ys thoht,
Of the harde jugement that him wes bysocht,
In stounde.

He wes foursithe forswore
To the king ther bifore,

Ant that him brohte to grounde.

With feteres ant with gyves y-chot he wes to drawe
From the tour of Londone, that monie myhte knawe,
In a kirtle of Burel, a selkethe wyse
Ant a garland on ys heued of the newe gwyse
Thurh cheepe,

Monie mon of Engelonde,
For to se Symond

Thidewarde con lepe.

He rideth thoughr the site as y telle may
With gomen, ant with solas that was hee play,
To Londone-brugge hee nome the way,
Moni wes the wyves' chil, that theron laketh a day,
Ant seide, alas !

That he was y bore,
And so villiche forlore,

So feir mon ase he wes.

Thou he came to the galewes urst he wes an honge,
All quick byheaded than him thohte longe,
Seth he was y-opened, is boweles y-brend
The heved to Londone-brugge wes send

Ye shende

So ich ever mote I the
Sum while wende he

Thus lutel to stond.

Now stont the heued above the tu brugge,
Fast bi Waleis sooth for to sugge ;
After sucour of Scotlonde longe he may pry,
Ant after help of Fraunce, met halt hit to lye,

I weene,

Betere him were in Scotlonde,
With is ax in his hond, *

To pleyen on the grene.

To warny all the gentilmen, that bueth in Scotlande,
The Walais wes to drawe, seththe he wes an-honge,
Al quic biheveded, ys bowels y-brend,
The hewed * to Londone brugge † wes send
To abide.

* * * *

Sire Edward oure kyng that ful ys of pieté
The Walais quarters sende to is oune contré
On four half to honge, huere myrour to be,
Thersopon to thenck, rhat monie myhten se,
Ant drede

Why holden he be war
Of the battle of Donbar,

Hou evell hem can spede ?

To the kyng Edward hii fasten huere fay ;
Fals wes here foreward so frost is in May
That sonne from the southward wipes away.

* * * *

Hii that him crounede proude were ant boulede,
Hii maden kyng of Somere, so hii nor ne sholde ;
Hii setten on ys heved a croune of rede golde,
And token him a kyng-gerde, so mekyng sholde,
To deme.

Now kyng Hobbe in the mures gongeth,
For to come to toune neut him ne longeth ;
The Baronas of England, might hae him gripe,
He him wolde tecken on Englysche to pypes,

* Head.

† Bridge.

Thourh streynthe :
 Ne be he ner so stout,
 Yet he bith y-soht out
 O-trede and O-leynth.*

NOTE g. vol. i. p. 316.

The family of Forbes made a considerable figure in Scotland in ancient times. In 1236, Fergus de Forbes received by charter from Alexander, Earl of Buchan, the whole and entire tenement de Forbes, with all privileges and pertinents that belonged to it, in the county of Aberdeen. "Fergusio filio Johannis de Forbes, totum et integrum tenementum de Forbes, cum pertinent. jacent. in vicecomitatu de Aberdeen, &c."

In the reign of Alexander III., Duncan Forbes received from that monarch, in 1262, possession of "the lands and tenement of Forbes," consisting of the parish of Forbes, situated on the north bank of the river Don, which still belongs to Lord Forbes, the first Baron of Scotland, from which he derives his title. In the 23rd year of the reign of Alexander III., 1262, he obtained possession "super terras et tenementum de Forbes." Charter.

