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**EL VENCEDOR EDICIONES**

**The Life  
Of  
Sir William Wallace**

**By**

**John Donald Carryck**

The bugle ne'er sung to a braver knight  
Than William of Elderslie.

THOMAS CAMPBELL.

## INTRODUCTION

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## INTRODUCTION

THERE is no portion of the history of Scotland more embarrassing to modern writers, than the period which relates to the life and achievements of Wallace.

Having been long since anticipated in all the leading details respecting him by Henry the Minstrel, our historians in general seem nervous in approaching the subject; and have either contented themselves with such materials as the old English writers and certain monastic chronicles have furnished, or have deliberately borrowed, without the grace of acknowledgment, the facts recorded by an author they affected to despise, as one whom the learned were not agreed to admit within the pale of respectable authority. This treatment, however, we conceive to be not only unfair, but rather discourteous in those who may have extended their suffrages to writers guilty of much greater aberrations from historical veracity than any which are chargeable against him. It is true, that the works of those writers are in Latin; but still, we do not see that a great falsehood, told in the classical language of ancient Rome, should be entitled to a larger portion of public faith than a lesser one set forth in the more modern patois of Scotland.

When Walsingham, in describing the battle of Falkirk, tells us that the sharpness and strength of the English arrows were such, that "they thoroughly penetrated the men-at-arms, obscured the helmets, perforated the swords, and overwhelmed the lances", and another learned author, in narrating the same battle, makes the loss of the Scots in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amount to more in number than were disposed of in any one of the most sanguinary conflicts between the Roman and Barbaric worlds (Hemingford says, that there were fifty thousand slain, many drowned, and three hundred thousand foot taken prisoners, besides a thousand horsemen), we would naturally expect, that the indulgence which can readily attribute such outrages on our credulity, to the style of the age in which the writers lived, might also be extended to our Minstrel, even when he describes his hero "like a true knight-errant, cleaving his foes through brawn and bayne down to the shoulders."

It is said by Lord Hailes, in speaking of Henry, that "he is an author whom every historian copies, yet no historian but Sir Robert Sibbald will venture to quote". This, though intended as a sneer by the learned analyst, may be viewed as complimentary to the candor of Sir Robert, who, while he avails himself of the facts related by another, is not above acknowledging the obligation.

Considering the situation of this unfortunate but ingenious man, no author had ever a stronger claim on the indulgence of his readers. Blind from his birth, he was deprived of the advantage of correcting the manuscript of his work, while his poverty prevented him from procuring an amanuensis capable of doing justice to his talents. Hence we find a number of errors and omissions, that from the ease with which they can be rectified, appear evidently the faults of transcribers.

Succeeding historians, far from making the allowance which his case demanded, have acted towards him with a degree of peevish hostility exceedingly unbecoming. Because his dates do not always correspond with the transactions he records, he has been termed a "liar", a "fabulist", "a man blind in more respects than one"; with other appellations no less unworthy of themselves than unmerited by him.

When it is considered that there is no circumstance connected with Wallace mentioned by subsequent writers, but what had already found a place in the work of the Minstrel; that they had no other story to give than what he had previously given; and that they must either repeat what he had already stated, or remain silent: we are led to conclude, that he could not have so effectually preoccupied the ground, without having very complete information regarding the subject of his biography.

This information, he tells us himself, was derived from a memoir written in Latin by John Blair, assisted by Thomas Gray, the former chaplain to Wallace, and the latter parson of Liberton, both eye-witnesses of the transactions they relate. It follows, therefore, that Scottish authors, having obtained, in a great measure, their information respecting Wallace from the pages of Blind Harry, their characters, as historians, become seriously involved with the fate of him whom they have so unceremoniously vituperated.

Under these circumstances, it appears a very proper subject of inquiry, to ascertain whether he has, or has not executed his task with becoming fidelity. Were the memoir of Blair extant, this matter could very soon be determined; but having long since disappeared, doubts are now entertained of its ever having been in existence. Sir Robert Sibbald has published a few fragments, entitled *Relationes quaedam Arnaldi Blair, Monachi de Dumfermelini, et Capellani D. Willielmi Wallas, Militis, 1327*. Though these are merely transcripts from the *Scotichronicon* of Fordun, yet some have supposed them to have been the groundwork on which Blind Harry founded his poem.

This opinion, however, can scarcely be maintained save by those who have only seen the title; the most superficial inspection will be sufficient to induce a very different conclusion. Arnold Blair may have, on some occasion, officiated as chaplain to Wallace, and, proud of the distinction, in imitation of his namesake, may have made the ill-arranged excerpts from Fordun, for the purpose of handing down his own name in connection with that of the illustrious defender of his country: but the confident manner in which Henry refers to his author, as evidence of facts which are not alluded to, even in the most distant manner, in the work of Arnold, shows the impossibility of its being the foundation of his narrative; for we cannot suppose that an author, wishing to pass off a tissue of fables for a series of truths, would act with so much inconsistency, as to court detection by referring for authority to a quarter where he was sure of finding none.

When Henry introduced his translation to the public, the approbation with which it was received may very justly be viewed as the test of its correctness, there being no scarcity of men in the country capable of collating it with the original, and detecting the imposition, if any existed; and it may therefore reasonably be inferred, that the excellency of the translation was such as to supersede the original; being, from its language, more accessible to all classes than the other, which, on that account, was more likely to go into desuetude, and ultimately to disappear.

The character of Minstrel which has been attached to Henry, joined to the vulgar and disgusting translation of his work into modern Scotch, by Hamilton of Gilbertfield, has, it is presumed, injured his reputation as a historian, more than any deviation he has made from the authentic records of the country. No other work of his exists, or is known to have existed, which might entitle him to rank as a minstrel; but being called upon and possibly compelled by circumstances to recite his translation in the presence of the great, he received a minstrel's reward, and became, perhaps improperly, confounded with the profession.

Had Barbour, Wyntown, Langtoft, and other authors, who wrote their chronicles in rhyme, been quoted by subsequent writers as minstrels, it would no doubt have weakened their authority as historians. These men, however, professed to give, though in verse, a faithful register of the transactions of their country. Henry seems to have had only the same object in view; and thus endeavors to impress the reader with the fidelity of the translation, and the disinterestedness of his motives.

Off Wallace lyff quha has a forthar feill,  
 May schaw furth mair with wit and eloquence ;  
 For I to this haiff don my diligence,  
 Eftyr the pruff geyffyn fra the Latyn buk,  
 Quhilk Maister Blayr in his tyme wndyrtuk,  
 In fayr Latyn compild il till ane end ;  
 "With thir witnes the mar is to commend.  
 Byschop Synclar than lord was off Dunkell<sup>^</sup>  
 He gat this buk, and confermd it him sell  
 For werray true; thar off he had no dreid,  
 Himselff had seyn gret part off Wallace deid.  
 His purpos was till haue send it to Rom,  
 Our fadyr off kyrk tharon to gyff his dom.  
 Bot Maister Blayr, and als Schir Thomas Gray,  
 Eftir Wallace thai lestit mony day,  
 Thir twa knew best of gud Schir Wilyhamys deid,  
 Fra sexteyn yer quhill nyne and twenty yeid.  
 Fourty and fyve off age, Wallace was cauld,  
 That tyme that he was to [the] Southeroun sauld.  
 Thocht this mater be nocht till all plesance,  
 His suthfast deid was worthi till awance.  
 All worthi men at redys this rurall dyt,  
 Blaym nocht the buk, set I be wnperfytt.  
 I suld have thank, sen I nocht trawaill spard;  
 For my laubour na man hecht me reward;  
 Na charge I had off king nor othir lord;  
 Gret harm I thocht his gud deid suld be smord.  
 I haiff said her ner as the process gais;  
 And fenyeid nocht for frendschip nor for fais.  
 Costis herfor was no man bond to me;

In this sentence I had na will to be,  
 Bot in als mekill as I rahersit nocht  
 Sa worthely as nobill Wallace wrocht.  
 Bot in a poynt, I grant, I said amyss,  
 Thir twa knychtis suld blamyt be for this,  
 The knycht Wallas, off Cragge rychtwyss lord,  
 And Liddaill als, gert me mak [wrag] record.  
 On Allyrtoun mur the croun he tuk a day,  
 To get battaill, as myn autour will say.  
 Thir twa gert me say that ane othir wyss ;  
 Till Maister Blayr we did sumpart off dispys."

*Suke Eleuenth, v. 14101450.*

What more can an author say to satisfy his reader of the purity of his intentions, as well as of the genuineness of the source from whence he has drawn his materials? Without reward, or promise of reward, he appears to have undertaken his task from the purest feelings of patriotism, and finished it before he experienced any of the fostering influence of patronage. That the transactions he relates are substantially correct, or at least such as were generally believed to be so at the time he wrote, we have the evidence of one nearly cotemporary. Major thus expresses himself: "Henry, who was blind from his birth, in the time of my infancy composed the whole Book of William Wallace; and committed to writing in vulgar poetry, in which he was well skilled, the things that were commonly related of him. For my own part, I give only partial credit to writings of this description. By the recitation of these however, in the presence of men of the highest rank, he procured, as he indeed deserved, food and raiment".

Though Major says nothing of Blair's Memoirs, yet he frees Henry from the charge of relating anything that was not previously believed by his countrymen.

Thomas Chambers, in his History of the House of Douglas, says, "These things fell out in the year 1298; which passages, as the most part of actions done in the time of Sir William Wallace, are either passed over, or slenderly touched by the writers of our chronicles, although the truth thereof be unquestionable, being related by those eye-witnesses who wrote the diary or history of Sir William Wallace in Latin, which is periphrastically turned into English rhyme, the interpreter expressing the main body of the story very truly; howsoever, missing or mistaking some circumstances, he dift'ereth therein from the Latin". From the manner in which this is expressed, it may be supposed that Chambers had seen the original. If this could be established, his testimony would be of considerable importance.

Nicholson, Archdeacon of Carlisle, in his Scottish Historical Library, says, that the names of the great northern Englishmen, whom Henry represents Wallace as having been engaged with, such as Sir Gerard Heron, Captain Thirlwall, Morland, Martindale, &c. are still well known on the borders of Cumberland and Northumberland. The reader may also find, by the Statistical Account of Scotland, that the localities mentioned in the

poem, are given with a precision beyond the reach of one laboring under the infirmity of blindness.

The invasion of Lorn by MacFadyan and a horde of Irish, at the instigation of Edward, is a circumstance unnoticed by any historian, save the translator of Blair; and were it not for the undoubted evidence, arising from traditions still preserved among a people who never heard of the work of the Minstrel, it might be considered as the mere creation of his own fancy. But such decided testimony in favor of the correctness of his statement, when taken in connection with the accurate manner in which he has described the advance of Wallace through a country, respecting the intricacies of which he, of himself, could form no idea the near approach he has made to the Celtic names of the places, which can still be distinctly traced and the correct description he has given of the grand scene of action on the Awe, are sufficient to stamp the impress of truth on his narrative, and satisfy any one of the impossibility of a man, situated as he was, ever being able to accomplish it without the diary of an eyewitness.

After the defeat of MacFadyan, Wallace is represented as holding a council or meeting with the chieftains of the West Highlands, in the Priory of Ardchattan. The ruins of the Priory are still to be found on the banks of Loch Etive, a few miles from the scene of strife; and among the rubbish, as well as in the neighboring grounds, coins of Edward the First have at different times been dug up, in considerable quantities.

So late as March, 1829, the following paragraph appeared in the Glasgow Herald: "In digging a grave, a few days ago at Balvodan (or St. Modan's), a burial-place in the neighborhood of the Priory of Ardchattan, Argyllshire, a number of ancient silver coins were found, in a remarkably fine state of preservation. The place where they had been deposited was about four feet below the surface; and they seem to have been contained in an earthen vessel, which moldered into dust, on exposure to the atmosphere; they were turned up by the shovel, as those who were attending the interment were surrounding the grave, and each of the party present having picked up a few, the rest were, by the Highlanders, returned with the earth to the grave. The coins were struck in the reign of the First Edward, whose name can be distinctly traced on them; and they were probably placed there at the time, when that monarch had succeeded in getting temporary possession of the greater part of Scotland. In that case they must have lain where they were found for upwards of five hundred years".

The writer had an opportunity of examining a number of these coins on the spot; he found a great many of them to be struck in Dublin, and they seemed below the regular standard. Though numerous discoveries have been made of the coins of this ambitious monarch in other parts of Scotland, yet in the West Highlands they are extremely rare. Neither Edward, nor any of his English generals, ever penetrated so far in that direction. It is, therefore, highly probable, that the above money may have formed part of the contents of the military chest of MacFadyan, which, in that superstitious age, had found its way into the hands of the priesthood.

Although Henry cannot be collated with his original, the truth or falsehood of his narrative may, in part, be ascertained by comparing him with those who preceded him on the same subject. The most reputable of these writers, and those whose characters for veracity stand highest in the estimation of the learned, are John de Fordun, and Andro de Wyntown, both original historians; for, though Wyntown outlived Fordun, he had not an opportunity of seeing his history. With respect to Fordun's agreement with the Minstrel, the reader has the evidence of Nicholson, Archdeacon of Carlisle, who says, that "Hart's edition of Wallace contains a preface which confirms the whole of it out of

the Scoti-Chronicon." Wyntown, who finished his history in 1424, being about forty-six years before Henry, in alluding to those deeds of Wallace which he had left unrecorded, says,

Of his gud Dedis and Manhad  
 Gret Gestis; I hard say, ar made;  
 Bot sa mony, I trow noucht,  
 As he in-till hys dayis wroucht.  
 Quha all hys Dedis of prys wald dyte,  
 Hym worthyd a gret Buk to wryte;  
 And all thai to wryte in here  
 I want bathe Wyt and gud Laysere."

*B. VIII. c. xv. v. 79-86.*

The first couplet may allude to Blair's Diary, or perhaps to Fordun's History, which he had no doubt heard of; and, in the succeeding lines, he doubts that however much may have been recorded, it must still fall very short of what was actually performed. This is so far satisfactory, from one who lived almost within a century of the time, and who no doubt often conversed with those whose fathers had fought under the banners of Wallace; it is a pity that his modesty, and his want of "gud laysere", prevented him from devoting more of his time to so meritorious a subject. The first transaction which he has narrated, is the affair at Lanark; but it is evident from what he says, that Wallace must have often before mingled in deadly feud with the English soldiers, and done them serious injury; otherwise, it would be difficult to account for their entertaining towards him the degree of animosity expressed in the following lines:

"Gret Dyspite thir Inglis men  
 Hat at this Willame Wallace then  
 Swá thai made thame on á day  
 Hym for to set in har assay"

*B. VIII. c. XIII. V 19-22*

Every particular that Wyntown gives of the conflict which ensues, in consequence of this preconcerted quarrel on the part of the English, is detailed in the account of the Minstrel with a degree of correctness, leaving no room to doubt that either the two authors must have drawn their materials from the same source, or that Henry, having heard Wytown version of the story, considered it so near the original as to leave little to be corrected. The language, as will be seen from the following examples, is nearly the same:

"Twelf hundyre nynty yhere abd sewyn

Frá Cryst wes borne the King of Hewyn”

*B. VIII. c. XIII.*

Henry thus enters upon the same subject:

Tuelff hundredth yer, tharto nynté and sewyn

Fra Cryst wes norne the rychtwiss king off hewyn

*Buke sext, 107,108*

Wyntown gives the following dialogue, as having taken places between Wallace and an athletic wag belonging to the English garrison of Lanark, who, when surrounding by his companions made “a Tyt at hys swords”:

W. "Hald styлле thi hand, and spek thi worde."

/. "Wyth thi Swerd thow mais gret bost."

W. "Tharefor thi Dame made lytil cost."

/. "Quhat caus has thow to were the Grene ?"

W. "Na caus, bot for to make the Tene."

J. "Thow suld noucht bere sa fare a Knyf."

W. "Swa sayd the Preyst, that, swywyd thi Wyf:

Swa lang he cald that Woman fayr,

Quhill that his Barne wes made thi Ayre."

/. "Me-thynk thow drywys me to scorne."

W. "Thi Dame wes swywyd or thow wes borne."

*B. VIII. c. XIII. 28-38.*

The similarity of Henry's version is too apparent to be the effect of chance. After a little badinage, which does not appear in Wyntown, he says,

“Ma Sotheroune men to thaimе assemblit ner.

Wallace as than was laith to mak a ster.

Ane maid a scrip, and tyt at his lang suorde:

'Hald still thi hand,' quod he,

'and spek thi word.'

'With thi lang suerd thow makis mekill bost.'

Tharoff,' quod he, 'thi deme maid litill cost.'

'Quhat causs has thow to wer that gudlye greyne?  
 'My maist causs is bot for to mak the teyne.'  
 Quhat suld a Scot do with sa fair a knyff?  
 'Sa said the prest that last janglyt thi wyff;  
 'That woman lang has tillit him so fair,  
 'Quhill that his child, worthit to be thine ayr.'  
 'Me think,' quod he,  
 'thow drywys me to scorn.'  
 'Thi deme has beyne japyt or thow was born.'

*Buke Sext," 141-154.*

The parties soon come to blows; and, in the conflict, Wallace cut off the hand of one of his opponents. Wyntown thus takes notice of the circumstance.

"As he wes in that Stowre fechtand,  
 Frá ane he strak swne the rycht hand;  
 And frá that Carle mycht do ná mare,  
 The left hand held fast the Buklare,  
 And he swá mankyd, as brayne-wode,  
 Kest fast wyth the Stwmpe the Blode  
 In-til Willame Walays face:  
 Mare cumryd of that Blode he was,  
 Than he was a welle lang qwhile  
 Feychtand stad in that peryle."

*B. VIII. c. XIII. 47-56.*

Henry narrates the anecdote with little variation.

"Wallace in stour wes cruelly fechtand;  
 Fra a Sotheroune he smat off the rycht hand:  
 And quhen that carle off fechtynge mycht no mar,  
 With the left hand in ire held a bukлар.  
 Than fra the stowmpe the blud out spurgyt fast,  
 In Wallace face aboundandlye can out cast;  
 In to great part it marryt him off his sicht."

*Buke Sext" 163-169.*

The escape of Wallace by means of his mistress -her murder by order of the sheriff- his return the ensuing night with the slaughter of the sheriff are particularly taken notice of by Wyntown. Henry's translation includes all these occurrences, and only differs by being more circumstantial. The account of the battle of Falkirk agrees in numerous instances. The covenant between Cumming and Bruce, which Henry states to have taken place near Stirling, is corroborated in place and circumstance by Fordun, Wyntown, and Barbour. The hanging of Sir Bryce Blair, and Sir Ronald Crawford in a barn at Ayr, is confirmed by the last mentioned writer, although he does not descend to particulars.

These, and many other instances may be adduced, to show, that, though Henry or his authority may have occasionally indulged in the marvelous, yet the general outline of his history, and even many of the particulars, are in strict accordance with truth; and the work itself necessarily becomes not only valuable as a depository of ancient manners, but as containing matter which, if properly investigated, may be useful to the historian. Whether the apocryphal part and which, it must be allowed, is considerable ought to be attributed to the fancy of the translator, or if it formed a portion of the original text, we have no means of ascertaining. From the frequent and apparent sincerity, however, with which Henry appeals to his "actor", and the value he seems to attach to a faithful discharge of his task, we might be led to infer, that if it were practicable to collate his performance with the memoir of Blair, the rendering of it would be found unexceptionable. Under these circumstances, the writer of the following narrative has not scrupled to avail himself of such statements as appeared entitled to credit; and, though he cannot consider the Minstrel as deserving the same degree of confidence as Wyntown or Barbour, yet, when he finds him consistent and characteristic, he conceives it would be unjust to suspect falsehood in every instance, where he does not happen to be supported by the respectable testimonies already enumerated. That he is more circumstantial than any of the Scottish historians, is easily accounted for, by his attention, or rather that of his author, being engrossed by the actions of one individual. A degree of minuteness is in this case adopted, which would be altogether incompatible with the plan of a general historian.

These remarks it has been deemed necessary to make in defense of one to whom we are indebted for the only original memoir of the greatest hero, and purest patriot, Scotland or any other country ever produced; an author, however, who, instead of having the merits of his work fairly appreciated, has been vilified and abused by those who, in their zeal for establishing new historical creeds, have found it a matter of less labour to sneer than to investigate.

The sources from whence the present writer has drawn his materials, will, it is hoped, be found such as are generally entitled to credit. Being of opinion that the authors who lived nearest the period under review ought to be best informed respecting the transactions connected with it, he has therefore endeavored to collate as many ancient Scottish and English authorities as possible. The biographical notices of such Englishmen as figured in the Scottish wars, are chiefly drawn from the historians of England; conceiving that it belongs to the writers of a country to be best acquainted with the details of its internal and domestic history; but to enumerate the authorities he has consulted, would here be superfluous, as they are duly noted at the proper stages of the narrative.

## BLIND HARRY or HENRY THE MINSTREL

(1470-1492)

Little is known about Harry's life. He was most-likely born into a noble family perhaps from the Lothians and it is thought that he was blind from birth. He is credited with writing the patriotic epic, *The Life and Heroic Actions of the Renowned Sir William Wallace, General and Governor of Scotland*, around 1460. This work is the main source of information on Wallace's life, and although much quoted and an influence on both Scott and Burns, it has subsequently been shown to have significant inaccuracies. There is also some doubt that this 12 volume work could be constructed solely by the blind and modest Harry, but despite these problems the poem contains a remarkable amount of information about 12th C. Scotland. The text of the poem is contained in a manuscript, now held by the National Library of Scotland, which was written in 1488 by John Ramsay, who also recorded "The Bruce" by John Barbour (c.1316-95). Between 1473 and 1492, Blind Harry is recorded as being paid for performances as a minstrel at the court of James IV in Linlithgow, and gained his living by reciting it to his own accompaniment on the harp at the houses of the nobles.

The character of a wandering bard or minstrel was in early ages highly valued and honored, although at a late period it fell into discredit. HENRY THE MINSTREL, or BLIND HARRY, had not the fortune to live during the sunshine of his profession; for in the Scottish laws of his own time, we find bards classed with "vagabonidis, fuilis, and sic like idill peopill"; but the misfortune of his blindness, and the unquestionable excellence of his talents, would in all probability secure to him a degree of respect and attention which was not then generally bestowed on individuals of his class. Indeed, we learn from Major, that the most exalted in the land countenanced the minstrel, and that he recited his poetical narratives before them.

Major is the only writer from whom any information regarding Blind Harry is derived, and the meagreness of that information may be judged of, when it is known, that the whole is comprised in the following brief sentence: "Henry, who was blind from his birth, in the time of my infancy composed the whole book of William Wallace; and committed to writing in vulgar poetry, in which he was well skilled the things that were commonly related of him. For my own part, I give only partial credit to writings of this description. By the recitation of these, however, in the presence of men of the highest rank, he procured, as he indeed deserved, food and raiment". Major was born in the year 1469, and as he says that the book of William Wallace was composed in his infancy, Blind Harry must have lived about that time, and the date of this work may be placed between 1470 and 1480. More than this, regarding the biography of a once popular poet, and one whose name is still familiar in the mouths of his countrymen, cannot be ascertained. Of the book itself, a few observations may be taken.

"That a man", says Mr Ellis, "born blind should excel in any science is extraordinary, though by no means without example: but that he should become an excellent poet is almost miraculous... because the soul of poetry is description! Perhaps,

therefore, it may be easily assumed that Henry was not inferior in point of genius either to Barbour or Chaucer, nor indeed to any poet of any age or country."

The question of what a man might have been under certain circumstances, is one of assumption altogether, and is too frequently used by individuals regarding themselves as a salve for their indolence and imperfections. Neither can we admit that description is the soul of poetry: we consider it rather as the outward garb or framework of the divine art, which unless inspired by an inward spirit of contemplation, has no further charm than a chronicle or gazetteer.

Milton was blind when he composed *Paradise Lost*, and although he had the advantage of Henry in that he once saw, yet we have often heard his calamity adduced, to increase our wonder and admiration of his great work, whereas, had he retained his eyesight, *Paradise Lost* would probably never have been finished, or, if finished, might not have proved, as it has done, one of the noblest productions which a human being ever laid before his fellow creatures.

Although, however, we disapprove of assuming a possible excellence in Henry had he been blessed with vision, it would be unjust not to acknowledge the disadvantages under which his poem has come down to us. He himself could not write it; nor is there any probability that it was regularly taken down from his dictation; the incorrectness and unintelligibility of many of its passages rather prove that much of it must have been written from recollection, while editors have, in too many instances, from gross misapprehensions, succeeded in rendering absurd what was previously only obscure.

With all this, the poem is still of extraordinary merit—and, as a poem, is superior to Barbour's or Winton's. In an historical light, doubtless, its value can never be put in competition with the works of the above authors; it is rather a romance than a history, and is full of exaggerations and anachronisms; and narrative Henry professes to have derived from a complete history of Wallace (now lost) written, in Latin, partly by John Blair and partly by Thomas Gray; and this circumstance, if true, exculpates the poet from the invention at least of its manifold and manifest absurdities. His information seems to have been, for the period, respectable.

In his poem he alludes to the history of Hector, of Alexander the Great, of Julius Caesar, and of Charlemagne; but without profiting from the character which these heroes exhibited in history, of policy combined with prowess and bravery, he has in his book taken the childish or gross conception of a warrior, and held up Sir William Wallace as a mere man of muscular strength and ferocity – capable of hewing down whole squadrons with his single arm, and delighting in the most merciless scenes of blood and slaughter. It is in this point that the Minstrel is so far inferior to Barbour. He is destitute of that fine balancing of character displayed by the latter, and those broad political views which render "The Bruce" as much a philosophical history as a poem. [In his work, entitled "Lives of Scottish Worthies," Mr. P. F. Tytler has expressed his deliberate conviction, founded upon recent investigation, that the minstrel holds too low a rank as a credit-worthy historian.

"I am persuaded", says Mr Tytler, "that Wallace is the work of an ignorant man, who was yet in possession of valuable and authentic materials. On what other supposition can we account of the fact, that whilst in one page we meet with errors which show a deplorable perversion of history, in the next we find circumstances unknown to other Scottish historians, yet corroborated by authentic documents, by contemporary English annalists, by national monuments and records only published in

modern times, and to which the minstrel cannot be supposed to have had access. The work, therefore, cannot be treated as an entire romance."

The ingenious historian then adduces a number of instances in which Henry's statements are proved by lately discovered documents to have been correct.

## ALEXANDER THE THIRD.

1249-1292

ALEXANDER the Third had not completed his eighth year, when the death of the king, his father, on the 8th July, 1249, opened to him the peaceable accession to the Scottish throne. He was accordingly conducted by an assembly of the nobility to the Abbey of Scone, and there crowned.

A long minority, at all times an unhappy event for a kingdom, was at this time especially unfortunate for Scotland. The vicinity of Henry the Third of England, who, although individually a weak monarch, allowed himself sometimes to be directed by able and powerful counsellors, and the divisions between the principal nobility of Scotland, facilitated the designs of ambition, and weakened the power of resistance; nor can it be doubted, that during the early part of this reign, the first approaches were made towards that great plan for the reduction of Scotland, which was afterwards attempted to be carried into effect by Edward the First, and defeated by the bravery of Wallace and Bruce. But in order to show clearly the state of the kingdom upon the accession of this monarch, and more especially in its relations with England, it will be necessary to go back a few years, to recount a story of private revenge which happened in the conclusion of the reign of Alexander the Second, (1242) and drew after it important consequences.