Sir Alexander Forbes seems to have been one of the most distinguished of this family, who is said, when a young man, to have joined Robert the Bruce in his noble efforts to redeem his country from slavery: his ancestor, Fergus, being a great supporter of Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, the adherent of Baliol, from whom he received a good estate, who forfeited his honours, and retired into England. In consequence of his loyalty, Sir Alexander retained the lands of Forbes, and adhered to David Bruce, the son of the good King Robert, and fell in the fatal battle of Duplin, in 1332. His son, Sir John Forbes, who distinguished himself during the reigns of Robert II. and III., and received from Thomas, Earl of Mar, other lands in Aberdeenshire, which were confirmed by a charter from Robert II. in 1373, obtained through his father, Sir Alexander, on whom it was bestowed, the barony of King Edward from John Stewart, Earl of Buchan. "Chartam et sasina, dicto quondam Alexandro per quondam Jo-

* Harl. MSS. No. 2253.

hanem Stewart, comitatem Buchaniæ et Baronia de Kinedward." Charter of confirmation by James IV., in which he is called miles. This charter was confirmed by James I., desuper confectam (chartam) cum confirmatione progenitoris nostri Jacobi regis primi, sub magno sigillo. Charter of James IV.

This knight is also designated Lord of Forbes, in a grant of the lands of Findrossie, by charter, dated 19th of July, 1378; but it is one of those ancient titles of which it is difficult to ascertain the origin. "Johanni de Forbes Domino ejusdum, et Margaretæ Sponsæ suæ." 19th July, 1378. Charter.

NOTE H, vol. ii. p. 98.

Juxta Saxonum fontem, castrumque nodosum
Corruit Anglorum, gens perfida, fraude suorum.
Amisos totes quos Anglia pluribus annis
Concepit in Scottos lux obruit una Johannis.
Nam rex Anglorum, molitus nomen eorum
Funditus auferre, luit in se prælia werræ.

NOTE i, vol. ii. p. 102.

Letter from Q. Elizabeth de Brus to Edward II., from the original in the Tower.

"Ason tres honourable seigneur monk Edward par la grace de Dieu roi D'Engleterre seigneur Dirlannde e ducs D'Aquitaine Elizabeth de Brus si lui plect reverences l'honurs.

Mon seign' mont vous merci des g'untr biens l'honurs qe fait mavez e fil vous plect uncerre ferrez e nomeement sire de ceo qe vous avez comaunde a voz baillifs de Hondernesse qe moi e miens q. v̄re comaundement feussoms sustenuz honestement e suffisaument en tot q'untq. res'ablement mester nous serroit. Mon seign' vos facer asavoir qe ils neme volent trouver p' mon corps ne atir p' ma teste nelit, ne chose qe a pent a ma chambre fois soulement une robe de trois garnementz p. an ne pur les voz qe' me servent p. v̄re comaundement fois a chescun une robe p' totes choses. Mon seign' dount vo' p'eroi si jeo osas qe vous vousissez comaunder qe mon estat feust amende e les vos q. me servent issi regardez pur lur t'vail qe jeo ne sai deservie

on qe jeo peusse certain des deners p. un dount jeo
peusse sustenne a vostre volunte.

Dorso :

A n're seigneur Le Roi
p. Elizabeth de Brus.

NOTE J, vol. ii. p. 249.

I have been favoured with an examination of this, and the other ancient charters belonging to the noble family of Gordon, by His Grace the Duke of Richmond, and of his cartulary, some of which are here quoted, along with other ancient writs.

1357. Charter by David II. of the lands of Strathbolgy, county of Aberdeen, confirming the charter granted by his father, King Robert I., or Robert de Bruce, to Adè de Gordon of the said lands, dated at St. Andrews, 28th March, and 28th year of David's reign, 1357, registered as a probative writ, in the books of Council and Session, 1713. 2. 1. 1.

1358. Charter of confirmation by Alexander de Yler, earl of Ross, confirming the charter granted by his predecessor, William, earl of Ross, "cuidam Malmorano de Glenchamy."

Two charters granted by his predecessor, William, late earl of Ross, "cuidam Malmorano de Glenchamy," on two daughs of land in Badenoch, viz. the daugh of Dalnafire and the daugh of Kynzereych, for homage and service, reserving an acre of land for a mansion, next adjacent to the Stythair, on the south side of the town of Dalnafirt, where the old mansion-house of Styth, the son of Ferchard, stood. 13. 4. 1.