A tournament, the frequent amusement of this warlike age, was held near Haddington, on which occasion Walter Bisset, a powerful baron who piqued himself upon his skill in his weapons, was foiled by Patrick earl of Athole. An old feud which existed between these families embittered the defeat; and Athole was found murdered in his house, which, probably for the purpose of concealment, was set on fire by the assassins. The suspicion of this slaughter, which, even in an age familiar with ferocity, seems to have excited unwonted horror, immediately fell upon the Bissets; and, although Walter was the person present at the tournament, the popular clamor pointed to William, the chief of the family. He was pursued by the nobility, who were incited to vengeance by the Earl of March and David de Hastings; and would have been torn to pieces, had not the interference of the king protected him from the fury of the friends of Athole.

Bisset strenuously asserted his innocence. He offered to prove, that he had been fifty miles distant from Haddington when the murder was committed; he instantly procured the sentence of excommunication against the assassins to be published in every chapel in Scotland; he offered combat to any man who dared abide the issue; but he declined a trial by jury on account of the inveterate malice of his enemies. The king accepted the office of judge: the Bissets were condemned, their estates forfeited to the crown, and they themselves compelled to swear upon the Holy Gospel that they would repair to Palestine, and there, for the remaining days of their lives, pray for the soul of the murdered earl.

Walter Bisset, however, instead of Jerusalem, sought the English court. There, by artfully representing to the king that Alexander owed him fealty, and that, as lord

superior, he ought to have been first consulted before judgment was given, whilst he described Scotland as the ally of France and the asylum of his expatriated rebels, he contrived to inflame the passion of the English monarch to so high a pitch, that Henry determined on an immediate invasion. Nor was the temper with which Alexander received this information in any way calculated to promote conciliation.

To the complaints of the King of England, that he had violated the duty which he owed to him as his Lord Paramount, the Scottish monarch is said to have answered, that he neither did, nor ever would, consent to hold from the King of England the smallest portion of his kingdom of Scotland. His reply was warmly seconded by the spirit of his nobility. They fortified the castles on the marches; and the king soon found himself at the head of an army of nearly a hundred thousand foot and a thousand horse. Henry, on the other hand, led into the field a large body of troops, with which he proceeded to Newcastle. The accoutrements and discipline of these two powerful hosts, which were commanded by kings and included the flower of the nobility of both countries, are highly extolled by Mathew Paris.

The Scottish cavalry, according to his account, were a fine body of men and well mounted, although their horses were neither of the Spanish nor Italian breed; and the horsemen were clothed in armour of iron net-work. In the number of its cavalry the English army far surpassed its rival force, including a power of five thousand men-at-arms, sumptuously accoutred. These armies came in sight of each other at a place in Northumberland called Ponteland; and the Scots prepared for battle, by confessing themselves to their priests, and expressing to each other their readiness to die in defence of the independence of their country. As Alexander, however, was much beloved in England, the nobility of that country coldly seconded the rash enterprise of their king, and showed no anxiety to hurry into hostilities. Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry, and the Archbishop of York, thought this a favourable moment for proposing an armistice; and, by their endeavours, such great and solemn preparations ended in a treaty of peace, without a lance being put in rest. Its terms were just, and favourable to both countries.

Henry appears prudently to have waved all demand of homage from Alexander for the kingdom of Scotland; and the Scottish monarch, on the other hand, who possessed land in England for which, although the English historians assert the contrary, he does not appear to have ever refused homage, consented, for himself and his heirs, to maintain fidelity and affection to Henry and his heirs, as his liege lord, and not to enter into any league with the enemies of England, except in the case of unjust oppression. It was also stipulated, that the peace formerly signed at York, in the presence of Otto the pope's legate, should stand good; and that the proposal there made, of a marriage between the daughter of the King of England and the son of the King of Scots, should be carried into effect. Alan Durward, at this time the most accomplished knight and the best military leader in Scotland, Henry de Baliol, and David de Lindesay, with other knights and prelates, then swore on the soul of their lord the king, that the treaty should be kept inviolate by him and his heirs.

Thus ended this expedition of Henry's into Scotland, formidable in its commencement, but happy and bloodless in its result; and such was the relative situation of the two countries, when Alexander the Third, yet a boy in his eighth year, mounted the Scottish throne.

The mode in which the ceremony of his coronation was performed, is strikingly illustrative of the manners of that age. The Bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld, with

the Abbot of Scone, attended to officiate; but an unexpected difficulty arose. Alan Durward, the great Justiciary, remarked, that the king ought not to be crowned before he was knighted, and that the day fixed for the ceremony was unlucky. The objection was selfish, and arose from Durward, who was then at the head of the Scottish chivalry, expecting that the honour of knighting Alexander would fall upon himself. But Comyn earl of Menteith, insisted that there were frequent examples of the consecration of kings before the solemnity of their knighthood; he represented that the Bishop of St Andrews might perform both ceremonies; he cited the instance of William Rufus having been knighted by Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury; and he earnestly urged the danger of delay. Nor was this danger ideal. Henry the Third, in a letter to Rome, had artfully represented Scotland as a fief of England; and had requested the pope to interdict the ceremony of the coronation until Alexander obtained the permission of his feudal superior.

Fortunately the patriotic arguments of the Earl of Menteith prevailed. The Bishop of St Andrews girded the king with the belt of knighthood, and explained to him the respective oaths which were to be taken by himself and his subjects, first in Latin, and afterwards in Norman French. They then conducted the boy to the regal chair, or sacred stone of Scone, which stood before the cross in the eastern division of the chapel. Upon this he sat: the crown was placed on his head, the scepter in his hand; he was invested with the royal mantle; and the nobility, kneeling in homage, threw their robes beneath his feet. A Highland sennachy or bard, of great age, clothed in a scarlet mantle, with hair venerably white, then advanced from the crowd; and, bending before the throne, repeated, in his native tongue, the genealogy of the youthful monarch, deducing his descent from the fabulous Gathelus. It is difficult to believe that, even in those days of credulity, the nobility could digest the absurdities of this savage genealogist.

Henry the Third, at this time influenced by the devotional spirit of the age, had resolved on an expedition to the Holy Land; and in order to secure tranquillity to his dominions on the side of Scotland, the marriage formerly agreed on, between his daughter Margaret and the young Scottish king, was solemnized at York on Christmas day, with much splendour and dignity. The guests at the bridal were the King and Queen of England; Mary de Couci queen-dowager of Scotland, who had come from France, with a train worthy of her high rank; the nobility, and the dignified clergy of both countries, and in their suite a numerous assemblage of vassals. A thousand knights, in robes of silk, attended the bride on the morn of her nuptials; and after some days spent in tournaments, feasting, and other circumstances of feudal revelry, the youthful couple, neither of whom had reached their eleventh year, set out for Scotland.

"Were I", says Mathew Paris, in one of those bursts of monastic eloquence which diversify his annals, "to explain at length the abundance of the feasts, the variety and the frequent changes of the vestments, the delight and the plaudits occasioned by the jugglers, and the multitude of those who sat down to meat, my narrative would become hyperbolical, and might produce irony in the hearts of the absent. I shall only mention, that the archbishop, who, as the great Prince of the North, showed himself a most serene host to all comers, made a donation of six hundred oxen, which were all spent upon the first course; and from this circumstance, I leave you to form a parallel judgment of the rest."

In the midst of these festivities, a circumstance of importance occurred. When Alexander performed homage for the lands which he held in England, Henry, relying upon the facility incident to his age, artfully proposed that he should also render fealty for his kingdom of Scotland. But the boy, either instructed beforehand, or animated with

a spirit and wisdom above his years, replied, "That he had come into England upon a joyful and pacific errand, and that he would not treat upon so arduous a question without the advice of the states of his kingdom"; upon which the king dissembled his mortification, and the ceremony proceeded.

Alan Durward, who, as High Justiciar, was the Scottish king's chief counsellor, had married the natural sister of Alexander; and, during the rejoicings at York, was accused, by Comyn earl of Menteith and William earl of Mar, of a design against the crown. The ground on which this accusation rested, was an attempt of Durward, in which he was seconded by the Scottish chancellor, to procure from the court of Rome the legitimation of his wife, in order, said his accusers, that his children should succeed to the crown, if the king happened to die without heirs. From the ambitious and intriguing character of Durward, this story probably had some foundation in fact, and certain persons who were accused, actually fled from York; upon which Henry made a new appointment of guardians to the young king, at the head of whom were placed the Earls of Menteith and Mar.

The peace of Scotland was for many years after this interrupted by that natural jealousy of England, so likely to rise in a kingdom its equal in the sense of independence, although its inferior in national strength. Henry, too, adopted measures not calculated to secure the confidence of the Scottish people. He sent into Scotland, under the name of guardian to the king, Geoffrey de Langley, a rapacious noble, who was immediately expelled. He procured Innocent the Fourth to grant him a twentieth of the ecclesiastical revenues of that kingdom, nominally for the aid of the Holy Land, but really for his own uses; and he despatched Simon de Montfort, the Earl of Leicester, on a mission, described as secret in his instructions, but the object of which may be conjectured from the increasing animosity of the disputes between the Scottish nobility. Many English attendants, some of them persons of rank and consequence, accompanied Margaret into her new kingdom; and between these intruders and the ancient nobility of Scotland, who fiercely asserted their privileges, disputes arose, which soon reached the ears of the English court. The young queen, accustomed to the indulgence and superior refinement of her father's court, bitterly lamented that she was immured in a dismal fortress, without being permitted to have her own attendants around her person, or allowed to enjoy the society of her husband, the king.

These complaints, which appear to have been highly exaggerated, and a still more horrid report that the queen's physician had been poisoned by the same party because he ventured to remonstrate against the confinement of his mistress, were not lost upon Alan Durward, the late justiciar. He had accompanied Henry in his expedition to Guienne, where, by his courage and address, he regained the confidence of that capricious monarch; and he now prevailed upon the king to despatch the Earl of Gloucester and Maunsell his chief secretary, to the Scottish court, for the purpose of dismissing those ministers who were found not sufficiently obsequious to England.

In sending these noblemen upon this mission, Henry solemnly engaged to attempt nothing against the person of the Scottish king, and never to insist upon his being disinherited, or upon the dissolution of the marriage settlement; promises, the particular history of which is involved in much obscurity, but which strongly, though generally, demonstrate, that the English king had been accused of designs inimical to the honor and independence of Scotland. At the head of the party which steadily opposed the interested schemes of Henry, was Walter Comyn earl of Menteith, whose loyalty we have seen insisting on the speedy coronation of the young king, when it was attempted

to be deferred by Alan Durward. Many of the principal nobility, and some of the best and wisest of the clergy, were found in the same ranks.

The Earl of Gloucester and his associates accordingly repaired to Scotland; and, in concert with the Earls of Dunbar, Strathern, and Carrick, surprised the castle of Edinburgh, relieved the royal couple from the real or pretended durance in which they were held, and formally conducted them to the bridal chamber, although the king was yet scarcely fourteen years of age. English influence appears now to have been predominant; and Henry, having heard of the success of his forerunners Maunsell and Gloucester, and conceiving that the time was come for the reduction of Scotland under his unfettered control, issued his writs to his military tenants, and assembled a numerous army. As he led this array towards the borders, he took care to conceal his real intentions, by directing, from Newcastle, a declaration, that in this progress to visit his dear son Alexander, he should attempt nothing prejudicial to the rights of the king, or the liberties of Scotland. In the meantime, the Comyns collected their forces, and the opposite faction suddenly removed the king and queen to Roxburgh, in which castle Alexander received Henry, who conducted him, with pomp and acclamation, to the Abbey of Kelso. The government of Scotland was there remodeled; a new set of counsellors appointed; and the party of the Comyns, with John Baliol and Robert de Ross, completely deprived of their political influence. In the instruments drawn up upon this occasion, some provisions were inserted, which were loudly complained of as derogatory to the dignity of the kingdom; the abettors of England were stigmatized as conspirators, who were equally obnoxious to prelates, barons, and burgesses; and the Bishop of Glasgow, the Bishop elect of St Andrews, the chancellor, and the Earl of Menteith, indignantly refused to affix their seals to a deed, which, as they asserted, compromised the liberties of the country.

A regency was now appointed, which included the whole of the clergy and the nobility who were favourable to England, to whom were entrusted the custody of the king's person, and the government of the realm for seven years, till Alexander had reached the age of twenty-one. Henry assumed to himself the title of "principal counselor to the illustrious King of Scotland"; and the Comyns, with Bishop Gamelin, the Earl of Mar, Baliol, Ross, and their chief accomplices, were removed from all share in the government of the kingdom.

Alexander, upon his part, engaged to treat his young queen with all honour and affection; and the Earl of Dunbar, according to a common solemnity of this age, swore upon the soul of the king, that every article of the agreement should be faithfully performed. Thus ended a negotiation conducted entirely by English influence; and which, although the ambition of the Comyns may have given some plausible colour to the designs of their enemies, was generally and justly unpopular in Scotland. Alexander and his queen now repaired to Edinburgh; and Henry, after having attempted to recruit his exhausted coffers, by selling a pardon to John de Baliol, and confiscating the estates of Robert de Ross, returned to commit new attacks upon the property of his English subjects.

Upon his departure, Scotland became the scene of civil faction and ecclesiastical violence. There were at this time in that kingdom thirty-two knights and three powerful earls of the name of Comyn; and these, with their armed vassals, assisted by many of the disgraced nobility, formed an effectual check upon the measures of the regency. Gamelin, the Bishop elect of St Andrews, and the steady enemy of English influence, unawed by his late removal, procured himself to be consecrated by the Bishop of Glasgow; and although placed without the protection of the laws, he yet, in an appeal to

the court of Rome, induced the pope to excommunicate his accusers, and to declare him worthy of his bishopric. Henry, enraged at the bold opposition of Gamelin, prohibited his return, and issued orders to arrest him if he attempted to land in England; while the regents performed their part in the persecution, by seizing the rich revenues of his see.

In the midst of these scenes of faction and disturbance, the King and Queen of Scotland proceeded to London on a visit to their father, and were received with great magnificence. They were entertained at Oxford, Woodstock, and in London. Tents were raised in the meadows for the accommodation of their followers; and Henry renewed to Alexander a grant of the honour of Huntingdon, which had been held by some of his predecessors. The party of the Comyns, however, were slowly regaining ground. The pope, by his judgment in favour of Gamelin, espoused their quarrel; and they soon received a powerful support in Mary de Couci the widow of Alexander the Second, and John of Acre her husband, who at this time passed through England into Scotland. This was deemed a favourable conjuncture by the delegates of the pope, to publish the sentence of excommunication against the counsellors of the king. The ceremony, in those days an affair of awful moment, was performed by the Bishop of Dumblane, and the Abbots of Jedburgh and Melrose, in the abbey church of Cambuskenneth, and repeated, "by bell and candle", in every chapel in the kingdom.

To follow this up, the Comyns now assembled in great strength: they declared that the government of the kingdom had been shamefully mismanaged, that foreigners were promoted to the highest offices, that their sovereign was detained in the hands of excommunicated and accursed persons, and that an interdict would soon be fulminated against the whole kingdom. Finding that their party increased in weight and popularity, they resorted to more desperate measures. Under cover of night they attacked the court of the king, which was then held at Kinross; seized the young monarch in his bed; carried him and his queen before morning to Stirling; made themselves masters of the great seal of the kingdom; and totally dispersed the opposite faction. Nor were they remiss in strengthening their interest by foreign alliance. They entered into a remarkable treaty with Wales at this time the enemy of England which, with a wisdom scarcely to be looked for in those rude times, included in its provisions some important regulations regarding the commerce of both countries.

Alan Durward meanwhile precipitately fled to England; and the Comyns, eager to press their advantage to the utmost, assembled their forces, and marched with the king against the English party. A negotiation at length took place at Roxburgh; and the nobility and principal knights, who had leagued with Henry, engaged to submit themselves to the king and the laws, and to settle all disputes in a conference to be held at Forfar. This was merely an artifice to gain time, for they immediately fled to England; and the Earls of Hereford and Albemarle, along with John de Baliol, soon after repaired to Melrose, where the Scottish king awaited the arrival of his army. Their avowed purpose was to act as mediators between the two factions: their real intention to seize, if possible, the person of the king, and to carry him into England. But the plot was suspected; and Alexander, with the Comyns, defeated all hopes of its success, by appointing for the scene of their conference the forest of Jedburgh, in which a great part of his troops had already assembled.

The two English earls, therefore, resumed their more pacific design of negotiation. It was difficult and protracted; so that in the interval, the king and the Comyns, having time to collect a large force, found themselves in a situation to insist upon terms which were alike favourable to their own power and to the liberty of the country. The King of England was compelled to dissemble his animosity, to forget his

bitter opposition against Bishop Gamelin, and to reserve to some other opportunity all reference to the obnoxious treaty of Roxburgh. A new regency was appointed, which left the principal power in the hands of the queen-mother and of the Comyns, but endeavoured to reconcile the opposite parties, by including in its numbers four of the former regents. Meanwhile the country, torn by contending factions, was gradually reduced to a state of great misery. Men forgot their respect for the kingly authority, and despised the restraint of the laws; the higher nobles enlisted under one or other of the opposite parties, plundered the lands and slew the retainers of their rival barons; churches were violated, castles and hamlets razed to the ground, and the regular returns of seed-time and harvest interrupted by the flames of private war. In short, the struggle to resist English interference was fatal, for the time, to the prosperity of the kingdom; and what Scotland gained in independence, she lost in improvement and national happiness.

At this crisis, when they had effectually succeeded in diminishing, if not destroying, the English influence, the Comyns lost the leader whose courage and energy were the soul of their councils. Walter Comyn earl of Menteith died suddenly. It was reported in England that his death was occasioned by a fall from his horse; but a darker story arose in Scotland. The Countess of Menteith had encouraged a criminal passion for an English baron named Russel, and was openly accused of having poisoned her husband to make way for her paramour, whom she married with indecent haste. Insulted and disgraced, she and her husband were thrown into prison, despoiled of their estates, and at last compelled to leave the kingdom.

Encouraged by the death of his opponent, and anxious to regain his lost influence, the English king now became desirous that Alexander and his queen should pay him a visit at London; and for this purpose he sent William de Horton, a monk of St Albans, on a secret mission into Scotland. Horton arrived at the period when the king and his nobles were assembled in council, and found them jealous of this perpetual interference of England. They deemed these visits incompatible with the independence of the country; and the messenger of Henry met with great opposition. The nature of the message increased this alarm. It was a request that Alexander and his queen should repair to London, to treat of matters of great importance, but which were not communicated to the parliament; and it was not surprising that the nobility, profiting by former experience, should have taken precautions against any sinister designs of Henry. Accordingly, the Earl of Buchan, Durward the Justiciar, and the Chancellor Wishart, were in their turn despatched upon a secret mission into England; and the result was, that Alexander and his queen consented to visit London, under two conditions: first, an express stipulation was made that, during their stay at court, neither the king, nor any of his attendants, were to be required to treat of state affairs; and, secondly, an oath was to be taken by the English monarch, that if the Queen of Scotland became pregnant, or if she gave birth to a child during her absence, neither the mother nor the infant should be detained in England; so great, at this moment, in the minds of the Scottish nobility, was the jealousy of English ambition and intrigue.

In fulfilment of this promise, the King of Scotland repaired with a concourse of his nobility to the court of England; and left his queen, whose situation now speedily promised an heir to the Scottish throne, to follow him, by slow stages, with the Bishop of Glasgow. On her approach to St Albans, she was met by her younger brother Edmund, who received her with a splendid retinue, and conducted her in the morning to London. The object of this visit of Alexander was not solely to gratify the King of England. He was anxious to exercise his rights over the territory of Huntingdon, which

he held of the English crown; and the payment of his wife's portion had been so long delayed, that he wished to reclaim the debt. The reception of the royal persons appears to have been unusually magnificent; and the country round the court was greatly exhausted by the sumptuous entertainments, and the intolerable expenses which they demanded. In the midst of these festivities, the queen drew near her time; and, at the pressing instance of her father, it was agreed that she should lie-in at the court of England: not however without a renewed stipulation, sworn upon the soul of the king, that the infant, in the event of the death of its mother or of Alexander, should be delivered to an appointed body of the Scottish nobility.

Having secured this, Alexander returned to his kingdom; and in the month of February 1261, his young queen was delivered at Windsor of a daughter, Margaret, afterwards married to Eric king of Norway.

In the beginning of the following year, Henry seems to have interposed his good offices, to prevent a rupture between Alexander and Haco king of Norway, regarding the possession of the western islands, the petty chiefs of which had for a long period been feudatory to the Norwegian crown. Their habits of constant war and piratical excursion had at this time rendered the Norwegians a formidable people; and their near vicinity to Scotland enabled them, at a very early period, to overspread the whole of the Western Archipelago. The little sovereignties of these islands, under the protection of a warlike government, appear to have been in a flourishing condition. They were crowded with people; and the useful and ornamental arts were carried in them to a higher degree of perfection than in the other European countries. A poet of the north, in describing a dress unusually gorgeous, adds, that it was spun by the Sudreyans. And even in science and literature, this remarkable people had, in their colonies especially, attained to no inconsiderable distinction.

The vicinity of such enterprising neighbours was particularly irksome to the Scottish kings, and they anxiously endeavoured to get possession of these islands. When treaty failed, they encouraged their subjects of Scotland to invade them; and Alan lord of Galloway, assisted by Thomas earl of Athole, about thirty years before this, carried on a successful war against the isles, and expelled Olaf the Black, King of Man, from his dominions. These Scottish chiefs had collected a large fleet, with a proportionably numerous army; and it required all the exertions of the Norwegian king to re-establish his vassal on his island throne. After this, the authority of Norway became gradually more and more precarious throughout the isles. Some of the chiefs were compelled, others induced by motives of interest, to renounce their allegiance, and to embrace the nearer superiority of Scotland: some, who held lands of both crowns, were uncertain to whom they should pay their paramount allegiance; and Alexander the Second, the immediate predecessor of Alexander the Third, after an unsuccessful attempt at negotiation, prepared an expedition for their complete reduction. The expressions used in threatening this invasion, may convince us that the Norwegians had not only acquired the sovereignty of the isles, but had established themselves upon the mainland of Scotland; for the Scottish king declares, "that he will not desist till he hath set his standard upon the cliffs of Thurso, and subdued all that the King of Norway possessed to the westward of the German Ocean. Alexander the Second, however, lived only to conduct his fleet and army to the shores of Argyleshire; and, on the king's death, the object of the expedition was abandoned.

During the minority of Alexander the Third, all idea of reducing the isles seems to have been abandoned; but when the king was no longer a boy, the measure was seriously resumed: and after an unsuccessful embassy to the Norwegian court, the Earl

of Ross and other island chiefs were induced to invade the reguli, or petty kings of the Hebrides, in the western seas. Their expedition was accompanied with circumstances of extreme cruelty. The ketherans and soldiers, of the isles, if we may believe the Norwegian Chronicles, not content with the sack of villages and the plunder of churches, in their wanton fury raised the children on the points of their spears, and shook them till they fell down to their hands: barbarities which might be thought incredible, were we not acquainted with the horrid atrocities which, even in our own days, have accompanied piratic warfare.

Such conduct effectually roused Haco, the Norwegian king. He determined to revenge the injuries offered to his vassals, and immediately issued orders for the assembling of a fleet and army, whilst he repaired in person to Bergen to superintend the preparations for the expedition. The magnitude of these spread an alarm even upon the coasts of England. It was reported, that the Kings of Denmark and Norway, with an overwhelming fleet, had bent their course against the Scottish islands; and although the apparent object of Haco was nothing more than the protection of his vassals, yet the final destination of so powerful an armament was anxiously contemplated.

On the 7th of July, the fleet set sail from Herlover. The king commanded in person. His ship, which had been built at Bergen, was entirely of oak, of great dimensions, and ornamented with richly-carved dragons, overlaid with gold. Everything at first seemed to favour the expedition. It was midsummer, the day was fine, and innumerable flags and pennons flaunted in the breeze; the decks were crowded with knights and soldiers, whose armour glittered in the sun; and the armament, which was considered as the most powerful and splendid that had ever sailed from Norway, bore away with a light wind for Shetland, which it reached in two days. Haco thence sailed to Orkney, where he proposed to separate his forces into two divisions, and to send one of these to plunder in the Firth of Forth; whilst he himself, remained in reserve, with his largest ships and the greater part of his army, in Orkney. It happened, however, that the higher vassals and retainers, who appear to have had a powerful influence in the general direction of the expedition, refused to go anywhere without the king himself; and this project was abandoned. The fleet, therefore, directed its course to the south; and, after being joined by a small squadron which had previously been despatched to the westward, Haco conducted his ships into the bay of Ronaldsvoe, and sent messengers to the neighbouring coast of Caithness to levy contributions. This country, exposed from its situation to perpetual piratic invasions, was, as we have seen, in 1249 under the dominion of Norway. But this did not long continue. The exertions of the Scottish government had succeeded in reducing the inhabitants; hostages were exacted for their fidelity; and now we find this remote district in the state of a Scottish province, exposed to the exactions of Norway.

No aid, however, appeared from Scotland; and the Caithnesians quietly submitted to the tribute which Haco imposed upon them. It is remarked by the Norwegian Chronicle, that when their king lay with his fleet in Ronaldsvoe, "a great darkness drew over the sun, so that only a little ring was bright round his orb." The ancient historian thus unconsciously afforded to modern science the means of exactly ascertaining the date of this great expedition. The eclipse was calculated, and it was found to have taken place on the 5th of August, 1263, and to have been annular at Ronaldsvoe in Orkney: a fine example of the clear and certain light reflected by the exact sciences upon history. Early in August, the king sailed across the Pentland Firth, having left orders for the Orkney men to follow him when their preparations were completed; thence he proceeded by the Lewes to the Isle of Sky, where he was joined by Magnus, the Lord of

Man; and from this holding on to the Sound of Mull, he met Dugal and other Hebridean chiefs with their whole forces.

The united armament of Haco now amounted to above a hundred vessels, most of them large, all well provided with men and arms; and, on the junction of the fleet, the business of piracy commenced. A division of the forces first took place. A squadron of fifty ships, under Magnus and Dugal, was sent to plunder in the Mull of Kentire; five ships were despatched for the same purpose to Bute; and the king himself, with the rest of the fleet, remained at Gigha, a little island between the coast of Kentire and Isla. He was here met by King John, one of the island chiefs, whom Alexander the Second had in vain attempted to seduce from his fidelity to Norway. John was now, however, differently situated; and a scene took place which is strongly illustrative of feudal manners. Haco desired him to follow his banner, as was his duty; upon which the island prince excused himself. He affirmed that he had taken the oaths as a vassal of the Scottish king; that he held of him more lands than of his Norwegian master; and he entreated Haco to dispose of all those estates which he had conferred on him. This reasoning, although not agreeable to his powerful superior, was apparently such as Haco could not dispute; and after a short time John was dismissed, not only uninjured, but with presents.

Many of these island chiefs found themselves, during this northern invasion, in a very distressing situation. On one hand, the destroying fleet of Haco lay close to the shores of their little territories, eager to plunder them should they manifest the slightest resistance. On the other, they had given hostages for their loyal behaviour to the King of Scotland; and the liberty, perhaps the lives, of their friends or their children were forfeited if they deserted to the enemy. In this cruel dilemma was Angus lord of Kentire and Isla, apparently a person of high authority in these parts, and whose allegiance the Scottish king seems to have adopted every method to secure. He held his infant son as a hostage; an instrument had been drawn out, which declared his territories subject to instant forfeiture if he deserted; and the barons of Argyle were compelled to promise that they would faithfully serve the king against Angus of Isla, and unite in accomplishing his ruin, unless he continued true to his oaths. But the power of the King of Scotland was remote; the vengeance of piratical warfare was at his door; and Angus, with another island prince, Murchad of Kentire, submitted to Haco, and delivered up the whole lands which they held of Alexander. A fine of a thousand head of cattle was esteemed a proper punishment for their desertion from Norway; and when they renewed their oaths to Haco, he promised, what he did not live to perform, to reconcile them to the offended majesty of Scotland.

In the meantime, the squadron which had been despatched towards the Mull of Kentire, made a desolating descent upon the peninsula; but in the midst of their havoc, and when they were proceeding to attack the greater villages, they received letters from Haco, forbidding them to plunder, and commanding them to rejoin the king's fleet at Gigha. Haco next despatched one of his captains, with some small vessels, to join the little squadron which had sailed against Bute; and intelligence soon after reached him, that the castle of Rothesay, in that island, had been taken by his soldiers, and that the Scottish garrison had capitulated. A pirate chief, named Roderic, who claimed Bute as his inheritance, but who had been opposed by the islanders and outlawed by Alexander, was at this time with Haco. His knowledge of the seas in these quarters made him useful to the invaders, and the power of Haco enabled him to gratify his revenge. He accordingly laid waste the island, basely murdered part of the garrison of Rothesay, and

leading a party of plunderers from Bute into Scotland, carried fire and sword into the heart of the neighbouring country.

While the king's fleet lay at Gigha, Haco received messengers from the Irish Ostmen, with proposals of submitting themselves to his power; under the condition that he would pass over to Ireland with his fleet, and grant them his protection against the attacks of their English invaders, who had acquired the principal towns upon the coast. In reply to this proposal, the king despatched Sigurd, one of his chief captains, to communicate with the Ostmen; and in the meantime, he himself, with the whole fleet, sailed round the point of Kentire, and, entering the Firth of Clyde, anchored in the sound of Kilbrannan, which lies between the island of Arran and the mainland.

Hitherto the great body of the Norwegian fleet had remained in the Hebrides, and Scotland was only made acquainted with this formidable invasion by the small squadrons which had been despatched for the purposes of plunder. But the whole naval armament of Haco, amounting to a hundred and sixty ships, as it entered the Firth of Clyde, became conspicuous from the opposite shores of Kyle, Carrick, and Wigtown; and the more immediate danger of a descent, induced the Scottish government to think seriously of some terms of pacification. Accordingly, there soon after arrived from Alexander a deputation of Praedican, or Barefooted Friars, whose object was to sound Haco regarding the conditions upon which a peace might be concluded; and, in consequence of these overtures, five Norwegian commissioners were sent to treat with the King of Scotland. They were honourably received by Alexander, and dismissed with a promise, that such terms of accommodation as the Scottish king could consent to, should be transmitted to Haco within a short time; and in the meanwhile a temporary truce was agreed on.

This was wise: for to delay any pacification, without irritating their enemy, was the manifest policy of Scotland. Every day gave them more time to levy and concentrate their army; and as the autumn was drawing to a close, it brought the Norwegians a nearer prospect of wreck and disaster from the winter storms.

Envoys were now despatched from Alexander to Haco; and the moderate demands of the King of Scotland made it apparent, that, at this moment, he was not prepared to resist the fleet and army of Norway. He claimed Bute, Arran, and the two islands of the Cumrays, all lying in the Firth of Clyde, as the property of Scotland; but it appears that he was willing to have given up to Norway the whole of the Isles of the Hebrides. These terms, so advantageous to Haco, were, fortunately for Scotland, rejected: no pacification took place; and the fleet of Norway bore in through the narrow strait between the larger and the lesser Cumray, thus menacing a descent upon the coast of Ayrshire, which is scarcely two miles distant.

The crews had now run short of provisions, the weather was daily becoming more threatening, a strong Scottish force of armed peasants had gathered on the shore, and Haco was anxiously exhorted by his officers to give orders for a descent on the coast, were it only to recruit, by plunder, the exhausted state of their provisions. This measure, it seems, he was unwilling to adopt, without a last message to the King of Scotland; and for this purpose he sent an ambassador to Alexander, whose commission was worded in the true style of ancient chivalry. He was to propose, "That the sovereigns should meet amicably at the lead of their armies, and treat regarding a peace, which if, by the grace of God, it took place, it was well; but if the attempt at negotiation failed, he was throw down the gauntlet from Norway, to challenge the Scottish monarch to debate the matter with his army in the field, and let God, in his pleasure, determine the victory."

Alexander, however, would agree to no explanation; but "seemed," says the Norse Chronicle, "in no respect unwilling to fight;" upon which the envoy returned from his unsatisfactory mission, and the truce was declared at an end.

Haco next despatched a fleet of sixty ships up the Clyde, into Loch Long, under the command of Magnus king of Man, and with him four Hebridean chiefs, and two principal Norwegian officers. They penetrated and plundered to the head of Loch Long; they then took to their boats, and dragging them across the narrow neck of land between Arrochar and Tarbet, launched them into Loch Lomond, the islands of which lake were then full of inhabitants. To these islands the Scots had retreated for security, no doubt; little anticipating the measure, which the lightness of the Norwegian craft, and the active perseverance of that bold people, enabled them to carry into execution. Their safeholds now became the scenes of plunder and bloodshed; the islands were wasted with fire, the shores of this beautiful lake completely ravaged, and the houses on its borders burnt to the ground. After this, one of the Hebridean chiefs made an expedition into the rich and populous county of Stirling, in which he slew great numbers of the inhabitants and returned, driving herds of cattle before him, and loaded with booty.

But the measure of Norwegian success was now full: the spirit of the Scottish nation was highly exasperated time had been given them to collect their forces and, as had been foreseen, the elements began to fight on their side. Upon returning to their ships in Loch Long, the invaders encountered so dreadful a storm, that ten of their vessels were completely wrecked. King Haco still lay with the rest of the fleet in the Firth of Clyde, near the little islands of the Cumrays, when, on Monday the 1st of October, a second tempest came on, accompanied with such torrents of hailstones and rain, that the Norwegians ascribe its extreme violence to the powers of enchantment a prevalent belief at this period. The wind blew from the south-west, making the coast of Ayrshire a lee-shore to the fleet, and thus infinitely increasing its distress. At midnight a cry of distress was heard in the king's ship; and before assistance could be given, the rigging of a transport, driven loose by the storm, got entangled with the royal vessel, and carried away her head. The transport then fell alongside, so that her anchor grappled the cordage of the king's ship; and Haco, perceiving the storm increasing, and finding his own ship beginning to drag her anchors, ordered the cable of the transport to be cut, and let her drift to sea. When morning came, she and another vessel were seen cast ashore. The wind still increased; and the king, imagining that the powers of magic might be controlled by the services of religion, rowed in his long boat to the islands of the Cumrays, and there, amid the roaring of the elements, ordered mass to be celebrated. But the tempest increased in fury. Many vessels cut away their masts; his own ship, although secured by seven anchors, drove from her moorings; five galleys were cast ashore, and the rest of the fleet violently beat up the channel towards Largs.

Meanwhile, Alexander had neglected no precaution which was likely to ensure the discomfiture of this great armament. Before it appeared on the coast, the warders in the different castles which commanded a view of the sea, were directed to keep a strict lookout; a communication by beacons was established with the interior of the country; and now, when the tempest seemed to threaten the total destruction of their enemies, a multitude of armed peasants hovered on the surrounding heights observing every motion of the Norwegian fleet, and ready to take instant advantage of its distress. Accordingly, when the five galleys, with their armed crews, were cast ashore, the Scots rushed down from the heights, and attacked them. The Norwegians defended themselves with great gallantry; and the king, as the wind had somewhat abated, succeeded in sending in boats with reinforcements; but as soon as their crews landed,

the Scots retired, satisfying themselves with returning during the night, to plunder the transports.

When morning broke, Haco came on shore with a large reinforcement, and ordered the transports to be lightened, and towed to the ships. Soon after, the Scottish army appeared at a distance, upon the high grounds above the village of Largs; and as it advanced, the sun's rays glancing from the lines, made it evident to the Norwegians, that a formidable body of troops were about to attack them. The cavalry, although they only amounted to fifteen hundred horsemen, had a formidable appearance on the heights, most of them being knights or barons from the neighbouring counties, armed from head to heel, and mounted on Spanish horses, which were clothed in complete armour. All the other horses were defended with breastplates; and besides this cavalry, there was a numerous body of foot soldiers, well accoutred, and for the most part armed with spears and bows. This force was led by the king in person, along with Alexander the High Steward of Scotland.

On the shore, at this time, was a body of nine hundred Norwegians, commanded by three principal leaders; two hundred men occupied in advance a small hill which rises behind the village of Largs, and the rest of the troops were drawn up on the beach. With the advance also was the king, whom, as the main battle of the Scots approached, his officers anxiously entreated to row out to his fleet, and send them farther reinforcements. Haco, for some time, pertinaciously insisted on remaining on shore; but as he became more and more exposed, the barons would not consent to this, and at last prevailed on him to return in his barge to his fleet at the Cumrays. The van of the Scottish army now began to skirmish with the advance of the Norwegians, and greatly outnumbering them, pressed on both flanks with so much fury, that, afraid of being surrounded and cut to pieces, they began a retreat, which soon changed into a flight. At this critical moment, when everything depended on Haco's returning with additional forces before the main body of the Scots had time to charge his troops on the beach, a third storm came on, which completed the ruin of the Norwegian fleet, already shattered by the former furious gales. This cut off all hopes of landing reinforcement, and they were completely routed. Indeed, without a miracle, it could not have been otherwise. The main body of the Scots far outnumbered the force of the Norwegians; and their advance, under Ogmund, flying back in confusion, threw into disorder the small squadrons which were drawn up on the beach. Many of these attempted to save themselves, by leaping into their boats and pushing off from land; others endeavoured to defend themselves in the transport which had been stranded; and, between the anger of the elements, the ceaseless showers of missile weapons from the enemy, and the impossibility of receiving succour from the fleet, their army was greatly distressed. Their leaders, too, began to desert them; and their boats became overloaded and went down. The Norwegians were now driven along the shore, but they constantly rallied, and behaved with their accustomed national bravery. Some had placed themselves in and round the stranded vessels; and while the main body retreated slowly, and in good order, a conflict took place beside the ships, where Piers de Curry: a Scottish knight, was encountered and slain. Curry appears to have been a person of some note, for he and the Steward of Scotland are the only Scottish soldiers whose names have come down to us as acting a principal part upon this occasion. His death is minutely described in the Norwegian Chronicle. Gallantly mounted, and splendidly armed, his helmet and coat of mail being inlaid with gold, Sir Piers rode fearlessly up to the Norwegian line, attempting, in the chivalrous style of the times, to provoke an encounter. In this he was soon satisfied; for a Norwegian, who conducted the retreat, irritated by his defiance,

engaged him in single combat; and after a short resistance, killed him by a blow which severed his thigh from his body, the sword cutting through the cuisses of his armour, and penetrating to his saddle. A conflict now took place round the body of this young knight, the plunder of whose rich armour the retreating Norwegians could not resist; their little square was thrown into confusion, and, as the Scots pressed on, the slaughter became great. Haco, a Norse baron, and near in blood to the king, was slain, along with many others of the principal leaders; and the Norwegians would have been entirely cut to pieces, if they had not at last succeeded in bringing a reinforcement from the fleet, by landing their boats through a tremendous surf.

These new troops instantly attacked the enemy upon two points; and their arrival reinspired the Norsemen, and enabled them to form anew. It was now evening, and the day had been occupied by a protracted battle, or rather a succession of obstinate skirmishes. The Norwegians, although they fought with uncommon spirit, had sustained severe loss; and they now made a last effort to repulse the Scots from the high grounds immediately overhanging the shore.

The impetuosity of their attack succeeded, and the enemy were driven back after a short and furious resistance. The relics of this brave body of invaders then re-embarked in their boats, and, although the storm continued, arrived safely at the fleet.

During the whole of this conflict, which lasted from morning till night, the storm continued raging with unabated fury, and the remaining ships of Haco were dreadfully shattered and distressed. They drove from their anchors, stranded on the shore, where multitudes perished struck against shallows and rocks, or found equal destruction by running foul of each other; and the morning presented a beach covered with dead bodies, and a sea strewn with sails, masts, cordage, and all the melancholy accompaniments of wreck.

A truce was now granted to the king; and the interval employed in burying his dead, and in raising above them those rude memorials, which, in the shape of tumuli and huge perpendicular stones, still remain to mark the field of battle. The Norwegians then burnt the stranded vessels; and, after a few days, having been joined by the remains of the fleet, which had been sent up Loch Long, their shattered navy weighed anchor, and sailed towards Arran.

In Lamlash bay the king was met by the commissioners whom he had sent to Ireland, and they assured him that the Irish Ostmen would willingly maintain his forces, until he had freed them from the dominion of the English. Haco was eager to embrace the proposal.

He appears to have been anxious to engage in any new expedition which might have banished their recent misfortunes from the minds of his soldiers, whilst it afforded him another chance of victory, with the certainty of reprovisioning the fleet; but their late disasters had made too deep an impression; and, on calling a council, the Irish expedition was opposed by the whole army.

The shattered squadron, therefore, steered for the Hebrides; and in passing Isla, again levied a large contribution on that island. The northern monarch, however, now felt the difference between sailing through this northern archipelago, as he had done a few months before, with a splendid and conquering fleet, when every day brought the island princes as willing vassals of his flag, and retreating as he now did, a baffled invader. His boat crews were attacked, and cut off by the islanders. He appears to have in vain solicited an interview with John the prince of the Isles. The pirate chiefs who

had joined him, disappointed of their hopes of plunder, returned to their ocean strongholds; and although he went through the forms of bestowing upon his followers the islands of Bute and Arran, with other imaginary conquests, all must have seen, that the success and power of Scotland rendered these grants utterly unavailing. The weather, too, which had been his worst enemy, continued lowering, and winter had set in. The fleet encountered, in their return a severe gale off Isla; and, after doubling Cape Wrath, were met in the Pentland Firth by a second storm, in which one vessel, with all on board, went down, and another narrowly escaped the same fate.

The king's ship, however, with the rest of the fleet, weathered the tempest, and at last arrived in Orkney on the 29th of October.

It was here found advisable to grant the troops permission to return to Norway; as, to use the simple expression of the Norwegian Chronicle, "many had already taken leave for themselves." At first the king resolved on accompanying them; but anxiety of mind, the incessant fatigues in which he had passed the summer and autumn, and the bitter disappointment in which they ended, had sunk deep into his heart, and the symptoms of a mortal distemper began to show themselves in his constitution. His increasing sickness soon after this confined him to his chamber; and although for some time he struggled against the disease, and endeavoured to strengthen his mind by the cares of government and the consolations of religion, yet all proved in vain. At last, feeling himself dying, the spirit of the old Norse warrior seemed to revive with the decay of his bodily frame; and, after some time spent in the services of the church, he commanded the Chronicles of his ancestors the Pirate Kings to be read to him. On the 12th of December, the principal of the nobility and clergy, aware that there was no hope, attended in his bedchamber. Though greatly debilitated, Haco spoke distinctly, bade them all affectionately farewell, and kissed them. He then received extreme unction, and declared that he left no other heir than Prince Magnus. The Chronicle of King Swerar was still read aloud to him when he was indisposed to sleep, but soon after this his voice became inaudible; and on the 15th of December, at midnight, he expired.

Such was the conclusion of this memorable expedition against Scotland, which began with high hopes and formidable preparations, but ended in the disappointment of its object, and the death of its royal leader. It was evidently a fatal mistake in Haco to delay so long in petty expeditions against the Western Islands. While it was still summer, and the weather fair, he ought at once to have attempted a descent upon the mainland; and had he done so, Alexander might have been thrown into great difficulties. Delay and protracted negotiation was the policy of the Scots. They thus avoided any general battle; and they knew that if they could detain the Norwegian fleet upon the coast till the setting in of the winter storms, its destruction was almost inevitable. Boece, in his usual inventive vein, covers the field with 25,000 dead Norwegians, and allows only four ships to have been saved to carry the king to his grave, in Orkney. But all this is fiction; and the battle of Largs appears to have been nothing more than a succession of fortunate skirmishes, in which a formidable armament was effectually destroyed by the fury of the elements, judiciously seconded by the bravery of the Scots.

The accounts of the death of Haco, and the news of the queen having been delivered of a son, were brought to King Alexander on the same day; so that he was at once freed from a restless and powerful enemy, and could look forward to a successor of his own blood. Nor did he lose any time in following up the advantages already gained, by completing the reduction of the little kingdom of Man, and the whole of the Western Isles. For this purpose, he levied an army with the object of invading the Isle of Man, and compelled the petty chiefs of the Hebrides to furnish a fleet for the transport

of his troops. But the King of Man, terrified at the impending vengeance, sent envoys with messages of submission; and, fearful that these would be disregarded, set out himself, and met Alexander, who had advanced on his march as far as Dumfries.

At this place the Island Prince became the liegeman of the King of Scotland, and consented that, in future, he should hold his kingdom of the Scottish crown; binding himself to furnish to his lord paramount, when required by him, ten galleys or ships of war, five with twenty-four oars and five with twelve.

A military force, commanded by the Earl of Mar, was next sent against those unfortunate chiefs of the Western Isles, who, during the late expedition, had remained faithful to Haco. Some were executed, all were reduced, and the disputes with Norway were finally settled by a treaty, in which that country agreed to yield to Scotland all right over Man, the Aebudae, and the islands in the western seas. The islands in the south seas were also included, but those of Orkney and Shetland expressly excepted. The inhabitants of the Hebrides were permitted the option of either retiring with their property, or remaining to be governed in future by Scottish laws. On the part of the king and the Estates of Scotland, it was stipulated that they were to pay to Norway four thousand marks of the Roman standard, and a yearly quit-rent of a hundred marks sterling forever. The King of Man received investiture as a vassal of Alexander; and all parties engaged to fulfil their obligations, under a penalty of ten thousand marks, to be exacted by the pope.

Ottobon de Fieschi was at this time the papal legate in England, and to defray the expenses of his visitation, he thought proper to demand a contribution from each cathedral and parish church in Scotland. The king, however, acting by the advice of his clergy, peremptorily refused the demand; appealed to Rome; and, when Ottobon requested admittance into Scotland, steadily declared that he should not set a foot over the Border. The legate next summoned the Scottish bishops to attend upon him in England whenever he should hold his council; and he required the clergy to despatch two of their number to appear as their representatives. This they agreed to; but the representatives were sent, not as the vassals of the papacy, but as the members of an independent church. Such, indeed, they soon showed themselves; for when the legate procured several canons to be enacted regarding Scotland, the Scottish clergy resolutely disclaimed obedience to them. Incensed at this conduct, Clement the Fourth shifted his ground, and demanded from them a tenth of their benefices, to be paid to Henry of England, as an aid for an approaching crusade. The answer of Alexander and his clergy was here equally decided: Scotland itself, they said, was ready to equip for the crusade a body of knights suitable to the strength and resources of the kingdom, and they therefore rejected the requisition. Accordingly, David earl of Athole, Adam earl of Carrick, and William lord Douglas, with many other barons and knights, assumed the cross, and sailed for Palestine.

In consequence, however, of the papal grant, Henry attempted to levy the tenth upon the benefices in Scotland. The Scottish clergy refused the contribution, appealed to Rome, and, in addition to this, adopted measures, which were singularly bold, and well calculated to secure the independence of the Scottish church. They assembled a provincial council at Perth, in which a bishop of their own was chosen to preside, and where canons for the regulation of their own church were enacted. This they contended they were entitled to do, by the bull of Pope Honorius the Fourth granted in the year 1225; and, aware of the importance of making a vigorous stand at this moment, by their first canon it was appointed that an annual council should be held in Scotland; and by their second, that each of the bishops should assume, in rotation, the office of "Protector

of the Statutes", or Conservator Statutorum. These canons remain to this day an interesting specimen of the ancient ecclesiastical code of Scotland.

About this time happened an incident of a romantic nature, with which important consequences were connected. A Scottish knight of high birth, Robert de Bruce, son of Robert de Bruce, lord of Annandale and Cleveland, was passing on horseback through the domains of Turnberry, which belonged to Marjory countess of Carrick. The lady happened at the moment to be pursuing the diversion of the chase, surrounded by a retinue of her squires and damsels. They encountered Bruce. The young countess was struck by his noble figure, and courteously entreated him to remain and take the recreation of hunting. Bruce, who, in those feudal days, knew the danger of paying too much attention to a ward of the king, declined the invitation, when he found himself suddenly surrounded by the attendants; and the lady, riding up, seized his bridle, and led off the knight, with gentle violence, to her castle of Turnberry. Here, after fifteen days' residence, the adventure concluded as might have been anticipated. Bruce married the countess without the knowledge of the relations of either party, and before obtaining the king's consent; upon which Alexander seized her castle of Turnberry and her whole estates. The intercession of friends, however, and a heavy fine, conciliated the mind of the monarch. Bruce became, in right of his wife, Lord of Carrick; and the son of this marriage of romantic love was the great Robert Bruce, the restorer of Scottish liberty.

Two years previous to this (1272) died Henry the Third of England, after a reign of nearly sixty years. His character possessed nothing that was great; his genius was narrow; his temper wavering; his courage, happily, seldom tried; and he was addicted, like many weak princes, to favouritism. At times, however, he had permitted himself to be guided by able minister; and the vigour, talents, and kingly endowments of his son Edward the First, shed a lustre over the last years of his reign, which the king himself could never have imparted to it. At the coronation of this great prince, who succeeded Henry, Alexander, and his queen the new king's sister, attended with a retinue of great pomp and splendour. He took care, however, to obtain a letter under the hand of the English monarch, declaring that the friendly visit should not be construed into anything prejudicial to the independence of Scotland, a policy which the peculiarities of feudal tenure made frequent at this time; for we find Edward himself, when some years afterwards he agreed to send twenty ships to the King of France, his feudal superior for the duchy of Normandy, requiring from that prince an acknowledgment of the same description. The designs of Edward upon Scotland had not yet, in any degree, betrayed themselves, and the kingly brothers appear to have met on cordial terms. Both were in the prime of manhood; Alexander having entered, and Edward having just completed, his thirty fourth year. Scotland, still unweakened by the fatal controversies between Bruce and Baliol, was in no state to invite ambitious aggression. The kingdom was peaceful, prosperous, and loyal, possessing a warlike and attached nobility, and a hardy peasantry, lately delivered, by the defeat of Haco and the wise acquisition of the Western Isles, from all disturbance in the only quarter where it might be dreaded; and from the age of Alexander, and his queen, who had already born him three children, the nation could look with some certainty to a successor.

Edward, on the other hand, who had lately returned from Palestine, where he had greatly distinguished himself, received his brother-in-law with that courtesy and kindness which was likely to be increased by his long absence, and by the perils he had undergone. About this time the pope sent into Scotland an emissary named Benemund de Vicci, corrupted into Bagimont, to collect the tenth of all the ecclesiastical benefices,

the estimate being made not according to the "ancient extent, but the true value." The tax appears to have been strictly exacted, and went by the name of Bagimont's Roll.

All went prosperously on between Edward and Alexander for some time. A dispute which had occurred between the King of Scots and the Bishop of Durham, in which that prelate complained that an encroachment had been made upon the English marches, was amicably settled; and Edward, occupied entirely with his conquest of Wales, and according to his custom, whenever engaged in war, concentrating his whole energies upon one point, had little leisure to think of Scotland. The domineering disposition of the English king first showed itself regarding the feudal service of homage due to him by his Scottish brother, for the lands which he held in England; and he seems early to have formed the scheme of entrapping Alexander into the performance of a homage so vague and unconditional, that it might hereafter be construed into the degrading acknowledgment that Scotland was a fief of England.

In 1277 we find him writing to the Bishop of Wells, that his beloved brother, the King of Scotland, had agreed to perform an unconditional homage, and that he was to receive it at the ensuing feast of Michaelmas. This, however, could scarcely be true; the event showed that Edward had either misconceived or misstated the purpose of Alexander. He appeared before the English parliament at Westminster, and offered his homage in these words:

"I, Alexander king of Scotland, do acknowledge myself the liegeman of my Lord Edward king of England, against all deadly." This Edward accepted, reserving his claim of homage for the kingdom of Scotland, when he should choose to prefer it. The King of Scots then requested that the oath should be taken for him by Robert de Bruce earl of Carrick, which being granted, that earl took the oath in these words:

"I, Robert earl of Carrick, according to the authority given to me by my lord the King of Scotland, in presence of the King of England, and other prelates and barons, by which the power of swearing upon the soul of the King of Scotland was conferred upon me, have, in presence of the King of Scotland, and commissioned thereto by his special precept, sworn fealty to Lord Edward king of England in these words:

"I, Alexander king of Scotland, shall bear faith to my lord Edward king of England and his heirs, with my life and members, and worldly substance; and I shall faithfully perform the services, used and wont, for the lands and tenements which I hold of the said king" Which fealty being sworn by the Earl of Carrick, the King of Scotland confirmed and ratified the same.

Such is an exact account of the homage performed by Alexander to Edward, as given in the solemn instrument by which the English monarch himself recorded the transaction. Alexander probably had not forgotten the snare in which Edward's father had attempted to entrap him, when still a boy; and the reservation of an unfounded claim over Scotland might justly have incensed him. But he wished not to break with Edward: he held extensive territories in England, for which he was willing, as he was bound in duty, to pay homage; yet he so guarded his attendance at Edward's coronation, and his subsequent oath of fealty, that the independence of Scotland as a kingdom, and his own independence as its sovereign, were not touched in the most distant manner; and the King of England, baffled in his hope of procuring an unconditional homage, was forced to accept it as it was given. It is material to notice, that in the instrument drawn up afterwards, recording the transaction, Edward appears to declare his understanding, that this homage was merely for the Scottish king's possessions in

England, by again reserving his absurd claim of homage for Scotland, whenever he or his heirs should think proper to make it.

This matter being concluded, Alexander, who had suffered a severe domestic affliction in the death of his queen, began to seek alliances for his children. He married his daughter Margaret to Eric king of Norway, then a youth in his fourteenth year. Her portion was fourteen thousand marks, the option being left to her father to give one-half of the sum in lands, provided that the rents of the lands were a hundred marks yearly for every thousand retained. The price of land at this early period of our history seems, therefore, to have been ten years' purchase. The young princess, accompanied by Walter Bullock earl of Menteith, his countess, the Abbot of Balmerino, and Bernard de Montealto, with other knight and barons, sailed for Norway; and on her arrival was honourably received and crowned as queen. The alliance was wise and politic. It promised to secure the wavering fealty of those proud and warlike island chiefs, who, whenever they wished to throw off their dependence on Scotland, pretended that they were bound by the ties of feudal vassalage to Norway, and whose power and ambition often required the presence of the king himself to quell.