1377. Charter by King Robert II. to John de Gordon, of the lands of Strathbolgy, which lands were given to Ade de Gordon, his great-grandfather, by King Robert, the king's grandfather, and said lands the said John, "pronapos præfati quond: Ade de Gordon," resigned into the king's hand," "quas terras Robertus illustrus rex Scotiæ, prædecessor noster, dedit quondam Adæ de Gordon militi, proavo dicti Johannis, ratione foris facturæ, David de Strathbogie." The charter, which is dated 10th July, 1377, narrates that David of Strathbolgy, having been reconciled and restored to his lands

in the reign of David, while Andræas de Moravia, miles, *i. e.* Sir Andrew Murray was governor in absence of the king. He again joined the English, and finally forfeited these lands. 2. 1. 1.

1408. Charter to Alexander Seton, second son to Sir William Seton and Elizabeth Gordon, daughter and heiress of the deceased Sir Adam de Gordoun, on the back, "Charta Alexr. de Setoun Domini de Gordon de omnibus terris quæ fuerunt Elizabeth de Gordon spouse suæ." 2. 1. 1.

1444. Charter of Alexander Lord Gordon to James de Forbes, son and heir-apparent of Alexander Lord Forbes, of the lands of Corsindie, &c., 30th September, 1444.

1446. Charter (copy) of confirmation granted by King James II., in favour of Sir Alexander Seton, Lord of Gordon and Earl of Huntly, confirming charter, 1441, of the Lordship of Gordon.

1446. Reversion by Alexander Leslie, of Sir William Leslie, of the lands of Findlater, Tullifour, Tulloch-Kerry, Tullochiny, lying in Tolch (Tough), in the barony of Cluny. 11. 1. 10.

Charter Alexandro Comiti de Huntly, domino Gordon et Badenoch "of the lands of Strathbogie, Aboyne, Glentanner, Glenmuck, in the Lordship of Badenoch, Lochaber; the Forest of Enrie in the north, with Huntly and Gordon in Berwickshire, inter 1451 et 1457.

1455. Remission by James II., dated at Aberdeen, 7 March, 1455, and 20th of his reign, to Alexander, Earl of Huntly, and George de Seton, militi, his son's heir, for the rapines and depredations by them committed, on Thomas Lord Erskine of Marr, his goods and lands, N. 3, N. 1 is among the contents. 13. 1. 2.

1457. Charter of James II., in 1457. P. 1 P. 2

1460. Acquittance by William Lord Forbes, to my Lord of Huntley, dated Ryny, 25th January, 1460, allowing one hundred merks for the ward of Corsindae, for the same sum due by Huntly to his father, Sir James Lord Forbes, for his marriage. The testing clause thus: "I had na sele of myn awin med, I haff procurit the sele of my Mr. Richard Forbes, Den of Aberdeen, to be affix to this present letter at Ryny. 11. 1. 4.

1479. Commission of Justiciary by James III., to

George, Earl of Huntly, for ruling Scotland, be north the Frith of Forth, dated 10th Oct., 1479. 13. 1. 34.

1481. Indenture between George, Earl of Huntly, Lord Gordon, and Badenoch, and Earl Marishal, on the marriage of William, son and heir of Marishal, with Lady Elizabeth Gordon.

1500. Letter of legitimation by James IV. in favour of Alexander Gordon, "filium nothum" of George Earl Huntly, 8 October 1500. 13. 1. 7.

1501. Bond by Lord Forbes to his special Lord, Alexander Earl of Huntly, anent the reversion of the lands of Tulloch, Balloter and Invertorie, signed at Perth, penult Feb. 1501. 11. 1. 58.

1517. Commission of Lieutenancy, from James V., of date 26th February 1517, to Alexander, Earl of Huntly, for pursuing and repressing Donald of the Isles, &c., extending to the bounds of his government, excepting only the bounds of the commission, granted to John, Earl of Argyle. 13. 1. 5.