This marriage was soon after followed by that of Alexander the Prince of Scotland, then in his nineteenth year, to Margaret, a daughter of Guy earl of Flanders; the ceremony being performed at Roxburgh, and accompanied with fifteen days' feasting. Such alliances, so far as human foresight could reach, promised happiness to Alexander, while they gave an almost certain hope of descendants. But a dark cloud began to gather round Scotland, and a train of calamities, which followed in sad and quick succession, spread despondency through the kingdom. The Prince of Scotland, who from infancy had been of a sickly constitution, died not long after his marriage, leaving no issue; and intelligence soon after came from Norway that his sister, Queen Margaret, was also dead, having left an only child, Margaret, generally called the Maiden of Norway: David, the second son of Alexander, had died when a boy; and thus the King of Scotland, still in the flower of his age, found himself a widower, and bereft by death of all his children.

To settle the succession was his first care; and for this purpose a meeting of the Estates of the realm was held at Scone, on the 5th of February, 1283-4. The prelates and barons of Scotland there bound themselves to acknowledge Margaret princess of Norway, as their sovereign, failing any children whom Alexander might have, and failing any issue of the Prince of Scotland deceased. The parliament in which this transaction took place, having assembled immediately after the death of the prince, it was uncertain whether the princess might not yet present the kingdom with an heir to the crown. In the meantime, the king thought it prudent to make a second marriage, and chose for his bride a young and beautiful woman, Joleta, daughter of the Count de Dreux. The nuptials were celebrated with great pomp, and in presence of a splendid concourse of the French and Scottish nobility, at Jedburgh. In the midst of the rejoicings, and when music and pastime were at the highest, a strange masque was exhibited, in which a spectral creature like Death, glided with fearful gestures amongst the revellers, and at length suddenly vanished. The whole was no doubt intended as a mummery; but it was too well acted, and struck such terror into the festive assembly, that the chronicler, Fordun, considers it as a supernatural shadowing out of the future misfortunes of the kingdom. These misfortunes too rapidly followed. Alexander, riding late, near Kinghorn, was counselled by his attendants, as the night was dark, and the road precipitous, not to pass Inverkeithing till the morning. Naturally courageous, however, he insisted on galloping forward, when his horse suddenly stumbled over a

rocky cliff above the sea, fell with its rider, and killed him on the spot. He died in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign; and his death, at this particular juncture, may be considered as one of the deepest amongst those national calamities which chequer the history of Scotland.

Alexander's person was majestic; and although his figure was too tall, and his bones large, yet his limbs were well formed, and strongly knit. His countenance was handsome, and beamed with a manly and sweet expression, which corresponded with the courageous openness and sincerity of his character. He was firm and constant in his purposes; yet, guided by prudence and an excellent understanding, this quality never degenerated into a dangerous obstinacy. His inflexible love of justice, his patience in hearing disputes, his affability in discourse, and facility of access, endeared him to the whole body of his people; whilst his piety, untinged with any slavish dread, whilst he acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of the popedom, rendered him the steadfast friend of his own clergy, and their best defender against any civil encroachments of the see of Rome. In his time, therefore, to use the words of the honest and affectionate Fordun, "The church flourished, its ministers were treated with reverence, vice was openly discouraged, cunning and treachery were trampled underfoot, injury ceased, and the reign of virtue, truth, and justice, was maintained throughout the land." We need not wonder that such a monarch was long and affectionately remembered in Scotland. Attended by his justiciary, by his principal nobles, and a military force which awed the strong offenders, and gave confidence to the oppressed, it was his custom to make an annual progress through his kingdom, for the redress of wrong, and the punishment of delinquents. For this purpose, he divided the kingdom into four great districts; and on his entering each county, the sheriff had orders to attend on the kingly judge, with the whole militia of the shire, and to continue with the court till the king had heard all the appeals of that county, which were brought before him. He then continued his progress, accompanied by the sheriff and his troops; nor were these dismissed till the monarch had entered a new county, where a new sheriff awaited him with the like honors and attendance. In this manner the people were freed from the charge of supporting those overgrown bands of insolent retainers which swelled the train of the Scottish nobles, when they waited on the king in his progresses; and as the dignified prelates and barons were interdicted by law from travelling with more than a certain number of horse in their retinue, the poor commons had leisure to breathe, and to pursue their honest occupations.

In Alexander's time, many vessels of different countries came to Scotland, freighted with various kinds of merchandise, with the design of exchanging them for the commodities of our kingdom. The king's mind, however, was unenlightened on the subject of freedom of trade; and the frequent loss of valuable cargoes by pirates, wrecks, and unforeseen arrestments, had induced him to pass some severe laws against the exportation of Scottish merchandise. Burgesses, however, were allowed to traffic with these foreign merchantmen; and in a short time the kingdom became rich in every kind of wealth; in the productions of the arts and manufactures; in money, in agricultural produce, in flocks and herds; so that many, says an ancient historian, came from the West and East to consider its power, and to study its polity. Amongst these strangers, there arrived in a great body, the richest of the Lombard merchants, who offered to establish manufacturing settlements in various parts of the country. They specified among other places the mount above Queensferry, and an island near Cramond, and only asked of the king certain spiritual immunities. Unfortunately, the proposal of these rich and industrious men, for what cause we cannot tell, proved displeasing to some

powerful members of the state, and was dismissed; but from an expression of the historian we may gather, that the king himself was desirous to encourage them, and that favourable terms for a settlement would have been granted, had not death stepped in and put an end to the negotiation.

The conduct pursued by this king, in his intercourse with England, was marked by a judicious union of the firmness and dignity which became an independent sovereign with the kindliness befitting his near connection with Edward; but, warned by the attempts which had been first made by the father and followed up by the son, he took care, that when invited to the English court, it should be expressly acknowledged that he came there as the free monarch of an independent country.

To complete the character of this prince, he was temperate in his habits, his morals were pure, and in all his domestic relations, kindness and affection were conspicuous. The oldest Scottish song, which has yet been discovered, is an affectionate little monody on the death of Alexander, preserved by Winton, one of the fathers of our authentic Scottish history.

## I

## STATE OF SCOTLAND IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE scanty and imperfect records which exist respecting the early state of Scotland, have been a fruitful source of complaint to all writers who have applied themselves to the investigation of her history. Those, however, who would form an estimate of her relative situation and internal resources, by reference to her condition at the time she became allied to England on the accession of James VI, would arrive at very erroneous conclusions on the subject.

That Scotland retrograded under the dynasty of the Stuarts, few, who are conversant with her early history, will be inclined to deny. But, without inquiring how far the incapacity or imprudence of that unfortunate race may have contributed to her decline, the writer will endeavour to arrange a few remarks respecting the above-mentioned period, for the benefit of those readers whose attention may not have been directed to that interesting portion of our annals.

The jurisprudence of Scotland, like that of the other states of Europe, embraced the feudal system in all its degrees of servitude, from the knightly devoirs of the baron, down to the humble and more laborious task of the bondsman, who could be either put to death at the will of his over-lord, or bartered away to the church, for a certain number of masses. Yet though this state of society existed to a considerable extent, there were some privileged classes exempt from its more degrading operation. The most influential of these, as might be expected, were the priesthood, who, as soon as admitted to orders, became emancipated from their temporal bondage (In England, Thomas à Becket conceded to Henry II, that, in the event of a bondsman becoming a clerk, he should not receive orders without the consent of his lord; and further, if a man of holy church held any lay-fee, he must do the King's service thereto attached, except in cases connected with the execution of criminals).

Merchants and burgesses were of course free. Had this not been the case, those useful classes could not have existed, as the control of the feudal superior over the *adscriptos glebae*, extended not only to an absolute property in themselves and their offspring, but also over any means they might accumulate. When a bondsman, therefore, bought a burghage, and remained a year and a day in a burgh, without being molested or claimed by his lord, he became a free man for ever.

Another useful portion of society is to be found in our records under the name of *liberi firmarii*, or free yeomanry, the formation of which, it is presumed, may be attributed in a great measure to the ecclesiastical establishments. The clergy, from their superior education, were wiser, in their generation, than their neighbours; and instead of allowing the produce of their lands to be eaten up by hordes of idle serfs, they preferred letting them at a valuation to industrious free men, whom they encouraged by the

immunities which they had it in their power to grant. These free men were generally the descendants of the clergy, the younger sons of gentlemen, or burgesses possessed of small capitals. From this judicious management, the church lands were always the best cultivated, and consequently the most productive in the country.

At an early period the maritime towns were frequented by foreigners, and the productions of almost every clime were to be found in Scotland. By an Act of Alexander III, it appears that the trade of the country had rather declined during his minority; the causes of which are stated to have been, captures by pirates, shipwrecks on the coast, storms at sea, and detentions on slight grounds in various ports and places. In order, therefore, to revive the foreign commerce of the kingdom, and give the necessary security and facility to transactions with strangers, all the lieges were strictly prohibited from interfering with the said traffic, except the burgesses at the different ports. This regulation gave confidence to foreigners, by bringing them into immediate contact with a description of men, with whom reciprocal advantages would naturally beget and maintain a friendly understanding.

The consequence of this liberal policy was soon felt; and before the year expired, vessels from all quarters made their appearance in the Scottish harbours, willing to exchange their cargoes for the productions of the country; and in the course of a few years Scotland exhibited a very flourishing appearance, abounding in money and wealth of every description. The Flemings, whom the English had expelled, found protection and encouragement in Scotland, and were allowed to fortify their factory at Berwick, called "The Red Hall", under condition of their defending it to the last extremity against the enemies of that kingdom. This engagement, as will be seen, they afterwards nobly performed.

A number of wealthy Lombards, jealous perhaps of their rivals the Flemings, now made application to the government of Scotland for permission to erect similar establishments in various parts of the country, particularly at Queensferry and other stations on the Forth, craving, at the same time, certain spiritual privileges. The States of the kingdom acceded at once to their request, in so far as they regarded trade; but as the Lombards were the vassals of the Pope, they prudently declined mixing up any ecclesiastical matters with affairs of commerce. In the meantime, the unfortunate death of the king put an end to the negotiation. Fordun, who narrates the circumstance, does not condescend on the nature of the spiritual privileges required. It is highly probable, however, that they consisted in their being admitted into Scotland on the same terms which they enjoyed in England and other European states, where they were recognized in a special manner as "the Pope's merchants", and were entrusted by him with the receiving and remitting the immense revenues which were drawn from every country where their Holy Father's supremacy was acknowledged. Trade, with them, was often a secondary consideration. Lending of money, for which they exacted enormous usury, constituted the most lucrative part of their operations; and in these nefarious transactions, it has been conjectured, that they were often commissioned to employ the funds belonging to the Holy See, whose bulls were frequently issued in their favor, when their crimes or rapacity had aroused the vengeance of the governments under which they resided. Their severity to their debtors, made them known by the name of Caurisini; and they at last became generally obnoxious for their extortion. If the account given of them by Matthew Paris may be relied on, the caution of the Scots respecting the admission of such harpies into the country was highly commendable.

The great mart for foreign commerce in the kingdom, previous to 1296, appears to have been Berwick. The importance of this place was considerable. Even in the reign of

Malcolm IV, it possessed more ships than any other town in Scotland, and was exposed, from its wealth, to visits from the piratical fleets of the Norwegians. In 1156, a ship belonging to a citizen, called Knut the Opulent, and having his wife on board, was taken by Erlend, Earl of Orkney; but it is recorded Knut hired fourteen ships, with a competent number of men, for which he paid one hundred merks of silver, and went in pursuit of the pirate, who had anchored for the night at one of the adjacent islands.

The wealth and importance of this ancient emporium of commerce, became so great in the reign of Alexander II, as to excite the admiration of contemporary authors, one of whom calls it a "second Alexandria"; and eulogizes the inhabitants for the extent of their donations to religious houses. "But we have", says Macpherson, in his Annals of Commerce, "better authority than the voice of panegyric, for the prosperity of Berwick; as we find the customs of it assigned by King Alexander to a merchant of Gascoigne for 2,197£. 8s. sterling a sum equal to 32,961 bolls of wheat, at the usual price of sixteen pennies".

In the years 1283 and 1284, Robert Durham the Mayor, together with Simon Martel, and other good men of Berwick, enacted the Statute of the Gilt.

"By c. 20, none but gild-brothers were permitted to buy hides, wool, or wood-fells, in order to sell them again, or cut cloth, except foreign merchants.

"C. 22. 37. and 44. Herrings and other fish, corn, beans, peas, salt, and coals, were ordered to be sold at the bray alongside the vessel bringing them, and nowhere else; and they were not to be carried on shore when the sun was down. Any burgess who was present at a purchase of herrings, might claim a portion of them for his own consumption, at the original cost.

"C. 27- Brokers were elected by the community of the town, and their names registered. They paid annually a tun (dolum) of wine for their license"; a proof that their business must have been lucrative.

"C. 28. No regrator was allowed to buy fish, hay, oats, cheese, butter, or other articles brought into the town for sale, till the bell rung.

"The government of the town was declared to be by a mayor, four provosts, and twenty-four councillors," &c.

In 1283, when Edward. was preparing for his invasion of Wales, he commissioned one John Bishop, a burgess of Lynne, to purchase merchandise (mercimonia) for him in Scotland. This is rather a singular instance of the superiority of the Scots market in those days.

The other cities in Scotland, though inferior to Berwick, were not without their proportion of trade. About the same time, the sheriff's of Cumberland and Lancaster were ordered to send people to purchase fish on the west coast of Scotland, and convey them to the depot at Chester; and one Adam de Fulcham was commissioned to furnish 100 barrels of sturgeons, of five hundredweight each, 5000 salt fish, also dried fish. The fish of Aberdeen were so well cured, that they were exported to the principal fishing port of Yarmouth.

Four hundred fish of Aberdeen (perhaps salmon), one barrel sturgeons, five dozen lampreys, fifty pounds whale oil, balen (for burning, perhaps, during the voyage), and a half last of herrings, constituted the fish part of the provisions put on board of a ship fitted out at Yarmouth for bringing the infant Queen of Scotland from the court of her

father, the King of Norway. The fish of Aberdeen cost somewhat under three pennies; stock-fish under one penny each, and the half last of herrings thirty shillings.

In the reign of Alexander III, the merchants of St. Omer's, and partners of the Florentine houses of Pullici and Lambini, had established correspondents in Scotland; and one Richard de Furbur, a trader of the inland town of Roxburgh, had sent factors and supercargoes to manage his business in foreign countries, and various parts of Britain.

The exports of Scotland, at this time, consisted of wool and woolfells, hides, black cattle, fish, salted and cured, horses, greyhounds, falcons, pearls, and herrings, particularly those caught in Lochfyne, which had a preference, and found a ready market among the French, who came and exchanged their wines at a place still known by the name of French Foreland and so much was wine a regular understood barter, that Lochfyne (Lochfion), or the Wine Loch, became the only name for one of the most extensive arms of the Western Ocean on the Scottish coast. The pearl was a more ancient branch of traffic, and said to have been in request among the Romans. The Scottish pearl, however, appears to have been partially superseded in the French market, by the introduction of an article of superior lustre from the East. The goldsmiths of Paris, therefore, made a trade regulation, forbidding any worker in gold or silver to set any Scotch pearls along with Oriental ones, except in large jewels for churches. The greyhounds, however, kept up their price; and the Scottish falcons were only rivalled by those of Norway.

The reader may have some idea of the quantity of wine consumed at the table of Alexander III, from the circumstance of one hundred and seventy eight hogsheads being supplied in the year 1263, and sixty-seven hogsheads and one pipe furnished the following year. The difference in the quantity of these two years may have been occasioned by the battle of Largs having taken place on the 2d October, 1263; after which there would, no doubt, be a considerable influx of barons and their followers to the royal presence, to partake of the festivities incident to the occasion.

Horses were, it is said, an article of importation as well as exportation with the Scots in the thirteenth century. Alexander I rode a fine Arabian; and, in the Norwegian account of Haco's invasion, we are told that a large body of Scottish knights appeared on Spanish steeds, which were completely armed. It is probable, however, that the warriors so mounted might have been the forces of the Temple, as this wealthy order had been some time before established in the country; and its services would no doubt be required on so stirring an occasion.

Asia, in the thirteenth century, was the grand military school for the nations of Europe; and every country having representatives in the armies of the crusaders, the improvements that took place in the art of war were quickly transfused through the various kingdoms of Christendom; and the offensive and defensive armour of each was, therefore, nearly the same. The warriors of Scotland and England assimilated very closely to each other; and, with the exception, perhaps, of the glaive-men and the bill-men of the English, and the Highlanders and Isles-men of the Scots, no material difference could be discovered. The Scots, as well as the English, had "men-at-arms", who fought on foot; and while the latter used the lance, the former were armed with a spear of no common length. These men among the Scots were selected on account of their stature and strength, and were generally placed in the front rank of the squares, being completely enclosed in defensive armour, which consisted of steel helmets, a tunic, stuffed with wool, tow, or old cloth, with a habergeon, or shirt of iron rings, the

joints defended by plates of the same metal. The stubbornness with which they maintained their ranks may very reasonably be supposed to have acquired for the Scottish phalanx or schiltrun, that high character for firmness and obstinate valour for which it was so long distinguished.

Hauberks of different kinds, with padded or quilted pourpoints, having iron rings set edgeways, were generally worn. In the early part of the reign of Alexander III chain-mail was first introduced into Scotland by the crusaders; it was formed of four rings, joined to a fifth, and all firmly secured by rivets. Eastern armour, however, had appeared in the country before this period, as we find that Alexander I had a splendid suit of Arabian manufacture, richly ornamented with jewels, with a spear and shield of silver, which, along with his Arabian steed, covered with a fair mantle of fine velvet, and other rich housings, he dedicated to the patron Saint of Scotland, within the church of St. Andrew's, in the early part of the thirteenth century. This was considered so valuable a donation, as to require the sanction of David, the heir-apparent of the throne.

Habergeons, of various forms and dimensions, according to the fancy or circumstances of the wearer, prevailed in this age. These were generally covered by a gown or tabard, on the back and front of which the arms of the wearer were emblazoned. Jacked or boiled leather, with quilted iron-work, was also in use for defending the arms and legs. Helmets, bacinets, and skullcaps, surmounted, according to the dignity of the person, formed defenses for the head; and the shields were either round, triangular, or kite-shape, with the device or arms of the warrior painted upon them in glaring colours. The common soldiers wrapped pieces of cloth about the neck, their numerous folds of which formed an excellent defense from the cut of a sword. The "Ridir" or Knight among the Highlanders, differed little in his equipment from those of the same rank in the Low Country. In battle, he was usually attended by a number of Gall-oglaich. These were soldiers selected as the stoutest and bravest of the clan, and might be considered as the "men-at-arms" among the Gael. They were supplied either with the corslet, or the lùireach mhailleach (the habergeon, literally the coat of rings), and were armed with the Lochaber-axe, the claidh-mhor (great two-handed sword), and sometimes a heavy shelving stone-axe, beautifully polished, and fixed into a strong shaft of oak. In the rear of the Gall-oglaich, stood the Ceatharnaich, an inferior sort of soldiers, armed with knives and daggers. Their duty was to take, kill, or disable those whom the prowess of the front rank had brought to the ground. The boldest and most dexterous among the Gall-oglaich was made squire or armour-bearer to the chief. This man, as well as the rest of his companions, received a larger portion of victuals when they sat at their leader's table; but the part allotted for the armour-bearer was greater than any, and called, on that account, beath fir, or, "the Champion's Meal."

Among the Knights of the Isles, the conical-shaped helmet was more in use than any other. From piratical habits, and long intercourse with the Norwegians, their followers in general were better equipped than those of the mainland. The habergeon was very common among them; and from the gown they put over it, being universally dyed of a yellow or saffron-colour, they presented a more uniform appearance than their neighbours.

Besides the lance and spear, the mace, the pike, the *martel de fer* (a sort of iron hammer), the two-handed sword, various forms of daggers, knives, clubs, flails, scythes fixed on poles, bows, crossbows, and slings made by a thong fixed to the end of a staff, were in use among the Scots. These slingers used their weapons with both hands. They had no defensive armour, and were generally placed among the archers, who were divided into companies of twenty-five men each.

The military engines in use in attacking or defending castles, or other fortified places, were the Loup de Guerre, or war-wolf, a frame formed of heavy beams, with spikes, and made to fall on the assailants in the manner of a portcullis-the Scorpion, a large stationary cross-bow of steel, which discharged darts of an uncommon size, and the Balista, Catapulta, and Trebuchet, which were engines of great power in throwing large stones, which were often heated to a high temperature. The Bricolle threw large square-headed darts, called Carreaux, or Quarrels. This engine was used by the Flemings in fortifying their factory at Berwick, called the "Red Hall." The Espringal threw darts with brass plates, instead of feathers, to make their flight steady. The Berfrarium, an engine also called Belfredus, was made of wood, covered with skins to defend it from fire, and was formed like a tower, and of a height to overlook the walls. It consisted of several stories, and was rolled on wheels towards the object of attack, and filled with archers and spearmen; the latter, under cover of the former, either rushed upon the walls, or fought hand to hand with the besieged. The name was afterwards given to high towers erected in cities, for the purpose of alarming by bells. Hence the origin of the term "Belfrey". The most expert in the manufacture of these engines of destruction was a monk of Durham. This man supplied the greatest portion of the artillery required for the defence of Berwick.

Respecting the state of the Arts, it would be difficult to give anything like a circumstantial detail. That various useful mechanical professions were known and prosecuted, there is abundance of evidence to prove; but to what degree of perfection they were brought, is not so clear. That the compass was familiar to the mariners of Scotland at an early age, appears from the manner in which Barbour expresses himself, in the description of Brue and his companions, who, in crossing from Arran to Carrick in the night-time, steered by the light of a fire upon the shore.

According to Wyntown, great attention was paid to agriculture by Alexander III, who fixed that well-known measurement of land called "Oxgang."

The passage is worth extracting.

"Yhwmen, pewere Karl, or Knáwe,  
 Dat wes of mycht an Ox til hawe,  
 He gert that man hawe part in Pluche;  
 Swá wes corne in his Land enwche;  
 Swá than begowth, and eftyr lang  
 Of Land was mesure, ane Ox-gang.  
 Mychty men, that had mà  
 Oxyn, he gert in Pluchys gá.  
 A Pluch of Land eftyr that  
 To nowmyr of Oxyn mesur gat.  
 Be that Vertu all hys Land  
 Of corn he gart be abowndand.  
 A Bolle of atis pennys foure

Of Scottis Mone past noucht oure ;  
 A boll of here for awcht or ten  
 In comowne prys sawld wes then;  
 For sextene a boll of qwhete ;  
 Or fore twenty the derth wes grete.  
 This falyhyd fra he deyde suddanly."

*B. VII. c. x. 507525.*

If the beautiful specimens of architecture which were produced in this age may be regarded as furnishing certain criteria for judging of the general state of the arts, we would be warranted in assigning to them a much higher degree of perfection than many of our readers would be inclined to admit. It is, however, difficult to believe, that a nation could have arrived at a high degree of excellence in an art which required a superior knowledge of the principles of science, as well as the greatest refinement in taste, without having made a corresponding proficiency in those of a subordinate character. The exquisite workmanship which adorned the crosses and monuments within the sacred precincts of the Island of Iona, commands at once the admiration and respect of strangers; and the fragments which have escaped the ravages of modern Vandalism, display a neatness of execution in the figures, lettering and embellishments, which may justly claim competition with the productions of the present day. Some, who will not look further than the subsequent poverty and degradation of Scotland, insist that these crosses and monuments are French manufacture, and were imported from France. This conjecture will not admit of a moment's reflection. They might as well inform us that the Abbey of Melrose, the Cathedral of Glasgow, and all the rest of our sacred edifices, were importations from the same quarter. With more propriety, however, it may be alleged, that the most elegant of our ecclesiastical structures were erected by a band of ingenious architects and workmen belonging to various countries, who associated together about this time, under the name of Freemasons, and wandered about Europe, offering their services where they expected the most liberal encouragement. Of these men, it is presumed Scotland has a right to claim a fair proportion.

Naval architecture also appears to have met with due encouragement; for we find, in the year 1249, Hugh de Chantillon, Earl of St. Paul and de Blois a powerful vassal of Louis IX, joined the crusaders under that monarch at Cyprus, with fifty knights carrying banners, besides a numerous body of Flemings, on board of a vessel of great strength and dimensions, which, according to Matthew Paris, (who calls it a marvellous vessel,) was built at Inverness, in the Murray Firth. On this occasion Macpherson remarks: "That a French nobleman should apply to the carpenters of Inverness for a ship, is a curious circumstance; which seems to infer, that they had acquired such a degree of reputation in their profession, as to be celebrated in foreign countries." A large vessel was afterwards built for the Venetians at the same place.

As the state of literature at this period was nearly on a level all over Britain, the following specimens of the earliest lyrical effusions of the Scottish and English Muse known to exist, may serve the purpose of exciting a more elaborate inquiry.

ANCIENT ENGLISH SONG.

Summer is come in,  
 Loud sings the cuckoo;  
 Groweth seed, and bloweth meed,  
 And springth woods new,  
 Singth the cuckoo.  
 Ewe bleateth after lamb,  
 Loweth after calf, cow;  
 Bullock starteth, buck verteth,  
 Merry sings the cuckoo,  
 Cuckoo, cuckoo,  
 Well singth the cuckoo,  
 May'st thou never cease.

ANCIENT SCOTTISH SONG.

"Quhen Alysandyr oure Kyng wes dede,  
 That Scotland led in Luwe and Le,  
 Away wes Sons of Ale and Brede,  
 Of Wyne and Wax, of Gamyn and Gle:  
 Oure Gold wes changyd in-to Lede.  
 Cryst, borne in-to Virgynyte,  
 Succour Scotland and remede,  
 That Stad is in perplexytè."

The law of Scotland is known to all to have been that of the Romans. The municipal and commercial departments were under the control of the Court of the "Four Burghs," which consisted of representatives from Berwick, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and Stirling; to whom all matters connected with commerce, and the rights and privileges of the burghesses, were referred. The Chamberlain's Court had also a jurisdiction over the burghs in matters respecting the trade and general policy of the kingdom. The chamberlain, in the discharge of his duty, was constrained to make periodical progress through the kingdom, to adjust the standards, weights and measures, kept in the different burghs. It was also his duty to detect any imposition that might be practiced by the king's servants, in exacting more goods at the king's price (which was lower than the market) than what were required for his service, and thereby making a profit to themselves. From the regulations of the Chamberlain's Court, it appears that inspectors were appointed to examine and certify, by their seal of office, the quantity and quality of cloth, bread, and casks containing liquors; and that other officers, called "Troners," had the inspection of wool. Salmon fishings also were carefully regulated; and fishing during the night, or while the salmon were not in season, was prohibited.

The great councils of the nation, from whence all the laws emanated, had their meetings at Scone; and the promulgation of any new act was preceded by the ringing of the great bell of the monastery where the meetings were held. By this practice "the bell of Scon" became, in time, a cant expression for the law of the land. These councils were almost solely attended by the barons and ecclesiastics of the highest rank. Neither merchants nor burgesses were admitted. Representations, therefore, from the Chamberlain's Court, and the Court of the Four Burghs, afforded the only chance for correcting the mistakes which might arise from the ignorance of these aristocratic legislators.