1524. Gift by James V., of the ward of the Earldom of Huntly, granted by him and the Duke of Albany to Queen Margaret, the king's mother, after the decease of Alexander, Earl of Huntly, in 1523, and of the marriage of George Gordon, his neva (grandson) and heir, dated 1st May, 1524. 13. 1. 6.

1529. Charter of James V. of the lands of Bra de Marr and Cromar. 11. 7. 1.

1534. Charter by James V. in favour of George, Earl of Huntly, 20th February, 1534, of the lands of Old Meldrum, Cudrain, &c.

1539. Instrument anent the redemption of the sheriffship of Aberdeen by Earl of Crawford, from Earl of Errol, 12th May, 1539. 13. 1. 14.

1540. Proxy by David, Earl of Crawford, Sheriff of Aberdeen, for resigning the said office into the king's hands, in favour of George, Earl of Huntly, 7 January, 1540. 13. 1. 15.

1540. Grant of the sheriffship of Aberdeenshire, to George, Earl of Huntly, his heirs, assignees, under the great seal, 3rd March, 1540. 13. 1. 9.

1543. Charter by David Beaton, Cardinal, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Pope's Legate, &c., in favour of George Earl of Huntly, of and upon the lands after-

wards, viz. Southvolgie, Balnigowan, Acinagathill, Pyttochy, Pitendriech, Brinny and Miln of Keig, with the malt barn and croft thereof, as also all and hail, the lands of Dullab, Jnzean, Mykill, Abercattey, Little Abercattey, Glentoun, Fyndauch, with the Miln and Pitcunney, Coull, Miln of Monymusk, Auchter Keig, Arnsly, Jnnerry, Todlaynhy of the towns of Cattiestane, and the kirklands of Kynkell, and the lands of Dyp (Dypsten), lying respectively in the baronies of Keig and Monymusk, within the regality of St. Andrews, and county of Aberdeen, to be holden in perpetual feu farm, for payment of the respective feu rents, amounting, with the augmentation of the rental, to the sum of £300 Scots, at Whitsunday and Martinmas yearly, by equal proportions. The said earl and his heirs to do their best endeavours to keep the marches of the said lands, without the consent of the Archbishop and his successors, and likewise constituting the earls and his successors heritable ballies, within the said lordship of Keig and Monymusk, in all times coming, with ample powers, dated at St. Andrews, and subscribed by the Archbishop David, Card. lis St. Andræ, 7 Aprilis 1543. N.B. This is a most accurate and ample deed.

11. 3. 1.

1548. Charter by Queen Mary of the earldom of Murray, in favour of George, Earl of Huntly, Chancellor of Scotland, and Lieutenant of the north, 13th February, 1548, narrating at great length the earl's services, see it in box 5th, bundle 6th.

1. 1. 3.

1557. Gift of Lieutenancy by Queen Mary to George, Earl of Huntly, over the whole kingdom except the bounds of the Earl of Argyle's commission, 5th August, 1559. Precept to constitute him Baillie over Bra de Marr, Braemar, Cromar, Strathdie, for five years, by Francis and Mary, 21 June, 1559.

13. 1. 12.

1566. Remission of Queen Mary to the Earl of Huntly and his friends and followers by name, for rising in open rebellion at the battle of Corrichie, in plano exercitu, and convocating the lieges at Aberdeen, dated at Seyton, 21 Feb. 1566.

1566. Precept by King Henry and Queen Mary under the privy seal, for reduction of the forfeiture of George,

Earl of Huntly, and John, Earl of Sutherland, and the restitution of these families, 13 Aprilis, 1566. 13. 1. 19.

1588. Charter by king James VI., in favour of George, Earl of Huntly, of the Lordship of Dumfermling 1. 1. 6.

NOTE K, vol. ii. p. 341.

In order to throw discredit on this transaction which was so unpopular in England, John Hardying of Kyme, squire of the Lord of Unfranville, the author of the *Metrical Chronicle of English History*,* pretended to have procured them in Scotland in the reign of Henry V., and to have received letters patent, under the privy seal of James I., 10 March, 1434, which were produced only after his death, being forgeries, in which the king gave Harding a passport to come to court, there to abide forty days, and a bribe of "one thousand marks of English nobles of gold," if he would give up the documents pretended to be procured in Scotland.† In order that the forgery might not be detected, he did not deliver them to Henry V., but to Henry VI., in 1457, for which he received a pension of twenty pounds per annum during life, and because he had refused the bribe of James I.‡ Rot. Pat. 36 Henry VI., p. 1, m. 8. There are six of them noticed in an indenture of 1457. Among these are,

1. Letters patent under the hand and seal of Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, by which he and his eldest son, Edward, Earl of Carrick and Rothesay, "became liege and faithful subjects, and bore liege fealty to the most serene Edward, son of Ethelred, king of England, overlord of Scotland, and of all the circumjacent islands, during their lives, against all men to live and die. In witness whereof we have caused our seal to be affixed to these presents, for ourself and our son, at York, 5th June, in the ninth year of our reign, in the parliament of our said Lord superior, by the consent and advice of Margaret, our consort, and many other

* See Hardying's *Chronicle* by Ellis.

† Documents in Treasury. Forged Doc. Appd. ix. p. 376, postea. All these forgeries were produced in the reign of James II., 1457.

‡ Forged Letters. Appd. to documents preserved in Treasury, N. 2, p. 308.

magnates of our said kingdom." (Documents Append. N. x. p. 368.) This charter which Hardyng delivered to Henry VI., and complains that he received no reward (Hardyng by Ellis, p. 239), has a seal pendant, on one side of which is the lion within the double tressure, the modern arms of Scotland, by means of which Tyrrel, Anderson, and Palgrave, pronounced it a forgery.

2. This forgery is a letter patent by David II., dated at Perth, 2nd June, 1330. This indenture was drawn up little more than a year after the deed of independence had been granted, a copy of which we have given, by a prince only eight years of age, with the concurrence of all the magnates and lords of the kingdom of Scotland, when we know that Randolph was regent. In these letters patent, David certifies a charter of Alexander, king of Scotland, in which he acknowledges Henry to be overlord over Scotland, his heirs and successors; and the Archbishop of York and bishop and priest of Durham, to be metropolitans of Scotland, which he is said to have done, with advice and assent of the three estates of the realm of Scotland, in parliament assembled. This is a most palpable forgery, and at variance with known facts. In the fifth year of his reign, he is, with the consent of parliament, said to have declared by letters patent, which Harding in an indenture of date Nov. 1457, delivered to John Blake, one of the Clerks of the Signet, along with other documents, who on 19 Nov. in the same year, deposited them in the Treasury (Kalendars, vol. ii. p. 225), in two square wooden boxes, in the chest in which parchments are kept. (Treasury Documents, Append. N. x. p. 377, postea, where an indenture is drawn up on the subject, between the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Lord Treasurer of England, they were marked "Scocia Hardyng.") In this spurious deed he is made to acknowledge that the king of Scotland from the old time had held the kingdom of Scotland by liege homage of England; and King David binds himself and his successors, kings of Scotland, to hold the same of his dear brother Edward, of England, and his successors, as over lords of the kingdom of Scotland, by liege homage and fealty, under letters patent. These letters are said to have been granted with the advice and assent of the three