From the intercourse which existed between Scotland and England during the long interval of peace, previous to the aggression of Edward, the manners, particularly of the higher classes, were in many respects nearly the same. The frequent intermarriages tended, more than any other cause, to render the inhabitants of the two countries familiar with the habits and customs of each other, while both imitated the French in dress and language; and their domestic economy, in numerous instances, also bore a close resemblance.

Though the barons and churchmen among the Scots had no taste for the high-spiced wines so much relished by the English, yet in the viands which graced their festivities, particularly those who held lands in England, there appeared to have been little or no alteration. On great occasions, the seal, the porpoise, and the wild boar, though now banished from the table, never failed to make their appearance. Venison pasties, game, poultry, and baked meats of all descriptions, with fish in endless variety, were common at the tables of the great. Shell-fish, particularly oysters, were much in demand among the ecclesiastics. This is evident from the quantity of shells which are still to be found in digging about the ruins of religious establishments. The frequent recurrence of those periods when food of an opposite description was forbidden, sufficiently accounts for this profusion.

Among the culinary preparations that were peculiar to Scotland, one known by the name of *Mir-Mor*, was held in the highest estimation. This savoury dish always had a place at the royal table; and so much was it a favourite, that in the traditionary songs of the Gaelic bards, it is mentioned as a viand fit only for a hero, and represented by them to be given as such by Fingal to his friend Goll Mac-mhairn, in addition to his beath-fur, or "champion's meal", which he received sitting at the right hand of the royal donor. Of this highly-prized *morceau friand*, minced meat, marrow, and herbs, were the principal ingredients; and in this composition it is not difficult to trace the origin of the "Haggies", a dish still considered national among the Scots.

Were it a fair criterion to estimate the strength and importance of a country by the princely revenues of its church establishment, Scotland, in the thirteenth century, might be considered as holding a very respectable rank among the nations of Europe. The deference which the Roman pontiffs, on various occasions, paid to the kings of Scotland, while it displayed their anxiety to preserve, by conciliatory conduct, the spiritual supremacy in the kingdom, also shows that the national or patriotic feelings of the Scottish ecclesiastics were stronger than those ties which connected them with the See of Rome; for, by their well-timed support of the royal authority, the thunders of the Vatican, so terrible in other countries, rolled harmlessly over without distracting the state; and the king was often enabled to contest, and bring to a favourable termination, those differences which arose between him and the Pope, with whose legates he frequently assumed very high ground, not only forbidding them his presence, but even refusing them a safe conduct through his dominions.

To give anything like a satisfactory account of the revenues of the several ecclesiastical endowments, would occupy a space not consistent with the design of the present work. It may, however, be briefly stated, that the wealth of the church did not altogether arise from her spiritual emoluments. Agriculture, and various branches of traffic, engaged the attention, and increased the riches as well as the luxuries of the priesthood. In 1254 the Cistercian monks were the greatest breeders of sheep in England. Being exempted from duties, their wealth rapidly increased. That they possessed similar privileges in Scotland, is pretty evident; for in 1275, when Bagamont, an emissary from Rome, was sent to levy a tenth on the property of the Scottish church for the relief of the Holy Land, this wealthy order of temporal as well as spiritual shepherds, compounded for the enormous sum of 50,000 merks. By this compromise, the amount of their revenues remained unknown.

The following is part of the live-stock, which (according to an inventory preserved in the chartulary of Newbottle) at one time belonged to the Abbey of Melrose, viz. 325 forest mares, fifty-four domestic mares, 104 domestic horses, 207 stags or young horses, thirty-nine three-year old colts, and 172 year old colts. Amidst all this profusion of wealth, the serious reader may desire to know how the ceremonials of religion were attended to. From the many jokes which Fordun relates as having taken place among the clergy of his day, we cannot suppose that either the teachers or the people were more devout than their neighbours. An old writer describes the interior of a cathedral as a place where the men came with their hawks and dogs, walking to and fro, to converse with their friends, to make bargains and appointments, and to show their guarded coats; and among the Scots, it is well known, weapons were too often displayed on such occasions.

From what has been stated in the foregoing pages, it is pretty evident that Scotland occupied a more prominent station among the nations of Europe, before the aggression of Edward I than she has ever done since. The single fact, that Alexander II mustered and led to the borders of England, in 1244, an army of 100,000 foot, with a well-appointed body of cavalry, proves that, at the period under review, when the numerical strength of the two British kingdoms were marshalled, the inferiority of Scotland was by no means very apparent.

An army so numerous as that we have mentioned, no subsequent monarch of that kingdom ever had it in his power to bring into the field. On the death of Alexander III the prosperity of Scotland became eclipsed - anarchy overspread the land - the machiavelism of her arch-enemy prevailed - her ancient glory was trampled in the dust - and commerce deserted a country overrun with the horrors of war. Thus, in the emphatic language of the Bard: "Oure gold wes changyd into lede"; "and", says MacPherson, "our fishermen and merchants into cut-throats and plunderers, whose only trade was war, and whose precarious and only profit was the ruin of her neighbours".

## II

ON THE CLAIM OF ENGLAND TO THE FEUDAL HOMAGE OF  
SCOTLAND

SCOTLAND, at various periods of her history, has been placed in situations of imminent peril, from the encroachments and invasions of her ambitious neighbour in the South. Misled by an insatiable thirst for conquest, the English monarchs were either prosecuting their views of aggrandizement on the continent of Europe, or disturbing the tranquillity of Britain by endeavouring to subvert the liberty and independence of her states. The Welsh, after being driven from the most fruitful of their domains, continued an arduous but ineffectual struggle for their freedom, amid the few barren rocks and valleys that remained to them of their ancient and once flourishing kingdom. The Scots, though always numerically inferior to the English, and, from the comparative poverty of their country, deficient in those internal resources which their richer neighbours possessed; yet, from their warlike propensities, their parsimonious habits, and that love of independence which formed so striking a feature in the character of all the tribes of which the nation was composed, were either prepared to guard the frontier of their kingdom, or retaliate an aggression by invading the territories of the enemy. This last measure was the mode of defense they chiefly resorted to; aware that, with the exception of Berwick, the English, without advancing farther into the country than was consistent with their safety, would find no booty equivalent to what could be driven by the Scots from the fertile plains of their more wealthy opponents. These hostilities were frequently embittered by a claim of superiority which the English urged against the crown and kingdom of Scotland; and as the attempts which were made, from time to time, to enforce it, have produced more misery and bloodshed than any other national quarrel that ever existed between the two countries, an inquiry into the nature and foundation of the alleged plea of vassalage, may be of importance in elucidating the conduct of the conflicting parties in the following narrative. In this inquiry, we shall dispense with any reference, either to "Brute the Trojan" on the one side, or to that no less questionable personage, "Scota, daughter to the King of Egypt", on the other; and proceed, at once, to the only well-authenticated evidence that exists on the subject.

In the year 1174, William, King of Scotland, dissatisfied with the conduct of Henry II of England, invaded Northumberland, instigated thereto by a sense of his own wrongs, real or imaginary, and those discontented barons who wished to place the young king on the throne, an ambitious youth, whom his father had imprudently allowed to be crowned during his own lifetime. While the numerous army of William was spread over the adjacent country, wasting, burning, and slaying with that indiscriminate recklessness peculiar to the age; he, with a chosen band of his followers, besieged the Castle of Alnwick. The devastations committed by the marauding army of the Scots inflamed the minds of the barons of Yorkshire with a generous indignation; and they determined to exert themselves for the relief of their distressed countrymen. Having congregated at Newcastle to the number of four hundred horsemen, encased in heavy armour; they, though already fatigued with a long journey, pressed forward under the command of Sir Bernard de Baliol; and, by travelling all night, came in sight of the battlements of Alnwick Castle by daybreak. William, it would seem, had been abroad in the fields, with a slender escort of sixty horse; and, mistaking the English for a

detachment of his own troops, he was too far advanced to retire, before he became sensible of his danger. "Now it will be seen who are true knights", said the intrepid monarch, and instantly charged the enemy. His efforts, however, were unavailing; he was soon overpowered, and, along with his companions, made prisoner.

The chivalry of Yorkshire thus secured for their monarch a valuable prize. The magnanimity of Henry, however, was not equal to the gallantry of his subjects; for, on getting possession of the unfortunate prince, he inflicted on him every possible mortification. Not satisfied with exhibiting his rival, like a felon, with his feet tied under his horse's belly, to the rude gaze of the vulgar; he summoned all his barons to Northampton, to witness "the humiliating spectacle of a sovereign prince exposed in public to a new-invented indignity".

It may appear difficult to account for this treatment of a royal captive, taken under such circumstances, in an age when the honours of chivalry were eagerly sought after by all the crowned heads of Europe. When we reflect, however, that on the Thursday preceding the capture of William, Henry himself had been ignominiously scourged at the tomb of his formidable enemy, Thomas à Becket, his lacerated feelings might, perhaps, have found some relief in this public exhibition of his power to inflict, on a brother monarch, something of a similar degradation.

William was at first committed prisoner to Richmond castle, in Yorkshire; but Henry, either from apprehension of his being insecure among the scarcely-extinguished embers of the late insurrection, or wishing to enhance his value in the eyes of the Scots, by removing him to a greater distance, had him conveyed beyond seas, to Falaise in Normandy. Meanwhile, the Scottish army, thunderstruck at so unusual a calamity, after some ineffectual and misdirected attempts at revenge, abandoned their spoil, and hastily retreated to their own country. Alarmed, however, at the irregularities which the absence of the head of their government was likely to produce among the discordant and inflammable materials of which the kingdom was composed, they too hastily agreed to the ignominious terms proposed by the enemy; and submitted to their king becoming the liegeman of Henry for Scotland, and all his other territories; and further.

"The King of Scotland, David, his brother, his barons, and other liegemen, agreed that the Scottish church should yield to the English church such subjection, in time to come, as it ought of right, and was wont to pay in the days of the kings of England, predecessors of Henry. Moreover, Richard, bishop of St. Andrew's, Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, Geoffrey, abbot of Dunfermline, and Herbert, prior of Coldingham, agreed that the English church should have that right over the Scottish which in justice it ought to have. They also became bound, that they themselves would not gainsay the right of the English Church."

"A memorable clause!" says Lord Hailes, "drawn up with so much skill as to leave entire the question of the independence of the Scottish church. Henry and his ministers could never have overlooked such studied ambiguity of expression. The clause, therefore, does honour to the Scottish clergy, who, in that evil day, stood firm to their privileges, and left the question of the independence of the national church to be agitated, on a more fit occasion, and in better times."

"In pledge for the performance of this miserable treaty, William agreed to deliver up to the English the castles of Rokesburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, and gave his brother David and many of his chief barons as hostages."

Thus stood the right of England to feudal homage over Scotland in 1175. A superiority, acquired in such an ungenerous manner, was not likely to be long submitted to with patience. The Scots had always plumed themselves on being an unconquered people, and able to preserve their independence against all who had attempted to invade them. Vassalage implies protection; it was therefore presumption in England to pretend to defend Scotland against those enemies before whom she herself had been obliged to truckle.

It was not long before the conduct of William displayed that covered scorn of his liege-lord, which his late injuries were calculated to inspire. Countenanced by him, the Scottish bishops, at a council held at Northampton, boldly declared, in the presence of the Pope's legate, "that they had never yielded subjection to the English church, nor ought they".

William also entered the lists with the Roman Pontiff, -before whose threats and anathemas Henry had so ignominiously crouched: -yet, though all the thunder of the Vatican was levelled against him, and the Archbishop of York, armed with Papal authority, had not only excommunicated him, but placed the kingdom under an interdict; still he maintained his point with inflexible resolution, till the judgment of the apostolic father was annulled, and an honourable compromise obtained. The contrast thus exhibited by his vassal could not be very consoling to the feelings of the English monarch.

In the year 1178, William, in the same spirit, founded and amply endowed an abbey at Aberbrothick, in honour of the holy martyr, Thomas à Becket, a saint who had been thrust down the throat of his liege-lord with the salutary application of the whip. It would be doing William injustice to doubt the sincerity of the gratitude which instigated him to this act of munificence.

In 1189, Henry II died, and was succeeded by his son Richard Coeur de Lion. Unlike his father, Richard, though haughty and imperious, was alive to all the noble and virtuous qualities which ought to constitute the character of a king. As soon after the obsequies of his father as decency would permit, he invited William to his court at Canterbury, and magnanimously restored Scotland to her independence.

The important document runs thus "That Richard had rendered up to William, by the grace of God, King of Scots, his castles of Rokesburgh and Berwick, to be possessed by him and his heirs for ever as their own proper inheritance."

"Moreover, we have granted to him an acquaintance of all obligations which our father extorted from him by new instruments, in consequence of his captivity; under this condition always, that he shall completely and fully perform to us whatever his brother Malcolm, King of Scotland, of right performed, or ought of right to have performed, to our predecessors". "Richard", says Lord Hailes, "also ordained the boundaries of the two kingdoms to be re-established as they had been at the captivity of William". He calls them, "the marches of the kingdom of Scotland".

"He became bound to put William in full possession of all his fees in the earldom of Huntingdon or elsewhere, under the same conditions as heretofore".

"He delivered up all such of the evidences of the homage done to Henry II by the barons and clergy of Scotland, as were in his possession, and he declared, that all evidences of that homage, whether delivered up or not, should be held as cancelled".

“The price which William agreed to pay for this ample restitution, was ten thousand merks sterling”.

It is with difficulty a smile can be suppressed when we find, even in the nineteenth century, an author of such learning and talents as Dr. Lingard, endeavouring to fritter away the meaning and import of the above deed of restitution, by such fallacious reasoning as the following: “The King's” (Richard I) “CHARTER to the King of Scots may be seen in Rymer, i. 64. It is NOT, as sometimes has been supposed, a FORMAL RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF SCOTLAND, but a recognition, on the part of Richard, of all those RIGHTS which Henry had extorted from William for his RANSOM. In lieu of them he received ten thousand pounds, probably the sum which William would have given to Henry. The respective rights of the two crowns, are now replaced on the same footing as formerly. William was to do to Richard whatever Malcolm ought to have done to Richard's predecessors, and Richard was to do to William whatever they ought to have done to Malcolm, according to an award to be given by eight barons, to be equally chosen by the two kings. Moreover, William was to possess in England the lands which Malcolm had possessed; and to become the liegeman of Richard for all lands for which his predecessors had been the liegemen of the English kings. The award was afterwards given, by which it appears that the words *libertates, dignitates, honores, debiti*, &c. mean the allowances to be made, and the honors to be shown, to the King of Scots, as often as he came to the English court by the command of his lord the English king, from the moment that he crossed the borders till his return into his own territories, Rym. I. 87- This will explain the clause of *Salvis dignitatibus suis*, in the oath taken by the Scottish kings, which some writers have ERRONEOUSLY CONCEIVED TO MEAN, SAVING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THEIR CROWN”. If William was already the vassal of Henry, where was either the policy or the necessity of the latter bringing his right of homage into question, by making it again a subject of negotiation ? and if it was not for “A FORMAL RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF SCOTLAND” that William paid the ten thousand pounds (merks) to Richard, for what purpose was that sum paid? Henry extorted no money from William for his "RANSOM"; his vanity being amply gratified by the deed of homage. Richard had no claim to 10,000 from William, without granting him what he considered an equivalent. This equivalent could not have been the independence of the Scottish church; for even during the reign of Henry, we find, by a note appended by the learned author to his work (vol. II. p. 397, 3d edit.), that when the obedience of the Scottish church was demanded by the Archbishop of York, "it was answered that none was due; and the answer, after a long controversy, was confirmed by Pope Clement III. in 1188."

How "*Salvis dignitatibus suis*" can be explained so as not to include the independence of the monarch's crown, we are much at a loss to perceive. One thing, however, is sufficiently apparent, that the sophistry we have quoted ought not to have found a place in a publication of such acknowledged merit as that of Dr. Lingard.

As he has evidently allowed the prejudices of the old English chroniclers to warp his judgment in this affair, we may be permitted, in order to place the question on its proper basis, to quote the following short passage from his own work, by which it will be seen that the LION of England showed as little pluck as HE of Scotland, when placed in a similar situation. “In an assembly of the German princes and English envoys, by the delivery of the cap from his head, he (Richard I) resigned his crown into the hands of Henry; who restored it to him again to be held as a fief of the empire, with the obligation of a yearly payment of five thousand pounds”. Had this claim been

prosecuted against England with the same pertinacity as England advanced her absurd pretensions against Scotland, it is presumed they would have been repelled with similar scorn and derision.

Though the generosity of Richard towards William in the above transaction appears sufficiently conspicuous, yet there was that in the situation of his affairs which rendered it a matter of political expediency. From the arrangements necessarily connected with the crusade, in which he and his barons were about to embark, it became a matter of necessity, before he left Britain, to do something towards smoothing down the mane of the chafed Lion of Scotland. The gracious manner in which the boon was conferred, fixed its proper value in the estimation of the Scots, and "converted an impatient vassal and implacable enemy into a faithful and affectionate ally."

English historians have, on this occasion, charged Richard with impolicy. Happy would it have been for both countries, if his successors had possessed half the sagacity he displayed on this occasion. The consequence of this prudent measure was a cessation of hostilities between the two nations for nearly a century. This tranquillity uninterrupted except by the assistance which Alexander II rendered the English barons, when engaged in protecting their liberties against the encroachments of King John was highly beneficial to both kingdom. Intermarriages took place among the nobility, and to such an extent, that there were few families of note but had their connections; and many became possessed of lands under both governments. Trade rose to be an object of attention, and received encouragement from the legislature. The Scottish burghs emerged from obscurity; and money became so plenty, that, though William had given ten thousand merks for the resignation of the homage of Scotland, and a farther sum of two thousand , to enable Richard to make up the ransom exacted from him by the emperor, still he was able to offer fifteen thousand merks for Northumberland, besides giving dowries upon the marriage of his two daughters, amounting to fifteen thousand more. The burgesses of the towns had, in this short interval, so much increased their means, as to offer six thousand merks on this occasion. The nobles offered ten thousand; and on the supposition that both ranks tendered according to their ability, it may afford some criterion for judging of their relative situations in pecuniary matters. Though all these drains had been made on the treasury, yet Alexander II was able to give ten thousand merks, besides lands, as a dowry to his second sister. He also sent two bishops as envoys to Haco, King of Norway, to negotiate the purchase of all the Western Isles, which they entreated him to value in fine silver. The overture, though declined by Haco, shows the state of the precious metals among the Scots of those days.

In the year 1234, though the resignation by Richard must have been still fresh in the memory of the English, Pope Gregory IX, at the request of Henry, exhorted Alexander to perform the conditions of the old treaty between Henry II and William of Scotland. Alexander had too great a regard for the head of the Papal Church, to let him remain long in ignorance of the impropriety of such exhortations; and with the same spirit which characterized the conduct of his father towards the see of Rome, refused, according to Lord Hailes, "to receive a legate, whose original commission respected England alone," as it "might be interpreted in a sense prejudicial to the independency of the Scottish church. It is reported that Alexander consented to his admission, at the joint request of the nobility of both kingdoms; and that he insisted for, and obtained a written declaration from the legate, that this should not be drawn into a precedent. Certain it is, that the legate proceeded not beyond Edinburgh, and that Alexander avoided his presence". It is added, "The Legate sojourned in the principal towns on this side the sea,

and having collected a large sum of money, secretly, and without leave asked, he departed from Scotland."

Lord Hailes continues: "Such was the magnanimity of Alexander II that the high-spirited pontiff, Gregory IX, submitted to soothe him by a detail of specious and affected reasons, tending to evince the propriety of a legation in Scotland". The "church of Scotland", says that pope, "acknowledges the Romish see as her immediate mother in things spiritual. To leave her destitute of the consolation of a legate from us, would be an indignity which we cannot in conscience allow. Were we, by our legate, to visit the church of England, and yet neglect the neighbouring church of Scotland, she might think us destitute of maternal affection".

In 1239, Alexander married Mary de Couci, daughter of a powerful baron in Picardy. The politics of this lady's family were adverse to England, and Henry became jealous of her influence over her husband. Various circumstances occurred to foster the seeds of animosity in the mind of the English monarch; among other things, it was told him that Alexander had said, that "he owed no homage to England for any part of his territories, and would perform none." Henry secretly prepared for war, by soliciting succour from the Earl of Flanders, and instigating the Irish to invade Scotland; while he collected a numerous army at Newcastle, ready to co-operate with them.

Though the claim of homage was not put forth among the reasons for this display of hostility, yet the real ground of quarrel was well enough understood by the Scots; and on that account the war became so popular, that though Henry had intercepted troops sent to aid Alexander by John de Couci, his brother-in-law, he was enabled to confront his enemy with a formidable body of well-appointed cavalry, and nearly one hundred thousand foot, all hearty in the cause, and animated, by the exhortations of their clergy, to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. Under these circumstances, Henry found it expedient to negotiate; and his lofty pretensions were softened down to a very moderate and reasonable agreement, viz. "Alexander became engaged to live in amity with England, and never to aid her enemies, unless the English should do him wrong"

With such a character, Henry found it was in vain to tamper. We, therefore, hear nothing more of Scottish homage till after the death of Alexander, who being succeeded by his son, a child of eight years old, Henry solicited a mandate from Pope Innocent IV to the effect, "That Alexander, being his liegeman, should not be anointed or crowned without his permission. He also requested a grant of the tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of Scotland". To expect that the last request would have been granted, was preposterous; but Henry perhaps imagined, that by angling with two hooks, he might chance to catch one fish. "The Pope honestly and peremptorily rejected both requests; the first, as derogating from the honour of a sovereign prince; the second, as unexampled." In the meantime, the Scots, without deigning to wait the decision of the pontiff, proceeded with the coronation of their infant sovereign.

On the 26th December, 1252, Alexander III, being about ten years of age, appeared at York, to celebrate his nuptials with Margaret, daughter of Henry III, to whom he had been betrothed in 1242. After doing homage for his estates in England, Henry also demanded that he should do homage for the kingdom of Scotland, as a fief holding of England, "according to the usage recorded in many chronicles." The answer of Alexander showed that his instructors had not left him unprepared on the subject. He stated: "That he had been invited to York to marry the Princess of England, not to treat of affairs of state, and that he could not take a step so important, without the knowledge and approbation of his Parliament". Passing over the meanness of Henry, in

endeavouring to circumvent a child of ten years old, the futility of thus practicing upon a minor, ought to have prevented such a proposal; since he must have known, that although Alexander had even then reached the years of maturity, yet, without the sanction of his Parliament, his compliance was unavailing. Indeed Henry's attempt to entrap the innocence of his son-in-law, would almost indicate that he was very far advanced in dotage.

Henry appears either to have seen his mistake afterwards, or to have become ashamed of his attempts on Alexander. In 1259, the Pope, having appointed his own chaplain, John de Cheyam, an Englishman, to the vacant see of Glasgow, Henry thus writes to Alexander, who intended the vacancy for Nicolas Moffat, Archdeacon of Teviotdale: "Although he is my subject", said Henry, "I would not solicit you in his behalf, could any benefit arise to you from your opposition to a man on whom the Pope has already bestowed ecclesiastical jurisdiction."

In 1260, the Queen of Scotland became enceinte; and being desirous to lie-in at her father's court, Alexander accompanied her, after the following clause was inserted in their safe-conduct: "That neither the king nor his attendants should be required to treat of state affairs during this visit." Henry also made oath, that he would return the queen and her child in safety to the Scots.

In 1263, Henry affected to use his influence with Haco, King of Norway, to desist from his hostile intentions against Scotland. Haco denied such intentions; and Alexander, who perhaps questioned the sincerity of Henry's interference, sent the steward of Scotland to demand payment of the arrears of his daughter's dowry. Henry made a partial payment of five hundred merks, and promised the remainder in two instalments, one at Michaelmas in 1263, and the other at Easter, 1264. "I appoint such distant terms", said he, "because I mean to be punctual, and not to disappoint you any more". "To an English reader", says Lord Hailes, "this might seem incredible; but the original instrument exists".

In 1268, Prince Edward, son of Henry, being about to engage in a crusade, Pope Clement IV, at the instigation of the English court, ordered the Scottish clergy to pay a tenth of their revenues to the King of England, to aid the undertaking. This indirect attempt on their liberties was resisted by Alexander and his ecclesiastics, who spurned at the obnoxious assessment, though they declared their willingness to furnish their proper quota of crusaders. Adam, Earl of Carrick, and David, Earl of Athol, with other barons, engaged in the expedition.

On Michaelmas-day, 1278, Alexander, being present in the English Parliament, swore fealty to Edward, in general terms, for the lands held by him of the crown of England. Edward accepted it, "saving the claim of homage for the kingdom of Scotland, whenever he or his heirs should think proper to make it"; an early development of the views of this ambitious monarch, which did not escape the notice of Alexander.

No further measures inimical to the independence of Scotland, appear to have been taken till 1284, when Edward applied to Pope Martin IV for "a grant of the tenths collected in Scotland for the relief of the Holy Land". The conduct of the pontiff, however, showed the opinion he entertained of the request. He made the grant under these conditions all equally unpalatable or inconvenient to the royal applicant: They were, "That Edward himself should assume the cross before Christmas, obtain the consent of the King of Scots, and, out of the money levied, supply the Scottish crusaders."

The following year, Scotland was deprived of the prudent and watchful guardianship of her monarch, who was killed by an accident, 16th March, 1285-6. At a grand council held at Scone, 11th of April, 1286, a regency was appointed for the government of the kingdom. The lineage of Alexander had become extinct in his person, with the exception of an infant grandchild, daughter of Eric, King of Norway. This female, whose right to the crown had been solemnly acknowledged by the Scottish barons in 1284, was deemed by Edward a desirable match for his son; and he lost no time in despatching ambassadors to Scotland to negotiate a marriage. From the comparatively good understanding that had prevailed between the two countries during the late reign, he found the Scots no way opposed to his views. The proposal was therefore entertained; and on the 18th of July, 1290, the regents, clergy, and baronage of Scotland, having met the ambassadors of England at Brigham, situated on the north bank of the Tweed, between Coldstream and Kelso, a treaty was concluded, consisting of fourteen articles; in all of which not the slightest allusion is made to any superiority over Scotland, with the exception of the following clause: "Saving always the right of the King of England, and of all others which, before the date of this treaty, belonged to him, or any of them, in the marches, or elsewhere, or which ought to belong to him, or any of them, in all time coming."

In the salvo thus artfully introduced, we have a continuation of that quibbling, sinister, and narrow-minded policy, which marked the conduct of the English government in this disgraceful affair. After the question had been so completely set at rest, it was extremely irritating for the Scots, whenever any national calamity befel them, to be annoyed by the perpetual recurrence of such barefaced attempts upon their liberties. Though the Kings of Scotland repeatedly did homage to the Kings of England, for the lands they held in that country, it was no more than what the latter submitted to do to those of France. When the English, therefore, strove, by such insidious measures, to entrap the inexperience of the Scottish kings, and to encroach on the independence of their crown, it engendered among those who had the honour of their country at heart, a bitterness of spirit, which, as the attempts were persevered in, settled down to a deep-rooted and inextinguishable animosity. There was no scarcity of men in both countries, who had sufficient penetration to see, and judgment to appreciate, the advantages that might have been secured to all, were the whole island united under one head. But, from the ungenerous policy of the English, this desirable object could not be attained, except by a sacrifice on the part of the Scots, of all that honourable minds hold dear, -THE GLORIES OF A LONG AND UNCONQUERED LINE OF ANCESTRY, THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE, AND THE CONSEQUENT DEGRADATION OF THEIR OFFSPRING. These were the terms which the English unjustly demanded; and such terms the Scottish nation as sternly rejected. Events have shown the soundness of their judgment; and their posterity may learn, from the history of Ireland, the extent of gratitude to which their patriotism is entitled.

The question of homage has now been traced from its origin to the negotiation of Edward with the Scots at Brigham. Had all other evidence respecting the independence of Scotland been destroyed, the existence of this treaty would alone have annihilated the pretensions of Edward: for, if the King of Scots had been the liegeman of the English monarch, his daughter, or any unmarried female succeeding to the throne of Scotland, would of necessity have been a ward of the English crown. Can it, therefore, for a moment be supposed, that Edward I, a prince so feelingly alive to what he considered his prerogative, and whose political sagacity and intimate acquaintance with the whole system of jurisprudence had procured for him the title of the "ENGLISH JUSTINIAN,"

would have so far forgotten what was due to himself, as to submit to negotiate, where he had a right to command?

The views, however, of both parties in the above treaty, were not destined to be realized. The young queen, the object of such solicitude, and on whom the hopes of the Scottish nation were suspended, sickened on her voyage, and died at Orkney about the end of September, 1290. No provision had been made for the succession to the Scottish crown, beyond the offspring of Alexander; and, as Lord Hailes judiciously remarks, "the nation looked no farther, and perhaps it durst not look farther". Under these circumstances, the sceptre of Scotland became a bone of contention between the leaders of two powerful factions: and there being no third party in the country able to control and enforce the submission of the unsuccessful claimant, it was deemed expedient to submit their pretensions to the arbitration of the King of England. Edward, who watched every opportunity of aggrandizing himself at the expense of his neighbours, had determined, whether solicited or not, to interfere in the disposal of the Scottish crown. Having summoned the barons of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland (among whom were Bruce and Baliol, the two competitors for the Scottish throne), to meet him, with horse and foot, at Norham, on the 5th of June, he desired the nobility and clergy of Scotland to assemble at the same place on the 10th May.

A conference accordingly was held, when Edward commanded Roger le Brabazon, Justiciary of England, to inform the assembly, in his name, "That he had considered the difficulties in which the kingdom of Scotland was involved by the death of Alexander and his offspring, and the dangers arising from disputed succession: that his good will and affection to the whole nation, and to each individual in it, were sincere, for in their defense he himself was interested: that he had called the Scots to meet him at this place, with the view that justice might be done to all the competitors, and the internal tranquillity of the kingdom established: that he had undertaken a long journey to do justice, in person, to all, as Superior and Lord Paramount of the kingdom of Scotland: that he meant not to encroach on the rights of any man; but, on the contrary, as Lord Paramount, to administer ample and speedy justice to all."

That his purposes might be the more effectually accomplished, he required their hearty recognition of his title as Lord Paramount; and he declared his willingness to use their advice in the settlement of the nation.

The whole assembly stood motionless and silent. At length someone had the courage to utter these words: "No answer can be made while the throne is vacant". "By holy Edward!" cried the king; "by holy Edward, whose crown it is that I wear, I will vindicate my just rights, or perish in the attempt!" The Scots requested a delay in order to inform those of their countrymen who were absent; and, in consequence, the proceedings were put off till the next day. A further delay was then requested; and they were allowed a term of three weeks. By that time, Edward knew that the barons he had summoned would be assembled in arms.

This power was, no doubt, intended to insure the submission of the Scots. Enemies, however, more dangerous than the English barons, were at work in their councils. Amongst the secret emissaries of Edward, William Frazer, Bishop of St. Andrew's, and one of the regents, acted with treacherous duplicity towards his colleagues. A partisan of Baliol, he scrupled at no means, however disgraceful, provided they advanced the interest of his employer. Conduct of this kind could not well be concealed; it quickly engendered animosity and distrust among those who adhered to

the interest of Bruce. Weakened, therefore, by their jealousies, and disunited by their conflicting interests, the aristocracy of Scotland soon became as subservient as the crafty usurper could desire.

Edward, finding them in this manner moulded to his purpose, and wishing to take away the appearance of compulsion, appointed the Scots to meet him at Upsettlington, within the boundary of their own country. The Bishop of Bath, who was the Chancellor of England, resumed the proceedings of the adjourned meetings. He stated, that "by various evidences, it sufficiently appeared that the English Kings were Lords Paramount of Scotland, and, from the most distant ages, had either possessed, or claimed that right; that Edward had required the Scots to produce their evidences or arguments to the contrary, and had declared himself ready to admit them, if more cogent than his own, and upon the whole matter to pronounce righteous judgment; that as the Scots had produced nothing, the King was resolved, as Lord Paramount, to determine the question of the succession."

The Scots were right in refraining from the discussion of a question which they knew had long since been set at rest. Had they entered the arena, they would have found themselves but ill-prepared to meet the lawyers of Edward, who had possessed themselves of the chronicles and other writings that were kept in those Scottish monasteries, which had been under the charge of English ecclesiastics. These records were afterwards found to differ essentially from those kept in monasteries where Scottish churchmen had the superiority. In the muniments of the former, every thing favourable to Scotland, respecting the question, had either been suppressed, or rendered nugatory by interpolation; while in the archives of the latter, her ancient independence and unsullied reputation were as clearly manifested. A reference, however, to these falsified documents, surprised and bewildered the inexperienced among the Scots.

It was part of the policy of Edward to increase the difficulties of coming to a decision, by encouraging new candidates to come forward; as their claims, though futile, alarmed the original competitors, and rendered them more obsequious to his will. At this meeting eight claimants appeared for the crown, and they were afterwards increased to ten; all of whom, including Bruce and Baliol, acknowledged Edward as Lord Paramount of Scotland, and agreed that seizing of the kingdom and its fortresses should be delivered to Edward; "because", said they, "judgment cannot be without execution, nor execution without possession of the subject of the award". Edward was to find security for the faithful restitution of his charge in two months from the date of his award.

In consequence of this agreement, Scotland and her fortifications were surrendered into the hands of her artful adversary on the 11th June, 1291.

An universal homage was now required; and during the summer, many churchmen, barons, and even burgesses, swore fealty to the usurper.

## III

## BIRTH, PARENTAGE, AND EARLY YEARS OF WALLACE

SIR WILLIAM WALLACE was descended from a respectable family in the west of Scotland. His father, who enjoyed the honour of knighthood, was Laird of Elderslie and Auchinbothie, and married the daughter of Sir Raynald, or, according to some, Sir Hugh Crawford, sheriff of Ayr. The exact period when the ancestors of Wallace first settled in this country, is a matter of uncertainty. It is, however, very probable that they were originally from Normandy; and those who support this opinion mention one Eimerus Galleius, as the immediate progenitor of the Scottish family of this name. This person appears as a witness to the charter of the Abbey of Kelso, founded by David I about the year 1128, and is supposed to have been the father of Richard Wallace, one of the witnesses to the charter of the Abbey of Paisley, founded in 1160, by Walter, High Steward of Scotland. From the Steward he received a grant of a considerable portion of the district of Kyle, which he named Richardton, or Richardtown, after himself. This Ricard, or Richard, who was the most powerful vassal of the Stewards in Kyle, granted to the monks of Melrose the lands of Barmon and Godeneth, with their pertinents; and this grant, as appears from the Chart of Melrose, No. 127, Caledonia, III. p. 488, was confirmed by the second Walter the Steward. Richard was succeeded by his eldest son, also named Richard, who appears to have altered, or softened down the name into Walays. Respecting this last person, no particulars have been related, except that he was cotemporary with Alan the High Steward, who died about 1204. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Henry Walays, who acquired some lands under the Steward in Renfrewshire, early in the thirteenth century; which lands descended by inheritance to Adam Walays, who is stated to have been living in the year 1259, and to have had two sons, Adam and Malcolm. Adam, being the eldest, succeeded to the family estate of Ricardtown. Malcolm, the father of our hero, received the lands of Elderslie, and married, as we have already stated, the daughter of the Sheriff of Ayr. Some writers assert this to have been his second marriage; and farther, that by his first he had two daughters, one of whom was married to Thomas Haliday or Halliday, who held lands under Bruce in Annandale; while others maintain that he had only two sons, Malcolm and William, the former by the first marriage, and the latter by the daughter of Sir Hugh Crawford. It is, however, more than probable that these two sons were the issue of one marriage; as Wyntown, who mentions the circumstance of his having an elder brother, takes no notice of their being born of different mothers. His elder brother is, by some, supposed, to have been killed along with his father, Sir Malcolm, in a skirmish with the English; but this statement seems at variance with Wyntown's couplet

"Hys eldare Brodyre the herytage  
Had, and joysyd in his dayis."

*Vol. II. p. 91.*

From which it would appear, that the "eldare brodyre" outlived the father, since he succeeded to "the herytage"; and though he may have fallen by the hands of the English, it must have been subsequent to the death of his father.

Sir William, the subject of our narrative, was born in the reign of Alexander III. The precise year of his birth is not mentioned in any record at present known to exist. It is usual, however, for our historians to commence their accounts of him in 1297, as if he had then, for the first time, burst forth upon the notice of his countrymen, though they are represented as being already prepared to place implicit confidence in his talents as a leader, without any explanation of his previous deeds to merit the honorable distinction. In the preface to one edition of Blind Harry, he is stated to have been about twenty-seven years of age at the time of his execution. This, however, would imply a precocity of nature and strength, and a maturity of judgment too miraculous not to be dwelt on at greater length by those early writers who have handed down his story. If he was twenty-seven in 1305, he would consequently be only nineteen in 1297. Can it be supposed that a youth of that age, without influence, and without fame, would have been able to persuade men, his superiors in birth, years, and experience, to array themselves under his banner, and submit to his control? In the work of the Minstrel, we are told

"Fourty and fyve off age, Wallace was cauld,  
That tym that he was to [the] Southeron sauld."

As this, however, is at variance with what is elsewhere stated in the same work, it is probably an error of the transcriber, who may have mistaken "thirtie" for "fourty," as we find it is said, in "Buke Fyrst," in alluding to our hero, "Scotland was lost quhen he was bot a child." The term "hild" here made use of, is not to be considered as inferring that degree of infancy usually understood in our day, but a youth acting, or able to act, as page or squire to some feudal superior. That this is the Minstrel's meaning, is evident from the following lines:

"Yhit he was than semly, stark and bald ;  
And he of age was bot auchtene yer auld,"

an age inconsistent with his being forty-five at the time of his death. If we are to suppose that Henry dated the loss of Scotland from the solemn surrender of the kingdom, and all its fortifications, to Edward on the 11th of June, 1291, it will nearly correspond with the correction now offered; and if his words are to be taken in the strict literal sense, that he was thirty-five years of age on the day he was betrayed to the English, it will follow, that he was born on the 5th of August, 1270. Wyntown, who first introduces him to notice in the spring of 1297, says that he had already distinguished himself in such a manner, as to have excited the envy and animosity of the English soldiers. In accordance with the above date, Wallace would then be in his twenty-seventh year; which, considering that there was no open rupture to call forth the fiery spirits of the age till 1296, was allowing him no more than a reasonable time for spreading his fame among the English garrisons stationed in Scotland.

His early years are said to have been passed under the superintendence of his uncle, a wealthy ecclesiastic at Dunipace in Stirlingshire, from whom he received the first rudiments of his education. This worthy man had been at great pains in storing his mind with the choicest apothegms to be found in the Latin classics, particularly those where the love of liberty is most powerfully recommended; and the efforts of the tutor were amply rewarded by the amor patriae excited in the breast of the pupil. How long he remained at Dunipace is uncertain; but he appears to have been at Elderslie in 1291, when the order for an universal homage of the people of Scotland was promulgated by Edward, in his assumed character of Lord Paramount. "All who came were admitted to swear fealty. They who came and refused, were to be arrested, until performance; they who came not, but sent excuses, to have the validity of their excuses tried in the next parliament; they who neither came nor sent excuses, to be committed to close custody". The family of Elderslie appear to have been among the last class of recusants. Sir Malcolm, setting all the penalties of non-conformity at defiance, resolutely refused to take an oath so subversive of the independence of his country. Aware, however, that the strength of his fortalice at Elderslie was insufficient to protect him against the consequences of his refusal, he retired with his eldest son to the fastnesses of the Lennox, while William, along with his mother, sought the protection of a powerful relation at Kilspindie in the Carse of Gowrie; and from this latter place he was sent to the seminary attached to the cathedral of Dundee, to receive what farther education the learning of the age afforded. Here he contracted a sincere and lasting friendship with his biographer, John Blair, a young man at that time of great promise, who, on finishing his studies, became a Benedictine monk, and afterwards officiated as chaplain to his heroic friend.

With this faithful companion, and other youths of similar dispositions, Wallace used to lament over the degradation to which the country was daily subjected; and fired with indignation at the growing insolence of the English soldiers, he formed an association among his fellow-students for the purpose of defending themselves, and restraining the wanton outrages of the intruders, by chastising their aggressions whenever the parties were to be found in convenient situations. This, from the licentious habits of the soldiery, frequently occurred; and seldom were they allowed to escape, without experiencing the effects of their vengeance.

In these juvenile bickerings, too unimportant to attract the attention of those in authority, Wallace had frequent opportunities of displaying that dexterity and strength, with which Nature had so amply endowed him. In him, his companions found united all the qualifications they could desire in a leader a head to devise, and a hand to execute, the most daring enterprises a fertile imagination ever teeming with stratagems and a prudence and foresight which provided against all contingencies; so that, when once he determined on any project, however difficult, they were always confident of its being crowned with success.

It is not to be imagined that an association of young men, among whom talents and bravery were distinguishing characteristics, would not feel deeply interested in the momentous crisis to which their country was approaching. The ambition of Edward, and his designs against the independence of their native land, were too apparent to escape the notice of any who had not an interest in appearing wilfully blind. The subserviency of those who represented the aristocracy was, therefore, regarded by their countrymen with feelings of humiliation and shame. It happened unfortunately for their characters, as well as for the safety of the country, that most of the nobility held possessions on both sides of the Tweed; and their selfishness dictated a line of policy extremely

dangerous to the independence of Scotland. A wish to preserve their estates in both countries inclined them to a ready obedience to whatever side was most likely to gain the preponderance. Edward, who, in addition to his conquests on the Continent, had annexed the principality of Wales to the English crown, appeared to them, in the distracted state of their country's affairs, as very likely to consolidate Britain under his powerful and energetic sway. Under these feelings, they vied with each other in their endeavours to propitiate the usurper by disgraceful compliances. The poorer gentry, however, entertained sentiments of a different description, and watched the progress of the submission respecting the succession with feverish impatience.

Since the surrender of the Regents on the 11th of June, the different towns and castles of Scotland had been garrisoned by English soldiers. Between the military and the inhabitants, as might have been expected, brawls were of no unfrequent occurrence and in those which came under the notice of our hero, he seldom remained an inactive spectator. Gilbert de Umfraville being removed from the command of the castles of Dundee and Forfar, one Selby, the head of a freebooting family in Cumberland, was appointed to succeed him. His son, a fiery and impetuous youth, having too rashly insulted Wallace, the latter struck him dead on the spot with his dagger; and, though surrounded by the train of his insulter, effected his escape to the house of a female dependent, who concealed him from his pursuers. Besides young Selby, two or three others, who attempted to intercept him in his flight, were either killed or severely wounded. The case, therefore, became one of too serious a nature to be overlooked. The prudent management of his preserver enabled him to quit the town without being observed. An act of outlawry followed this slaughter; and Wallace was hunted from covert to covert by the emissaries of the constable, who, eager to revenge the death of his son, offered great rewards for his apprehension. His success in eluding his pursuers was equal to the boldness of his offence.

After lurking among the woods and impenetrable recesses of the country, till the heat of the pursuit had subsided, Wallace ventured to communicate with his relations at Kilspindie. The anxiety of his mother respecting his fate required to be relieved; and, in obedience to her solicitation, to remove himself further from the scene of danger, he agreed to accompany her on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Margaret at Dumfries. The dress required for this purpose afforded a suitable disguise; and the respect paid by the English to a saint of the royal blood of their country, insured, in those days of superstition, all the facilities which their situation required.

While our hero was thus employed, his father, it would appear, had become obnoxious to the English; but in what manner, we are left entirely to conjecture. Whether they had endeavoured to apprehend him, for disobedience to the order already alluded to, or if, driven from his house and his resources, he found himself constrained to retaliate upon his oppressors the injuries they had inflicted, are circumstances respecting which all authorities are silent.

An unfortunate reencounter, however, appears to have taken place in the district of Kyle in Ayrshire, between Sir Malcolm, at the head of a few of his retainers, and a party of the English, under an officer of the name of Fenwick; in which, after a gallant resistance, the Scots were defeated and their chieftain slain. Blind Harry asserts, that the brother of Wallace also fell on this occasion; but he is evidently mistaken, as it has already been shown from Wyntown, that Sir Malcolm was succeeded in his estate by his eldest son.

The death of his father was not calculated to lessen the animosity which Wallace had hitherto entertained towards the English. Thirsting for revenge, he spurned the offers of some of his relations, who proposed to use their influence to get the act of outlawry recalled; and having placed his mother under the charge of his uncle Sir Raynald Crawford, he again betook himself to the woods.

The talents, strength, and dexterity of the young outlaw, soon attracted to his fortunes a number of reckless and intrepid spirits, inclined alike from habit and from circumstances, to prefer a life of savage and unrestrained liberty, to the uncertain and degrading protection of those, who, though wearing the mask of friendship, were daily wounding their feelings, by their encroachments on the independence of their country.

As Scotland, at that time (1292), abounded with game of every description, Wallace and his companions found no difficulty in maintaining themselves in their woodland retreats; from whence also they could issue forth to surprise the English, and supply themselves with those necessaries which their situation otherwise prevented them from obtaining.

However well-disposed the regency and barons of Scotland might have been to submit to the claims of England, it was quite different with the nation; and the proceedings of Wallace, though not sanctioned by the shadow of government which still lingered in the country, were viewed by the poorer classes of the Scots, not only with indulgence, but with approbation. From the prevalence of this feeling, he derived many important advantages, and much useful information respecting the movements of his enemies.

At this early period of his history, his conduct is said to have drawn upon him the notice of Thomas of Ercildoune, otherwise named Thomas the Rymer. This shrewd observer of the "signs of the times", so highly appreciated his talents and hardihood, as to risk his prophetic fame, then in its zenith, by pointing him out to his countrymen as the man destined to restore the ancient glory of Scotland. His matchless strength and acute wit, joined to the sagacity with which he gave effect to his stratagems, tended, no doubt, to impress the seer with this favourable opinion. Among the stories told of his early years, the following are perhaps entitled to a preference, on account of their being, as Lord Hailes observes, "characteristical."

One day, having visited Ayr in disguise, his attention was attracted by a crowd collected near the quarters of the military. In the midst of a circle of his own countrymen, there stood an Englishman of huge dimensions, playing off his raillery against the Scots, and offering, for a groat, an opportunity of avenging any injury they might have received from the English, by permitting the best among them to exert their utmost strength in striking a blow upon his back with a pole which he held in his hand; accompanying this absurd declaration with certain ridiculous gestures and scurrilous language, while his mailed companions, with arms akimbo, stood loitering around, laughing, and enjoying the humour of their bulky buffoon. Wallace approached, and tendered treble the sum for the permission offered. This was readily agreed to by the jester, who winked to his companions as he prepared to fulfil the conditions. The wary Scot had observed the trick; and, grasping the pole above the place where it was intended to give way, he let fall a blow with such good will, that the spine yielded to its force, and the foolish witling sunk with a groan at the feet of his companions. Instantly the swords of the English were out to revenge the slaughter of their favourite. One of them, advancing towards the offender, received a blow on the head, which laid him lifeless across the body of the jester. Surrounded on all sides by the increasing numbers

of his adversaries, he plied his weapon with a rapidity and a force which kept the most forward of them at bay. Over the steel bacinet of a powerful trooper, the fatal pole was shivered to pieces. Others, seeing him, as they imagined, disarmed by this accident, rushed forward, expecting to overwhelm him with their numbers; but on drawing his sword, which he had concealed under his dress, they as quickly receded from the well-known power of his arm. Having, by his trusty blade, cleared the way to one of the outlets of the town, he was there attacked by two of the boldest of the garrison, who had not before mingled in the fray. The object of one of them appeared to be, to engage him in a little sword-play, and thus give his party an opportunity of hemming him in, but Wallace, aware of the value of his time, broke through the guard of his artful opponent, with a blow which clove him to the teeth; while the other, in the act of retreating, received a thrust through an opening in his armour, which, reaching his vitals, laid him senseless by the side of his companion. Five of the English soldiers had now fallen beneath the arm of the youthful warrior; and the rest seemed so averse to come within his reach, that he had time to gain a little copse in the neighbourhood, where he had left his horse before he entered the town, and, bounding into the saddle, the hardy trooper was soon beyond the reach of any fresh assistance they might procure. Horse and foot were, however, soon on the alert; but after a long and fruitless pursuit, they were obliged to return, some of those who had already witnessed his prowess no way displeased at their want of success. The entire absence of anything like fear, seems to have formed the most prominent feature in the character of Wallace. Although he had so narrowly escaped on the above occasion, and also aware of the ease with which he could be recognized, yet it was not long before he ventured back to the same place. The occasion was as follows: A report had circulated about the country, that on a day named, a celebrated English prize-fighter would exhibit on the esplanade at Ayr, as a general challenger. An occurrence of this kind had powerful attractions, in an age when every man required to know something of the use of a sword. Scots, as well as English, became deeply interested as the day of exhibition drew on; and Wallace, instigated partly by curiosity, and partly by a wish to acquire information respecting the numbers and the motions of his enemies, determined to be present. Having equipped himself and fifteen of his companions with dresses which concealed their habergeons, he proceeded to the scene of action. Their horses they left in a place of safety outside the town, and then made their entry from different directions, in such numbers as would not attract the notice of their enemies. In the midst of the crowd collected to witness the feats of the English champion, Wallace stood, with his face partially concealed in his cloak, to all appearance an unconcerned spectator, till he saw several of his countrymen, who had been baffled by the superior dexterity of their more practiced antagonist, afterwards scoffed at, and otherwise insulted by the English soldiery. The feelings which this conduct excited were displayed on the fine expressive countenance of our hero, in such a manner as did not escape the notice of the victor; and the latter, flushed with his success, invited him to a trial of his skill. Wallace readily accepted the challenge; and drawing his sword, prepared for the onset. The ease and grace with which he handled his weapon soon convinced the English that their "buckler-player" had at last engaged in a perilous enterprise. His art and agility appeared unavailing against the cool self-possession of the Scot, who, after a few passes, became the assailant; and a blow, which descended with the rapidity of lightning, laid the arrogant gladiator dead at his feet. This unexpected interruption of their amusement irritated the English; but when they discovered, in the successful combatant, the bold and audacious outlaw with whom they had been so lately engaged, they eagerly crowded round, and endeavoured to prevent his escape. Unappalled by the numbers with whom he was environed, he dealt his blows

in all directions with unerring and deadly effect, while his followers, drawing their swords, attacked those who were nearest them with a fury that spread consternation and uproar through the whole assemblage.

The English, finding themselves assailed from so many quarters, conceived that they were surrounded by a multitude of enemies. Wallace, always first in the place of danger, according to the homely, but “expressive phraseology” of Blind Henry, “Great rowme about him maid”, and the enemy had already begun to give way, when an additional force from the castle made its appearance. The battle was now renewed with redoubled fury on both sides; and the capture of our hero being the principal object in view, he became the subject of their most inveterate hostility. The few, however, who ventured within his reach, soon paid the forfeit of their temerity. Having collected his companions in a body, he fearlessly advanced into the centre of the English, diminishing their numbers with every stroke of his broadsword, while his followers pressed with determined ferocity upon those who attempted to intercept him. From the increasing number of his opponents, he at last became apprehensive of having his retreat cut off, if the unequal contest were much longer protracted. Placing himself, therefore, in front of the battle he ordered them to make the best of their way, while he endeavoured to prevent the enemy from harassing their rear. By incredible exertions, they at last regained their post at the outside of the town; and, mounting their horses, they were soon lost to their pursuers amid the shades of Laglane woods, leaving about thirty of the English, among whom were three knights belonging to Northumberland, dead upon the streets of Ayr.

These, and similar exploits, appear to have furnished employment to Wallace, during the time that the English held possession of the country under the nominal authority of the Scottish regency. It will now, however, be necessary to revert to the proceedings on the Border.

## IV

ACCESSION OF BALIOL. SIEGE OF BERWICK. BATTLE OF DUNBAR  
1292.

THE submission respecting the succession to the crown of Scotland was now drawing near a close. There is reason to believe, that the knowledge of many of the humiliating circumstances, which had occurred during its progress, had been confined, in a great measure, to the parties engaged in it. Enough, however, had transpired to excite the jealousy of the poorer gentry, who having no possessions out of Scotland, considered their honour as inseparably connected with its independence. When the edict, therefore, was proclaimed for a general homage to the King of England, the national degradation became apparent, and the servility of their more powerful representatives was regarded with dissembled mortification. The dangerous practice of allowing the influential barons to hold lands in England, might now be regretted; but the fatal effects were, for the present, beyond the power of remedy. Eager for the removal of the English garrisons, and desirous for the establishment of something like a regular government, the body of the Scottish nation, concealing their chagrin at the conduct of Edward, became anxious for the decision. The machinations of Frazer, and the influence of the Bishop of Durham, at last determined the English king to declare in favour of John Baliol, who received the crown with all humility, and swore fealty to the royal arbiter, as his liege-lord, at Norham, on the 20th November,

On the 30th of the same month he was crowned at Scone; and, on the 26th December following, he again repeated his oath of allegiance at Newcastle.

John, though he had not made a greater sacrifice of the national dignity than the other candidates were prepared to agree to, soon found, on his return to Scotland (1293), that the station he had been so desirous to attain, was surrounded by cares and difficulties of no ordinary description. The conduct of Edward, too, in continually harassing Baliol with summonses to attend complaints instituted against him in the English courts, on very trifling occasions, was a source of unceasing annoyance; and while the latter reflected on the indignities he had already submitted to, he was conscious of having forfeited every claim to the sympathy or respect of his people, by the sacrifice he had made of their independence. It seemed evident, indeed, that the only chance which remained of recovering their favour, was to renounce the fealty he had sworn, and to afford them an opportunity of effacing, by force of arms, the stigma that had been affixed to their national character.

That this was the feeling of the Scots, is manifest from the alacrity with which they came forward, when Baliol, stung almost to madness by the repeated insults received from his liege-lord, had determined to throw off his allegiance. Levies of Scottish troops had been ordered by Edward to be made and sent to him, in order to be employed in an expedition which he meditated against France. This the newly-crowned vassal had neither the inclination nor the ability to perform; on the contrary, he secretly negotiated an alliance with the French king.