estates of the kingdom, in a parliament held at Edinburgh, on the first of November, in the fifth year of his reign; in presence of the Earl of Buchan and constable of Scotland, Earl of Angus, and Percy, Lord of Alnwick, after the release which Edward III. had made to the king of Scotland, of the services of Scotland (Treasury documents, N. iii. vol. i. p. 369, 370, *postea*.) As a proof that all these documents which were not known to the English king until 1547, more than a century after the transactions are said to have taken place, are forgeries; we know that three years after his coronation, he passed into France in 1334. before 29th of September (Chronicon de Lanercost. p. 273, after 22nd July, 1334), and yet it is pretended that with the consent of his parliament, on the 1st Nov. after, he acknowledged Edward as 'overlord of Scotland.' At this period parliaments were not assembled by David, a minor, but by the regent (Fordun, vol. ii. b. 13, c. 24, p. 317, Goodal Edit.), and the whole tenor of the Scottish regency was opposed to such a proceeding.

3. Another of these charters, in the name of David Bruce, states that on the 12th April, 1352, a general truce was agreed upon "between the right noble and mighty prince Edward, king of England, sovereign lord of Scotland, and the mighty prince David, king of Scots, from the 1st day of May next, for the term of fourteen years (Treasury Documents, vol. i. Append. N. 6, p. 373, *postea*, mentioned in Hardyng's Indenture). No such treaty took place at this time, for a truce had been agreed upon on the 15 April, 1348 (Rotuli Scotiæ, 21 Ed. III., p. 494), which was successively prolonged for six years.

4. In another forged charter written apparently without date, but afterwards dated 20 March, 26 Edw. III. or 1353, David II. is said to have performed liege homage at Coldyngham to his "serene brother, Edward king of England, and overlord of Scotland, wherein he agrees to hold the kingdom of Scotland, of king Edward and his heirs for ever, before the Lord of Alnwick and the Lord of Raby" (Documents, N. 5, Append. p. 372, *postea*. Indorsed in a handwriting of the time of Queen Elizabeth.) It does appear indeed that in 1352 some "conference was held with the Lord

David Bruce, and the Lord William Douglas while in Scotland, which is ambiguous and unexplained in the instrument, (*Fœdera*, v. 737) and that Knyghton, 2603, says he took the oath of fealty to Edward, "but that no consideration whatever should induce them, the Scots, to renounce their independence."

I suspect that the two instruments mentioned in Ayloff's Calendar of Charters, p. 299, Nos. 5 and 6, as quoted by Mr. Tytler, under the year 1352, which are to be found in the Chapter-house at Westminster, were these forged documents by Hardyng, or copies of them.

Number 7 of Hardyng's forgeries is an exemplification by Robert II. of the abovementioned charter of Alexander I., with the consent of the three estates of the Parliament assembled at Perth, 30th Oct. 1731.

8. Letters Patent in the name of Robert II. (Stirling, 10 Nov., 1 Robert II.), addressed to the Chamberlain of Scotland, commanding him not to trouble the bishops, earls and barons, who had become "his liege men of life and limb, and worldly honour, with him to live and die against all men, saving nevertheless the homage and fealty done of old to Edward, king of England, and his heirs, overlords of Scotland." Treasury Documents—Forgeries, N. vii. p. 374, and N. viii. p. 375, vol. 1.

9. Letters patent described in Hardyng's indenture, but now lost, by which the earls and barons and magnates of the kingdom of Scotland, in performing fealty, saved their homage to their overlord, Edward, king of England, and his heirs, 10 November, 6 Richard II., see Astle Charters, p. 303, for a portion.

10. An exemplification of the letters patent of 5 David II., by Robert II., in the first year of his reign. To this spurious deed is attached either a genuine seal, or a cast from a genuine seal of Robert III.; Anderson, Plate LX.

11. Letters patent by which David Strathbolgy, Earl of Athol, pleaded in the parliament of Scotland, that he was not guilty of treason in becoming the liegeman of Edward III., as all the kings of England had been overlords of the kingdom of Scotland.

12. Letters patent by which John Graham, Earl of

Menteith, pleaded the same thing in parliament, which he said was proved by records before the Chamberlains and Justiciaries of Scotland in their "Eyres," and was acquitted from the accusation, by the Record of Parliament, 3 April, 6 Rich. II. These two last spurious deeds are not found in the treasury of the Exchequer.