The Scots assembled in parliament at Scone (1294); and, "under the specious pretence of diminishing the public charge, they prevailed on Baliol to dismiss all the Englishmen whom he maintained at his court." "They then appointed a committee of twelve four bishops, four earls, and four barons by whose advice all national affairs were to be regulated. If we may credit the English historians, they had a watchful eye over Baliol himself, and detained him in an honourable captivity". This latter circumstance, more than any other, evinces the feelings of the people on the occasion.

It would be difficult to say how Wallace was employed at this particular period. It seems probable, that, relieved by the removal of the English from the apprehensions he might have entertained of the consequences of the act of outlawry, he became permanently resident among his relations. In a charter of James, Lord High Steward of Scotland, dated in 1294, confirming the donation of the predecessors of Sir Arthur de Denoon to the monastery of Paisley, the witnesses are, Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, John, the brother of the Lord High Steward, Sir Arthur de Denoon, Sir Nicolas Campbell, and Sir Reginald Crawford, Knights; William de Shaw, Alexander de Normanville, Esquires. Though Wallace is not mentioned here, yet we have the names of five of his future companions in arms; and it may be doubted if Sir Nicolas Campbell, whose patrimony lay at such a distance, would have made a journey to Paisley for the mere purpose of witnessing a charter in which he had no personal interest, had objects of greater moment not attracted him to the spot; and possibly, a wish to visit Wallace at Elderslie, of whom, as has been already stated, he was a school-companion and intimate associate, may in a more satisfactory manner account for his appearance on that occasion, while the presence of Sir Reginald Crawford, the uncle of Wallace, rather increases the probability of this conjecture. The association of the names of so many parties with whom he was afterwards so closely connected, is at all events a very singular circumstance. The fame he had acquired by the exploits already narrated, and the dangers he had escaped, would no doubt have excited the curiosity and the sympathy of his friends.

The treaty which Baliol negotiated with France (1295) was peculiarly offensive to Edward. After stating that the King of Scotland, "grievously affected at the undutiful behaviour of Edward to the King of France his liege-lord," he bound himself to assist King Philip with all his power, and at his own charge, in the event of Edward invading France. Philip also agreed to aid the Scots, if attacked by England, either by making a diversion in their favour, or by sending succours. In this treaty were included the prelates, earls, barons, and other nobles of Scotland, as well as the Universities and distinguished public bodies of that kingdom, who were thereto required to affix their seals. Indeed it may be considered as truly a national treaty, showing the degree of surveillance which the Scots exercised over the conduct of Baliol.

The treaty was soon followed by a solemn renunciation of the homage exacted by Edward; and a numerous army was collected for the invasion of his northern counties. The Scots, though thus eager to come to blows, were by no means in a state of discipline that would enable them successfully to contend with the experienced veterans of England, who had been inured to martial habits in their wars with France, and possessed many advantages over troops that had never seen the face of a foreign enemy. Thirty-three years had elapsed since the battle of Largs; and the residue of those warriors who had distinguished themselves on that occasion, could not now be either very numerous or effective. The country, it is true, teemed with men in the vigour of life, panting to restore the tarnished glory of their country; but although individually brave, and not unacquainted with their weapons, yet, unaccustomed to act in concert,

they could neither fully understand their own deficiency, nor sufficiently appreciate the advantages of that discipline which gave the enemy so great a superiority. Under these circumstances, and guided more by the hasty dictates of their own passion than the commands of their leaders, the army of the Scots burst into Cumberland, on 26th March, 1296. The injury done, however, was not very extensive. They assaulted Newcastle, and set fire to the town, but were eventually compelled to a dishonourable retreat.

On the 8th April they also entered Northumberland, plundered Lanercoste and Hexham, and retired in disorder from before Harbottle.

At this time a circumstance of rather a curious nature took place. An English nobleman, Sir Robert de Ros, lord of the Castle of Werk, had become deeply enamored of a Scottish lady, and, influenced by the violence of his passion, he deserted the standard of his country, and went over to the Scots. With the intention of gaining the affections of the object of his desire, he endeavoured to seduce his kinsman, William de Ros, from his allegiance. In this, however, he was unsuccessful; for William, after upbraiding him with his baseness, proceeded to the camp at Berwick to inform Edward of the treason, who furnished him with 1000 men, to garrison the Castle of Werk. Robert, in the meantime, had joined the Scots; and learning that the troops sent by Edward were to quarter the following night at Prestfen, on their way, he procured a body of Scots from Roxburgh, and secretly surrounded the village. To enable his followers to recognize each other, he gave them, as a password, "Tabard and Surcoat;" commanding, that whoever named the first of these words, if the person to whom he expressed it did not reply by giving the other, he should instantly kill him. With this understanding they entered Prestfen at midnight, and, setting fire to the houses, surprised and cut off the enemy.

Edward, who had now reached Berwick with an army equal in numbers to that of the Scots, and more formidable from its superior discipline, determined to attack the town both by sea and land. His navy was, however, found unequal to the task, and eighteen of his ships were either burnt or disabled.

The exasperation which this discomfiture occasioned in the mind of Edward, increased, if possible, the natural ferocity of his temper, and determined him to lead in person his army to the assault.

The first attack of the English was repulsed. On the second, a well-concerted stratagem put them in possession of the town, which was given over to pillage, and a frightful and unsparing massacre ensued. Some English writers state, that no less than 40,000 of the inhabitants were immolated, to assuage the wrath of the victor. Wyntown, however, may be considered nearer the truth, when he fixes the amount of the carnage at 7,500. Barons and burgesses, nuns and friars, women and children, all were involved in one indiscriminate and appalling butchery, which continued through the day, and only subsided when the following occurrence rekindled the spark of humanity, which had become extinct in the breast of the unprincipled usurper.

"Thus thai slayand ware sá fast  
 All the day, qwhill at the last  
 This Kyng Edward saw in that tyde  
 A woman slayne, and of hyr syde

A barne he saw fall out, sprewland

Be-syd that woman slayne lyand.

'Lasses, Lasses,' than cryid he ;

'Leve off, leve off/ that word suld be."

*Wyntown, vol. II. p. 83.*

This catastrophe, from which Berwick never entirely recovered, took place on Good Friday, while the people were preparing for the celebration of that high festival a circumstance which sufficiently proves that the Scots were taken by surprise. Edward remained at Berwick from the 30th of March till the 27th April, during which time he received the formal renunciation of the allegiance of Baliol, who also published an edict ordering all English ecclesiastics holding benefices in Scotland to quit the country.

On the 27th April, regardless of the atrocities resulting from his guilty ambition, Edward left the shambles at Berwick, and proceeded northward on his desolating career, having previously despatched the Earl of Warren, with 10,000 chosen troops, to reduce the Castle of Dunbar. This fortress, from its strong position, was considered as one of the keys to the kingdom, and had belonged to the Earl of March, a disappointed candidate for the crown, who had now attached himself to the banner of England. His wife, however, possessing more patriotism than her husband, delivered it over, in his absence, to be garrisoned by the King of Scotland. Aware of its importance, Baliol led the army he had collected, amounting to upwards of 40,000 men, to its defense. In the mean time, Sir Richard Seward, the governor, had agreed to deliver it up to Warren in three days, if not relieved. On the third day, the army of Scotland appeared on the heights, and took up a strong position on Downhill, above Dunbar. Warren advanced to attack them; and from having a difficult line of road to traverse, his ranks became irregular. The Scots, from their elevated station, saw the momentary confusion, and foolishly imagined that the English were on the retreat. Under this impression, they abandoned their strong and well-chosen position, and rushed down on the enemy. The English received their disorderly charge with firmness, and repulsed them with slaughter. Broken, and dismayed at their unexpected reception, a great part of the Scots betook themselves to flight. Sir Patrick Graham, however, and a few chivalrous spirits, maintained the unequal contest; and, though mostly cut to pieces, yet the heroism and self-devotion they displayed, extorted the applause, and excited the regret, of their adversaries.

Though there be no direct evidence of the fact, yet there is reason to conjecture, that both Wallace and his brother were present at the battle of Dunbar. It has already been shown, from respectable authority, that Sir Malcolm outlived his father; and, in the work of the Minstrel, we have an account, though rather obscure, of the manner in which he met his death. He is represented as surrounded by a multitude of enemies, and bravely defending himself on his knees, with all the energy of despair, after he had been hamstrung, in order to prevent his escape. Being at last borne down by a mass of spearmen, he was unmercifully put to death. Though Henry does not mention when this took place, yet, from the previous comparative tranquillity which reigned in the country, the conflict of Dunbar appears most likely to have been the scene of so deadly a struggle; and the close intimacy which Wallace afterwards maintained with the family of Graham, may have originated in the circumstance of his brother and himself having been among the few who stood by their chief, Sir Patrick, on this disastrous occasion.

The banner of Sir Richard Siward (black, with a white cross flowered at the ends) still floated on the battlements of the Castle of Dunbar. To this place many of the Scottish barons fled for refuge. The protection they received, however, was of short duration. The fortress, according to agreement, was surrendered to Warren. On this Lord Hailes remarks: "Our historians impute this also to treachery; and they accuse the Governor, Richard Siward. But this charge is manifestly unjust. Siward had agreed to surrender the castle, if it was not relieved within three days; and it was not relieved". His Lordship is sometimes rash in bringing charges against the historians of his country. The treason of Siward did not consist in delivering the castle, according to agreement, but in making that agreement. There is enough in the fact of his consenting to surrender one of the strongest and most commanding fortresses in the country, in so short a time, to warrant the charge they have made against him. That the Scots nobles were ignorant of the terms, is evident from their flying to it, after the battle, as to a place of safety, which they would not have done, had they known that they were instantly to be delivered over in chains to the mercy of the enemy. Siward could have no certainty of his being succoured in three days, as the Scottish army, according to his Lordship's account, only came in sight "on the third day"; and if any accident had detained it, Dunbar must have been surrendered on the day following. Besides, if Lord Hailes had referred to Vol. II. p. 274, 275, of the Chronicle of Peter Langtoft, an Englishman, and a favourite authority of his own, he would have found not only the statement of Scottish authors confirmed, but a regular detailed account of the treason. That his Lordship, in the face of such evidence, should have charged the Scottish historians with doing what was "manifestly unjust", can only be imputed to that singular predilection towards whitewashing the negro, which his Lordship has displayed on so many occasions.

Ten thousand Scots were slain at this memorable battle, and a vast number were made prisoners, among whom were many of the principal nobility of the kingdom, who were sent to the South in chains, and distributed among the prisons of England and Wales. Baliol, after performing a most degrading feudal penance, and imploring the clemency of his conqueror, was sent prisoner, along with his son Edward, to the Tower of London, having previously resigned the kingdom and the people of Scotland into the hands of Edward. Thus terminated the brief and unfortunate reign of John Baliol, who had aspired to a sceptre he had neither the judgment nor the energy to wield. With a spirit subdued before the commanding genius of Edward, any efforts he made to regain the independence he had relinquished, were rather forced upon him, by the impatience of his people to the English yoke, than the result of any magnanimous resolution of his own. Though possessing qualities that might have graced the seclusion of private life, he was destitute of those talents which were required in the discharge of the duties of a sovereign.

Selected by Edward from the other competitors, more on account of the natural timidity of his character than the superior justice of his claim, it is impossible to look on the degradation that was inflicted on him, without feeling disgusted at the total want of generosity which marked the character of the English monarch. Listening to the interested advice of the Bishop of Durham, who counselled him to set aside the claim of Bruce, because the talents and spirit of the latter might be troublesome, he arrayed Baliol in the trappings of royalty; and, while he insulted the tame unresisting puppet he had created, he fancied himself trampling with impunity on the hitherto unsullied majesty of a free people.

The destruction of Berwick, and the discomfiture at Dunbar, laid Scotland prostrate at the feet of her invader, who marched triumphantly through the kingdom,

receiving the homage of the terrified chieftains, and placing garrisons in the deserted fortresses; while churchmen of all grades, earls, barons, knights, and esquires, hastened to avert his displeasure, by taking the oath of allegiance, and renouncing the French alliance.

On the 6th June , 1296, Edward besieged and took the Castle of Edinburgh, in which he found the regalia, consisting of the crown, sceptre, and cloth of gold. On the 14th, he was at Stirling and Linlithgow. On the 24th July, he encamped on the banks of the Spey. He was at Elgin on the 26th, where he remained two days. He was at Aberbrothick on the 5th August, and again at Stirling on the 14th, at Edinburgh on the 17th, and at Berwick on the 22d, having spent twenty-one weeks in his progress of subjugation. For the final settlement of his conquest, he appointed John, Earl of Warren, lieutenant or guardian of the kingdom; Hugh de Cressingham, an avaricious ecclesiastic, treasurer; William Ormsby, justiciary; Henry de Percy, keeper of the county of Galloway and sheriffdom of Ayr; while Robert de Clifford had charge of the eastern districts. The ancient Great Seal of Scotland, surrendered by Baliol at Brechin, was broken in pieces, and a new seal in place of it was presented to Walter de Agmondesham, as chancellor.

The conduct of these ministers was ill-calculated to secure the conquest which the policy and talents of their master had achieved. Haughty and rapacious themselves, they imposed little restraint on the licentious soldiery, who lorded it over the wretched inhabitants with the most intolerable brutality. While property of every description was held by the frail tenure of the will of the usurpers, outrages were committed on the domestic feelings of the oppressed, which the delicacy of modern writers has withdrawn from the page of history. Neither was this galling oppression confined to the common people; the cup of misery went round; and the noblest of the land partook of its unmingled bitterness. The unlimited exactions of Cressingham, and the little control he exercised over his underlings, soon banished commerce from the Scottish shores. Deprived, by his impolitic proceedings, of this lucrative branch of the national resources, with whetted appetite for plunder, he turned upon the wretched and already impoverished inhabitants, who looked in vain to their nobles for that protection afforded them in times past. Those chieftains who would have stepped forward in their defense, had either fallen beneath the axe of the executioner, or were languishing out the prime of their existence in the distant dungeons of the invader.

The fiendish policy that instigated the massacre of the Minstrels of Wales, lest their strains should animate their countrymen to revolt, had also suggested the idea of depriving the Scots of the monuments of their ancient glory. The nobility still remained tame spectators of this fresh outrage, and relaxed not in their supple assiduities to conciliate the favour of the tyrant. Thus abandoned by those who ought to have been her protectors, the distracted country, crushed and bleeding at every pore, lay convulsed within the coils of this human Boa. But that Providence which "ruleth in the kingdoms of men," had foreseen her calamity, and prepared a deliverer, with personal qualifications beyond the common lot of men, and a mind unendowed with every requisite for the mighty undertaking.

## V

## WALLACE A IN THE WOODS.

WALLACE, who had been stigmatized by the English as an outlaw and a robber, found it necessary, after the battle of Dunbar, to withdraw to his former mountainous retreat, from whence he would, no doubt, observe the gaudy pageant of the feudal power of England, as it traversed the devoted land in all the insolent security of conquest. And while the national distress deepened around, and every tale that reached him was fraught with tidings of the misery of his enslaved and degraded countrymen, the resources of the enemy, and the possibility of emancipating the beloved land of his nativity, formed the subject of his unceasing reflections. He had observed, that the reverses which the Scots had sustained in the field, arose more from a want of subordination and discipline among themselves, than from any superior valour on the part of their enemies. He was aware of, and deeply lamented, the jealousy and treachery which existed among the nobility, and their readiness to stoop in the most servile manner to the will of the Usurper, if they might thereby obtain even a temporary exaltation for their party; and he justly conceived, that by banding together a few resolute spirits, allied to no faction, but, like himself, attached to the general good, that more could be done toward the restoration of his country's independence, than by all the tumultuous hordes which the treacherous and disunited chieftains could bring together. Fully impressed with this conviction, his days and nights were passed in extending the number of his followers, and in organizing a system of warfare, which was soon destined to spread terror and dismay among the invaders. The élite of every district were instructed and disciplined in a manner peculiarly his own. With the simple, but well-known sounds of his buglehorn, he could regulate all their operations. At the appearance of danger, he could disperse them, to seek more secure retreats, or rally them around him, as circumstances might require. This mode of discipline, either by himself or his most trusty associates, he secretly extended over a great part of the Lowlands of Scotland; so that either amidst the fastnesses of Carrick, the deep recesses of Cartland, or on the shores of the Lomond, the rallying note of their country's liberator was followed by the prompt appearance of well-armed warriors at their respective places of muster.

The prowess which he had displayed in his encounters with the English -his almost miraculous escapes- and the prediction given out in the name of the Seer of Ercildowne, of his being destined to deliver Scotland from the tyranny of England, all conspired to excite the hopes, and gain him the confidence, of the less wealthy classes of his countrymen.

His tactics were admirably fitted for harassing the foes he had to contend with. The fortresses in their possession were surrounded by secret enemies, ever on the watch to discover and convey to their leader any information that might enable him to way-lay their convoys, or surprise them in their strongholds. It was in vain the warders kept watch on their lofty stations: distant as the eye could reach, no enemy appeared, no foreboding sound met their ear, to warrant them in disturbing the tranquillity of the revellers within. Far in the woodlands, the sound of a horn might be heard; but it passed

away unregarded, as proceeding from some lonely forester going his rounds. The drawbridge is let down to admit fuel or provisions for the garrison; -the loads are thrown in the entrance of the gate; -the porter knocked on the head, and the burden-bearers bristle into resolute or well-armed assailants; -the wine-cup is dashed from the hands of the astonished governor, who is only made sensible of his situation by the carnage that ensues; -the castle demolished, and the spoil divided among his followers, who are now allowed to return home. Wallace, meanwhile, attended perhaps by a few select worthies, pursues his way, to call forth the avenging swords of his adherents, in some more remote part of the kingdom.

Such were the fruits of that admirable system of warfare which Wallace was engaged in explaining and enforcing at the meetings of his nonjuring countrymen, during the winter of 1296, and which it has been thought proper to allude to at this stage of the history, in order that the reader may be able to comprehend the possibility of certain of those exploits which afterwards obtained for the heroic champion of the Scots, the applause and admiration of mankind.

The spring of 1297 had scarcely set in before the guerrilla-parties thus formed began to molest the invaders; and so persevering and successful were their attacks, that in a very short time, throughout the whole range of the forest of Clydesdale, Wallace and his followers held undisputed sway; and, emerging from parts least expected by the enemy, surprised and cut off their convoys. The English garrison which occupied Bothwell Castle made several attempts to drive them from their concealments in the woods, but all their efforts had ended in discomfiture and disgrace; while the prisoners left in the hands of the Scots were hung up at different parts, along the skirts of the forest, as a warning to all hostile intruders. These proceedings of the insurgents alarmed and perplexed the English, as it kept them in profound ignorance of the numbers they had to cope with. Left to their own conjectures, their heated imaginations peopled the impenetrable recesses of the woods with swarms of fierce and merciless enemies, headed by a chief against whose sword the strongest of their armour afforded but a feeble protection.

While the Scots were thus engaged, their leader received advice that a strong convoy was on its way from England for the supply of the garrison of Ayr, under the command of Fenwick, the person who headed the attack so fatal to Sir Malcolm Wallace. Roused by the hopes of avenging the death of his father, our hero determined to waylay the party. For this purpose he selected fifty of those on whose strength and courage he could place the greatest reliance; and thus attended, he set forward to occupy a position on the road the enemy had to pass. It was night when the little band of patriots reached the spot from whence they meant to make their attack; but hearing nothing of the advance of Fenwick, he ordered his men to take shelter for the night in a neighbouring wood. The morning was pretty far advanced, when two scouts, whom Wallace had sent forward at daybreak, returned with the intelligence that the enemy was at hand. Having arranged his men for the onset, his friend, John Blair, offered up prayers for their success, which were scarcely over before the English came in sight. Fenwick, on observing the small body of Scots that awaited his approach, felt perfectly assured of taking them, and the far-famed chieftain, whom he suspected to be their leader, prisoners with him to Ayr; and congratulated himself on the satisfaction which the capture of the bold outlaw would afford to his superiors. This pleasing reverie was, however, disturbed by a rapid movement of the Scots, who, charging with their long spears, threw his advance into confusion, and, following up their advantage with the most daring intrepidity, carried disorder to the very centre of his squadron; where,

undismayed by the superior numbers that surrounded them, Wallace and his brave companions fought with all the fury of exasperated lions. The repeated charges of the English were repulsed and returned with such increasing vigour and resolution as alarmed and confounded their commander. Wherever he turned his eyes, the sword of the Scottish chief seemed clearing a path toward him; helmet after helmet disappeared beneath his ponderous weapon; and the whole exertion of his mighty arm seemed directed towards the hated Fenwick. Conscious of the justice of that vengeance which inspired our hero with more than usual ferocity, the English chief would gladly have avoided a personal rencounter. His attempts to escape, however, were in vain, the brand of the vengeful Scot reached him at last; and the blow, though broke by the intervening sword of a trooper, fell with a sufficient force to strike him from the saddle. Falling on the opposite side of the horse, Wallace had not the satisfaction of giving the death-blow; this was an honour reserved for Robert Boyd, one of his most intimate companions. Although Fenwick was thus slain, yet the conflict continued with great obstinacy. The English, under one Bowmond, who was second in command, made great efforts to retrieve the advantages they had lost. The Scots, however, maintained their ground with inflexible resolution, while the sword of their chief was rapidly increasing the gaps in the ranks of their enemies. Adam Wallace, the promising heir of Riccardtoun, had the good fortune to come in contact with the leader of the English; and, after an obstinate engagement, the intrepid Bowmond fell beneath the hand of the youthful Scot. Deprived of their leaders, the English now fled in the utmost confusion, leaving one hundred of their companions on the field. The Scots pursued them only so far as to make their victory certain; and, returning to the spoil, found their labours amply rewarded. A numerous train of wagons, loaded with flour, wine, and all sorts of provisions, with warlike stores in abundance, and two hundred draught-horses, besides money and other valuables, fell into the hands of the victors, who, after dividing their booty, and appropriating part of it to the relief of the oppressed inhabitants in the neighbourhood, departed to secure the remainder in their inaccessible retreats among the then extensive forests of Clydesdale.

The result of this affair with Fenwick was not less encouraging to the Scots, than prejudicial to the English. The valuable convoy, which the latter had been thus deprived of, was a subject of serious regret to Percy; more particularly, as it appeared irretrievable his foraging parties having already exhausted the district under his control, and reduced the inhabitants to the most wretched expedients, in order to maintain their miserable existence. The fields remained in a great measure uncultivated; and those among the commons who were fortunate enough to possess a cow, endeavoured to conceal her as their only resource. The poor starveling was bled as often as nature would permit; and the blood, boiled to a consistency, formed almost the sole repast of the unhappy owners. Percy, already aware of the impoverished situation of the country, had husbanded the resources of the garrison, in order to make them hold out till the arrival of the expected supplies. Under these circumstances, his disappointment may be easily conceived, when the disordered remains of Fenwick's party arrived at Ayr without a leader, to give an account of their disaster, every man being at liberty to tell his own story; and, as might be expected, all of them agreed in exaggerating the number of the Scots, and the gigantic stature and strength of their chief. Percy, even from the most favourable view of the affair, could only see the embarrassing situation in which he was placed. The uncertainty of procuring supplies by land was but too evident; and to bring them by sea was equally precarious, as the Scottish ships were still numerous on the coast, and had not acknowledged the sovereignty of Edward, but in the unsettled state of the country, continued to capture all the English vessels that came in their tract.

In this battle, which was fought at a place called Beg, above Allanton, in the parish of Galston, few of any note among the Scots were slain. Of those present on the occasion, the following names have been handed down - Sir Andrew Murray, Sir William Douglas, Robert Boyd, Alexander Scrimgeor, Roger Kilpatrick, Alexander Auchinleck, Walter Newbigging, Stephen of Ireland, Hugh Dundas, John Kneland or Cleland, Ruthven, Sir David Barclay, Adam Curry, John Blair, and Thomas Gray. In justice, therefore, to these brave and early confederates of our hero, we shall appropriate the remaining part of this chapter, to such notices of them as our scanty materials may afford. The following account of the first of those worthies is taken from the Peerage and Baronage of Scotland.

Sir Andrew de Moravia, *dominus* de Bothwell, succeeded his brother Sir William Murray, in the Lordship of Bothwell. This Sir William was chamberlain to Alexander III, and a man of singular merit; but dying without issue in 1294, he was succeeded by his no less meritorious brother, who also filled the office of chamberlain under the short reign of Baliol. Sir Andrew married a daughter of Sir John Cumin, Lord of Badenoch, by whom he had two sons, Sir Andrew and Sir William, the former of whom was associated in the command of the Scottish army when led by Wallace to the invasion of England. He also was chamberlain to Bruce, and regent of the kingdom in the minority of David II. He married Lady Christian Bruce, sister of the immortal King Robert, by whom he had two sons, John and Robert. His brother William was the progenitor of the Murrays of Abercairnie. The present "Sir Andrew sat in parliament in 1290, and appears to have sworn fealty to Edward 1291. When Sir William Wallace raised the standard of national independence, and when the other powerful barons deserted the cause, he was the only person of consequence who adhered to Wallace".

Sir William Douglas, designated the Hardy, succeeded his brother Hugh. He was also known by the name of Long Leg, and reckoned to be a very handsome and powerful man, surpassing most of his countrymen in stature. He appears to have been present in the Parliament at Brigham in 1289, as his name is appended to the letter addressed by "the community of Scotland," to Edward I, as "Guillame de Duglas." He swore fealty to Edward in the Chapel of Thurston, 5th July 1291. His first wife was Elizabeth, a near connection of the Steward of Scotland, who died shortly after her marriage. His second was Eleanor, the widow of William de Ferrier. She being a ward of the English crown, had an assignation of the manors of Stubbings and Woodham Ferriers in Essex (part of her husband's lands), until she should have her dowry set forth; which being soon after assigned to her, she came to Scotland, there to obtain her right to such lands as her husband had possessed in that kingdom. But being at Tranent (the manor-house of Helen la Zusche), expecting the like assignation, Sir William de Duglas came and forcibly carried her off. As the lady had made oath before she left England, not to marry without the royal consent; to save appearances, and to preserve her property, a complaint was made of the aggression, and Edward sent his precept to the sheriff of Northumberland, to seize all the goods and chattels of the said William de Duglas which were in his bailiwick; but shortly after, in 1291, in consequence of a fine of 100£. to the King, his permission was obtained. In 1296, Sir William had the command of the Castle of Berwick, which he surrendered to the English, being allowed to march out with the honours of war, after taking an oath never to bear arms against England. Such oaths, however, in that age, it was reckoned more dishonourable to keep than to break. The following account of some of his exploits is from Hume of Godscroft's History of the House of Douglas:

"When he" (Sir William) heard that William Wallace was risen up, and had taken open banner against the English, he joined with him; by which accession of forces, Wallace's army was much increased and strengthened. Yet they were not always together; but, according to the occasion, and as opportunity did offer, they did divide their companies, and went to several places, where they hoped to get best advantage of the enemy, and where there needed no great army, but some few companies at once. In these adventures, Lord William recovered from the English the castles of Desdier and Sanquhair.

"The manner of his taking the castle of Sanquhair is said to have been thus: There was one Anderson that served the castle, and furnished them with wood and fuel, and had daily access to it upon that occasion. The Lord Douglas directs one of his trustiest and stoutest servants to deal with him, or to find some means to betray the castle to him, and to bring him within the gates only.