The bold forger of these documents states that he delivered to Henry V., the release made by King Edward to Robert Bruce at Dunbar; the submissions of Florence, Earl of Holland, and the other competitors to Edward I., for which he received the manor of Geddyngton in Northampton; the documents which we have noticed to Henry VI., who pensioned him; and the release which Edward III. made of the superiority of Scotland, when under the influence of his mother and of Mortimer, to Edward IV., at Leicester, Hardyng, p. 305—317. Thus he appears twice to have delivered the same document about the superiority of Scotland. See Palgrave's Introduction to the Treasury Documents, p. 123.

NOTE M, vol. ii. p. 372.

In visage was he some deal gray,
 And had black hair, as I heard say;
 But then of limbs he was wel mad,
 With bones great and shoulders braid,
 His body well made and lenzie.
 As they that saw him said to me,
 When he was blythe he was lovely,
 And meek and sweet in companie;
 But who in battle might him see,
 Another countenance had he;
 And in his speech he lisp'd some deal,
 But that set him right wonder well.

Barbour's Bruce, p. 15.

ERRATA TO VOL. I.

PAGE	LINE	
6,	14,	<i>for</i> slain, <i>read</i> been at feud with.
19,	6,	<i>after</i> justiciary, <i>insert the word</i> court.
37,	24,	<i>for</i> the influence of, <i>read</i> their adherence to.
90,	29,	<i>for</i> England, <i>read</i> Edward.
91,	2,	<i>for</i> Edward, <i>read</i> the English.
97,	14,	<i>for</i> Bouthill, <i>read</i> Bonthill.
117,	16,	<i>for</i> yield, <i>read</i> withdrawn.
159,	8,	<i>for</i> insisted also <i>for</i> , <i>read</i> demanded also.
231,	10,	<i>for</i> become, <i>read</i> became.
238,	19,	<i>for</i> every kingdom, <i>read</i> either kingdom.
250,	9,	<i>for</i> with, <i>read</i> on account of.
277,	12,	<i>for</i> exercise of religion, <i>read</i> exercises of religion.
295,	8,	<i>for</i> Methoen, <i>read</i> Methven.
352,	9,	<i>for</i> with more, <i>read</i> with no more.
361,	18,	<i>after</i> Richard, <i>insert</i> guardian.
376,	25,	<i>for</i> only, <i>read</i> chiefly.

ERRATA TO VOL. II.

PAGE	LINE	
8,	10,	<i>for</i> Thrybres, <i>read</i> Hytrea.
13,	3,	<i>for</i> Loch Rannoch, <i>read</i> to Loch Rannoch.
31,	9,	<i>for</i> the noble, <i>read</i> the inmates of the noble.
36,	8,	<i>for</i> conversed with, <i>read</i> convened.
44,	11,	<i>for</i> secession, <i>read</i> a secession.
58,	14,	<i>for</i> burd, <i>read</i> bard.
101,	17,	<i>for</i> Margery, <i>read</i> Marjory.
122,	18,	<i>for</i> then, <i>read</i> his.
161,	23,	<i>for</i> who was, <i>read</i> was.
216,	16,	<i>for</i> exercise, <i>read</i> existence.
232,	22,	<i>for</i> reward of the, <i>read</i> reward for the.
234,	14,	<i>for</i> hand, <i>read</i> hands.
262,	10,	<i>for</i> Dernygtoun, <i>read</i> Dermyngtoun.
275,	17,	<i>for</i> eighteen, <i>read</i> eighteen hundred.
279,	7,	<i>for</i> to such, <i>read</i> to adopt such.
359,	30,	<i>for</i> perducit, <i>read</i> perduxit.
375,	17,	<i>for</i> quatenus, <i>read</i> quatinus.

Just Published, Illustrated with Portraits,
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