"Anderson, either persuaded by entreaty, or corrupted with money, gave my Lord's servant, called Thomas Dickson, his apparel and carriages, who, coming to the castle, was let in by the porter for Anderson. Dickson stabbed the porter, and gave the signal to his Lord, who lay near by with his companions, set open the gates, and received them into the court. They, being entered, killed the captain and the whole of the English garrison, and so remained masters of the place. The captain's name was Beauford, a kinsman of his own Lady Ferrars, who had oppressed the country that lay near him very insolently. One of the English that had been in the castle, escaping, went to the other garrisons that were in other castles and towns adjacent, and told them what had befallen his fellows, and withal informed them how the castle might be recovered. Whereupon, joining their forces together, they came and besieged it. Lord Douglas, finding himself straitened, and unprovided of necessaries for his defense, did secretly convey his man Dickson out at a postern, or some hidden passage, and sent him to William Wallace for aid. Wallace was then in Lennox, and, hearing of the danger Douglas was in, made all haste he could to come to his relief. The English, having notice of Wallace's approach, left the siege, and retired towards England; yet not so quickly but that Wallace, accompanied by Sir John Graham, did overtake them, and killed five hundred of their number before they could pass Dalswinton. By these, and such like means, Wallace, with his assistants, having beaten the English from most part of their strengths in Scotland, did commit the care and custody of the whole country, from Drumlanrig to Ayr, to the charge of the Lord Douglas. Now, however, there be no mention of these things in our chronology; yet, seeing the Book of Wallace (which is more particular in many things) speaks of them, and the charter of the house of Symington, descended lineally of the said Thomas Dickson, who, for this and his other like services done to the Lord, and afterward to his good son, Sir James, got the twenty merk land of Hesle-side, which his posterity doth still enjoy, holding of the Lords of Douglas and Angus; and there is no doubt to be made, but he hath done much more in his assistance he gave Wallace, than is recorded or extant anywhere; there being no likelihood that, in these so busy times, these two valiant and brave warriors did lie idle, although the particulars lie buried in deep silence". The above account is fully confirmed by the manuscript history of the House of Douglas, written by Thomas Chambers, who adds, that "Sir William, before the battle of Falkirk, was betrayed into the hands of the English, and conveyed to Berwick, and from thence to York, where he was kept close prisoner in the castle until his death, which took place in 1302, and was buried in a little chapel (now decayed) at the south end of the bridge". The banner of Douglas was "azure a chiffe sylvir"

Sir Robert Boyd, or Boyt.

This bold and hardy warrior was also one of those who swore fealty to Edward I, when he overran Scotland in 1296; but throwing off his disgraceful allegiance in 1297, he became ever after the inseparable companion of Wallace. His father, in consequence of the gallantry he displayed at the battle of Largs, obtained a grant of lands in Cunningham from Alexander III, and was the near neighbour of Sir Raynald Crawford of Crosby, the uncle of Wallace; the castles of the two families could communicate signals with each other.

Kneland, or Cleland, Edward Little and Thomas Haliday, all near relatives of Wallace, whose names are frequently mentioned with applause by the authors who write of this period.

Stephen of Ireland.

This brave and useful soldier, is sometimes called Stephen Ireland; but this is only by modern writers. Blind Harry, and other ancient authors, invariably designate him as of Ireland. It is highly probable that he was one of those self-expatriated Irish noblemen, whose love of liberty induced them to seek, in foreign countries, what they could no longer hope for at home. Whatever his birth may have been, he appears to have come to Scotland at an early period, perhaps in the reign of Alexander III, and seems, from his being occasionally employed as a guide in the expeditions of Wallace, to have had such a knowledge of the country, as could only be acquired by a long residence in it. Through all the variety of fortunes which attended Sir William Wallace, and amid the desertions of some of his opulent countrymen, Stephen of Ireland adhered to him with inflexible fidelity, and also induced others of his countrymen to come over to the assistance of the Scots.

John Blair and Thomas Gray.

The former of these worthy ecclesiastics has already been mentioned as the schoolfellow of our hero. After quitting Dundee, he went to finish his studies at Paris, where, under the most eminent masters of the day, his progress did not belie the early promise of his genius; and he returned to Scotland a confirmed patriot, and an accomplished scholar. The latter had the pastoral charge of Libertown, yet considered it no dereliction from his duties to attend and assist in the emancipation of his country. Of his literary talents we have reason to form the highest opinion, from the circumstance of John Blair admitting him into the honour of assisting in composing the history of their far-famed friend. This work, though it now goes all under the name of Blair, was then known to have been the joint composition of these worthies. Where Thomas Gray received his education, is a matter of uncertainty; but it is highly probable that he also finished his studies along with his friend at Paris, and returned with him to Scotland; as we hear nothing of him previous to the reencounter with Fenwick. It is not unlikely that, on this occasion, John Blair was installed in his office of chaplain; and that he got this preference from the circumstance of the other being already provided for, as they both appear, from their learning and patriotism, to have been equally deserving of the affection and confidence of their countrymen.

Alexander Scrimgeor.

This faithful patriot was the representative of an ancient and respectable family in the neighbourhood of Dundee; and as he most probably received his education along with Wallace, he would no doubt have been one of the association already alluded to. He enjoyed, in right of his ancestors, the honour of carrying the banner of Scotland; and for his faithful discharge of this duty, he was afterwards appointed by Wallace to the office of Constable of Dundee; which honour being hereditary, remained in the family till after the restoration of Charles II, when the representative of the family was created Earl of Dundee; on whose death, without immediate issue, the heirs were unjustly deprived of their honours and immunities. The family, however, continues to be represented by the Scrymgeours of Birkhill, now the Wedderburns of that Ilk.

Walter Newbigging, otherwise Gualter de Somerville.

This gentleman was of English extraction, and the son of William de Somerville, Baron of Linton, and Margaret Newbigging, heiress of that Ilk, the daughter of Walter Newbigging, which lands he inherited in right of his mother. This accounts for his being called Walter Newbigging, or of Newbigging. His father, William de Somerville, distinguished himself at the battle of Largs, and was a constant attendant at the court of Alexander III, with whom he was in high favour, and held the office of grand falconer, a place at that time of considerable importance. Walter, the subject of our present inquiries, received from his father a ten merk land within the barony of Linton, which enabled him to make an early appearance at court, where his good qualities and noble deportment attracted the notice of Alexander, from whose hand he received the honour of knighthood, and distinguished himself at the tournament held shortly after in honour of the marriage of Prince Alexander with the daughter of the Earl of Flanders, at Roxburgh Castle. While in attendance at court, he formed an acquaintance with Sir David Barclay of Towie, in Aberdeenshire, whose sister Effie, or Euphemia, he afterwards married in 1251; and at Aberdeen, the same year, he entered into a bond of man rent, or manred, as it was sometimes called, with his brother-in-law. These obligations were very common among the gentry of Scotland, and often productive of great disorder in the country. By this marriage he had a son named David, whom he devoted to the cause of his country's independence, when he himself joined the standard of Wallace. This youth we shall afterwards have occasion to notice. It may not be improper to remark, that Somerville, the author of "The Chase," was a scion from the English stock of this ancient and respectable family.

David de Barclay.

Abercromby mentions a Sir Fergus Barclay, as being one of the early adherents of Wallace; but there is reason to believe he is partly in error. Sir David Barclay, as we have already seen; was brother-in-law to Sir Walter Newbigging, with whom he had entered into a bond of man rent, by which they were mutually bound to appear in arms in support of the same cause, provided it was not against the royal prerogative. When we find both the surnames associated together on this occasion, we may reasonably suppose they are the same persons who contracted the obligation, and had thought the present a very proper opportunity for acting upon it.

“Hugh de Dundas was the son of Serle de Dundas, who swore fealty to Edward I in 1296 and in 1300. His son, Sir Hugh, was a man of singular merit and fortitude, and

joined the brave Sir William Wallace in defense of the liberties of Scotland, and embraced every opportunity to exert his courage against the enemies of his country. He died in the reign of King Robert Bruce, and was succeeded by his son" - Douglas's Scottish Baronage.

After the foregoing brief notices of the early companions of Wallace, the curious reader may not be displeased, if, before concluding this chapter, we present some account of the dress and armour in which our hero appeared at the battle of Beg. The following description is from *The Minstrel*, and is given with a minuteness which induces a belief that it is a literal translation from the work of Blair, so often mentioned; it is at least of value, not only from its containing the ideas entertained on the subject by a man of no mean genius, upwards of three hundred years ago, but as it also agrees with the description elsewhere handed down, of the kind of armour in use at the period:

" habergione vndyr his goune he war,  
A steyll capleyne in his bonet but mar;  
His glowis of plait in claith war couerit weill,  
In his doublet a closs coler of steyle;  
His face he keptit, for it was euir bar,  
With his twa handis, the quhilk full worthi war."

*Buke Thryd, p. 31.*

The "habergione" was a piece of defensive armour early in use among the Scots, and even worn by some Highlanders and Isle-men so late as the seventeenth century. It was a sort of chain or ringed mail, extremely light and flexible, allowing the greatest freedom to the motions of the wearer, and was equally well adapted for combat on foot or on horseback. It was variously constructed according to the prevailing taste. The most approved were those brought from Asia by the crusaders, in the early part of the reign of Alexander III. They consisted of four rings joined to a fifth, and all riveted; they were sometimes double. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, this description seems to have been in general use, both in England and Scotland. They had the form of shirts, and were quite impervious to an arrow.

The "goune" which the Minstrel alludes to, as covering the "habergione" we conceive to mean the surcoat, or coat of arms, a fashion introduced into Britain in the thirteenth century. It is thus described by Dr. Meyrick: "The sui-coat, which had been adopted by the crusaders in the thirteenth century, to prevent their armour from being heated by the sun's rays, a mode still continued by the Mamelukes in Egypt, was at first of merely variegated patterns, but soon became embellished with the same armorial bearings as the shield; hence, the expression, coat of arms. It was a long loose dress, without sleeves, open before and behind, for the convenience of riding, and girted round the waist by the *cingulum militare*, or belt. It was put on over the hauberk, and reached to the neck; and when the hood was placed on the head, it was covered by it as far as the shoulders. The front and back were emblazoned alike."

This piece of dress appears to have been the same as the tabard. It is thus taken notice of by Thomas Hearne: "Tabard, a jacket, jerket, mandilion, or sleeveless coat, worn in times past by noblemen in the wars; but now only by heralds, and is called their

coat-of-arms in service." Verstegan tells us, in his *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*: "That tabert was anciently a short gown, that reached no further than the mid-leg, that it remaineth for the name of a town in Germanie and in the Netherlands, and that in England it is now the name only of a herald's coat". But what Stowe tells us, in his *Survey of London*, is more remarkable, where, talking of several fair inns in Southwark, he takes occasion to speak of the Tabard Inn as the most ancient of them, and thereupon writes thus:

"Amongst the which innes, the most ancient is the Tabard, so called of the signe, which, as we now term it, is of a jacket, or sleeveless coate, whole before, open on both sides, with a square collar; winged at the shoulders: a stately garment, of old time commonly worne of noblemen and others, both at home and abroad in the wars; but then (to wit, in the warres) their armes embroidered, or otherwise depict upon them, that every man by his coate of armes might bee knowne from others: but now these tabards are onely worne by the heralds, and bee called their coates-of-arms in service". Allusion is also made, by Wyntown, to the tabard of John Baliol, who, on being stripped of the ensigns of royalty by his magnanimous conqueror, the "pelure" or fur, was also torn from his tabard. The passage is curious:

"This Jhon the Balliol on purpos  
 He tuk, and browcht hym til Mwnros;  
 And in the castell of that Town,  
 That than wes famows in renown,  
 This Jhon the Ballyol dyspoylyd he  
 Of all hys Robys of Ryaltè.  
 The Pelure thai tuk off hys Tabart,  
 (Twnie Tabart he wes callyt eftywart.)"

*Wyntown, vol. II. p. 88.*

The "steylle capleyne", it is very likely, may have been taken from the "chapelle de fer," or "iron hat", which, the same writer says, had a rim and convex crown, and was worn over the capuchon or hood. "After being placed on the head, it was kept from turning round, when struck, by cords, with which it was fastened to the shoulders. The effigy of Sir Roger de Trompington not only gives its form, but shows that it was sometimes held to the body by means of a chain. It was ornamented in front with a cross fleury, the transverse bar of which was pierced with ocularia, or openings for the sight". That worn by Wallace, however, does not appear to have had this advantage, for

"His face he kepit, for it was euir bar,  
 With his twa handis."

The limbs were usually defended at this time, by being encased in boiled leather, on which knee plates of iron, and guards for the shin-bones, were fixed; these, with a

round or triangular shield, painted with the armorial bearings of the wearer, formed the defensive armour of the period.

Wallace's favourite weapon appears to have been along and ponderous two-handed sword, which his prodigious strength enabled him to wield with the greatest ease. The mace and spear were also at times used by him; and for close reencounters in castles, peels, and other confined situations, he was furnished with a dagger for each hand, of a particular kind, having guards, which extended above the wrist, between which the hand passed; and grasping a transverse bar about an inch from the spring of the dagger, the weapon projected from the centre of the first, like the horn of an unicorn. This sort of dagger was often attached, by a kind of hinge, to the arm-plate, and could be folded back under the arm between the wrist and the elbow when not in use, and secured and concealed in that position by the cloth gloves, which our hero appears to have worn over his "glowis of plate."

Having said thus much of the dress and equipment of Wallace, the following anecdote respecting his strength and personal appearance, may not be unacceptable to the reader; it is translated from Hector Boëce by the learned editor of Morrison's edition of *Blind Harry*, who thus introduces it. "Though this author (Boëce) in general is not much to be credited, yet it would be hard not to believe him in an instance which happened near his own time, and in which, if he had spoken falsely, he could immediately have been detected. The anecdote in another respect is curious, as it affords an example of longevity, not unsimilar to that of the Irish Countess of Desmond, who attained a still more advanced age.

"The date is the year 1430. At that time, James I was in Perth; and perhaps having heard Henry the Minstrel recite some of Wallace's exploits, found his curiosity excited to visit a noble lady of great age, who was able to inform him of many ancient matters. She lived in the castle of Kinnoul, on the opposite side of the river, and was probably a widow of one of the Lords of Erskine, a branch of whose family continued to be denominated from the barony of Kinnoul, till about the year 1440. It was Boëce's manner to relate an event as circumstantially as if he had been one of the parties, and engaged in it; I shall therefore give the anecdote in his own manner, by translating his words:

"In consequence of her extreme old age, she had lost her sight, but all her other senses were entire; and her body was yet firm and lively; she had seen William Wallace and Robert Bruce, and frequently told particulars concerning them. The King, who entertained a love and veneration of greatness, resolved to visit the old lady, that he might hear her describe the manners and strength of the two heroes, who were admired in his time, as they now are in ours. He therefore sent a message, acquainting her that he was to come to her next day. She received the message gratefully, and gave immediate orders to her handmaids to prepare every thing for his reception in the best manner, particularly that they should display her pieces of tapestry, some of which were uncommonly rich and beautiful. All her servants became busily employed, for their work was in some degree unusual, as she had not for a long time been accustomed to receive princely visitors. The next day, when told the King was approaching, she went down into the hall of her castle, dressed with as much elegance and finery as her old age and the fashion of the time would permit; attended by a train of matrons, many of whom were her own descendants, of which number some appeared more altered and disfigured by age than she herself was. One of her matrons having informed her that the king was entering the hall, she arose from her seat, and advanced to meet him so easily and gracefully, that he doubted of her being wholly blind. At his desire she embraced and

kissed him. Her attendant assured him that she was wholly blind; but that, from long custom, she had acquired these easy movements. He took her by the hand and sat down, desiring her to sit on the same seat next to him. And then, in a long conference, he interrogated her respecting ancient matters. He was much delighted with her conversation. Among other things, he asked her to tell him what sort of a man William Wallace was? what was his personal figure? what his courage? and with what degree of strength he was endowed? He put the same questions to her concerning Bruce. Robert, she said, was a man beautiful, and of a fine appearance. His strength was so great, that he could easily have overcome any mortal man of his time: but in so far as he excelled other men, he was excelled by Wallace, both in stature and in bodily strength; for, in wrestling, Wallace could have overcome two such men as Robert was.

"The King made some inquiries concerning his own immediate parents, and his other ancestors; and having heard her relate many things, returned to Perth, well pleased with the visit he had made."

## VI

## WALLACE RETIRES TO LENNOX

THE Scottish insurgents, being now abundantly supplied with all the munitions of war, and animated by their success to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, became impatient to prosecute hostilities against their oppressors; and their leader, who was not of a character to allow the swords of brave men to rust in their scabbards, soon found them an opportunity to gratify their wishes.

At Gargunnoch, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, the English had erected a small fortification or peel, which they had plentifully furnished with provisions. Some of the Scots in that quarter, who secretly adhered to Wallace, observed the carelessness which at times prevailed in setting the watch, and that the drawbridge was occasionally left down all night, for the purpose of admitting, in the morning, the labourers who were still employed about it, conveyed the intelligence to their chief, who resolved to make himself master of the place the following night. Accordingly, two spies were despatched to ascertain the probability of success. Towards evening a column of smoke was seen rising from a neighbouring hill: it was the signal agreed upon, if the party were to advance. Wallace instantly set his men in motion, and about midnight arrived in front of the place which was the object of attack. As they expected, the drawbridge was down, but they found the door strongly secured within. Impatient at the delay this occasioned, our hero raised a heavy piece of timber, and, rushing with it against the door, the fastenings gave way with a violence that loosened the stones, not yet properly cemented, and nearly a yard of the wall came tumbling to the ground. The porter, awakened by the noise, attempted to strike him with a ponderous mace. Wallace avoided the blow; and, before he could recover his unwieldy weapon, laid him lifeless at his feet. Thornton, the captain of the garrison, now appeared, with the men under his command; but the Scots had got too firm footing within the fort, to be easily expelled. After a sanguinary conflict, in which the captain fell by the hand of Wallace, the garrison were put to the sword, with the exception of the women and children, who received from the victors as much courtesy as the rudeness of the age entitled them to expect. The wife and three children of Thornton, after being supplied with what necessaries they required, were allowed to depart along with the other females, and furnished with a pass from Wallace, by which they could proceed in safety to any of the towns in the possession of the English. The Scots found in the peel of Gargunnoch abundance of all kinds of necessaries, with a large sum of money, which Wallace divided equally among his followers; and, after distributing what part of the stores they did not require among his oppressed countrymen in the neighbourhood, he demolished the fortification, and proceeded with his companions on their crusade against the enemies of their independence.

Though Wallace was thus actively engaged in harassing the enemies of the country, the calamities and acts of oppression with which particular families or individuals were visited, neither escaped his attention, nor failed to call forth that interference which their circumstances demanded; and, amid the many cases of private suffering which came under his notice, none appeared to affect him more deeply than the desolation which had overtaken a respectable and ancient family in the neighbourhood of Lanark. Hew de Bradfute, a zealous advocate for the liberties of Scotland, possessed the lands of Lamington, and left them at his death to his son, who

had imbibed, with all the ardour of youth, that love of liberty so fondly cherished by his father. For some display of these patriotic feelings, he had incurred the displeasure of Hasilrig, or Hasliope, the English governor of Lanark, who found a pretext for attacking him in his castle, and put him, along with a number of his friends, to the sword. The house and lands of Lamington now became the right of a surviving sister. The youth and beauty of this young gentlewoman attracted the notice of the murderer of her friends; and, under the pretence of a regard for her safety, obliged her to take up her residence in Lanark. For this protection, considerable sums were, from time to time, levied upon her property. The cupidity of Hasilrig, not satisfied with these exactions, intended her as a match either for himself or his son; and the helpless girl had no means of averting this hateful connection, but by pleading for delay, till her grief for her slaughtered kindred had abated. Every indulgence of this kind was accompanied by a fresh exaction on her property, till the victim of his avarice became an object of commiseration even to those who were themselves suffering under the hand of the oppressor. Henry draws a most fascinating picture of this lovely orphan; and we have no reason to doubt the assemblage of virtues and graces in which he has arrayed her person and character, particularly as he is borne out in what he says by the Prior of St. Serf's, and other respectable authorities.

While attending her religious duties at a church near Lanark, Wallace first saw this interesting female. The beauty of her person, the grace and propriety of her demeanour, added to her forlorn situation, excited the tenderest sensations in the bosom of our hero. A circumstance, however, which occurred about this juncture, served to divide his attention with the fair object of his solicitude.

For the purpose of levying fresh assessments on certain districts of the country, an extraordinary council of the English authorities was appointed to meet with the Bishop of Durham at Glasgow, which see had been now occupied by this ambitious ecclesiastic. Sir Raynald Crawford, the uncle of our hero, though long since deprived of his commission, was summoned to attend as sheriff of Ayr in right of his birth. Whether this was an indirect attempt to conciliate Wallace, or if it was merely done on the supposition that the Scots would submit to their imposts with more patience if some of their countrymen appeared as the assessors, cannot now be distinctly ascertained. The sheriff, however, prepared to obey the mandate; while his nephew, always suspicious of the intentions of the English, resolved, along with two of his followers, to watch over the safety of his relative, and observe the motions of the enemy. In those times the accommodations for travellers were far from complete. With the exception of convents, such houses of entertainment as might be found on the roads, afforded them little more than shelter from the inclemency of the weather; and travellers who came to spend the night, were expected to bring their food and other necessaries along with them, particularly those who journeyed with retinues. Under such circumstances, Sir Raynald's party were provided with a sumpter-horse to carry their provisions.

They had not proceeded far, before they came up with the servants of Percy, conducting his baggage. One of their horses having met with an accident, they stopped the sheriff's party, and insisted on having their sumpter-horse, in order to supply the place of the one that had become disabled. It was in vain to remonstrate with those who had the power, and were determined to do an act of injustice. Wallace, from a distance, saw the load rudely thrown from the back of the horse, and the animal carried off. The sheriff, in consequence, had to remain at Mearns for the night.

The convoy that protected the baggage of Percy consisted of five of his personal retainers, and had reached the vicinity of the little township of Cathcart, when they

heard the noise of our hero's steed behind them, followed by his companions; but as there appeared to be only three to five, the English determined to stand on their defense. The contest, however, was soon decided; and the English, from the loopholes of the neighbouring castle of Cathcart, saw their countrymen slaughtered, and the baggage under their protection rifled or carried off, without venturing to quit their stronghold. Money and other valuables, to a considerable amount, fell into the hands of the victors, who lost no time in making their way towards Glasgow, in order to cross the Clyde at that place, and thus effect their retreat into the Lennox before Percy could be apprised of his loss.

Having effected their object, they sheltered themselves for the night in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton, and on the morrow proceeded towards the wilds of the Lomond. Here Wallace was joyfully received by Malcolm Earl of Lennox, who, with a number of his trusty tenantry, maintained, amid the fastnesses of that romantic district, a protracted, and sometimes a successful struggle, for their independence. This nobleman offered to place his followers under the command of Sir William, provided he would remain among them for the defence of the Lennox. His mind, however, was too deeply impressed with a desire for the general good of his country, to allow him to think of confining his exertions within the limits proposed. On explaining his plan of warfare to this worthy chieftain, he found no difficulty in gaining him over to his views, and inducing him to cooperate in extending the spirit of insurrection, as well as to create a more powerful diversion in favour of those who were already embarked in the cause. With this understanding, Wallace took his departure, accompanied by a number of his companions, who had resorted to him on discovering the place of his retreat.

The mortification of Percy, on receiving the accounts of the capture of his baggage, was considerably increased by the subsequent proceedings of Wallace and his partisans. An express had just reached Glasgow, announcing the fate of the garrison of Gargunnoch when another made his appearance, giving an account of the slaughter of a party of English in the neighbourhood of Doune. Sir Raynald Crawford, who had been put under an arrest on suspicion of being concerned in the affair at Cathcart, was now ordered before the council, and, though he had been able to establish an alibi with regard to the offence charged against him, yet, after being strictly interrogated as to his knowledge of his nephew's places of concealment, he was forced to take an oath against affording him shelter, or holding any correspondence with him, directly or indirectly, so long as he remained under the ban of outlawry; he was also sworn to afford the English all the information in his power, in order that means might be taken for bringing him to punishment.

While Percy and his coadjutor were thus employed at Glasgow, Wallace and his followers were concerting measures, in the depths of Methven Wood, for an attack on a body of English troops which were to leave St. Johnstone on the day following; in order to proceed to Kincleven Castle, headed by an old veteran knight named Butler, who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the Scots by the cruelties which he had inflicted upon them. Intelligence of this intended movement was communicated to Wallace, who, having disguised himself in the dress of a borderer, got introduced into St. Johnstone under the name of William Malcolmson. The mayor, before whom he had to appear, was so well pleased with his humorous conversation, and the account which he gave of himself, that he allowed him to go in search of the employment he pretended to have come in quest of. By this means he had all the facilities he could desire for becoming acquainted with the strength and condition of the garrison. Having ascertained the intended removal of the troops alluded to, he hastened back to his retreat

in the woods, where, sounding his horn, he rallied his associates around him, and found them all willing to engage in the enterprise.

Sir James Butler, who was esteemed one of the bravest old warriors among the English, had on this occasion about a hundred choice soldiers under his command. With this force he was quietly proceeding, amid the thick haze of the morning, to reinforce the garrison of Kincleven, when, from behind a rock that projected over the road, he was suddenly assailed by the Scots. The confusion occasioned by their unexpected attack, disconcerted the English commander, and before he could recover his troops from their consternation, a fresh charge threw them into complete disorder. The strength and valour of the undaunted champion of the Scots rendered the advantage which their enemies possessed, in point of numbers, of little avail. It must, however, be allowed, that the disparity in this instance was not so great as in some previous rencounters: Wallace, according to some accounts, having near sixty hardy warriors under his command, most part of whom had distinguished themselves on former occasions. Kerle or Kerle, to whom he had presented the mace or staff of steel, taken from the porter at the Peel of Gargunnock, displayed on this occasion the most determined bravery; his formidable weapon being wielded with a dexterity which admirably seconded the efforts of our hero. Sixteen of the English had fallen beneath the swords of the Scots; but when Wallace came in contact with Sir James Butler, the conflict was of short duration. The old veteran was no match for the young patriot; and on seeing their chief fall beneath the arm of his adversary, the rout of the English became general. The disordered rabble fled in terror towards Kincleven, from the battlements of which their discomfiture had been observed; and those within hastened to let down the drawbridge to receive and shelter their flying countrymen. Onwards came the confused mass of friends and foes, the shouts of the victors mingled with the cries of the vanquished, and thundering over the drawbridge, the pursued and their pursuers entered the castle together. The few soldiers that were in the place could render them but little assistance in making head against their enemies; and the whole, with the exception of two priests, and some women and children, were indiscriminately put to the sword.

Having cleared the place of the dead bodies of the English, and taken precautions against a surprise during the time they might remain, they proceeded to search the castle, in which was found a rich booty in money, besides a plentiful stock of provisions and other stores. A part of this valuable pillage they conveyed by night to Shortwood Forest, where they prepared pits and other places for its concealment, there to remain as a resource against future emergencies.

The nonjurors under Wallace were not as yet sufficiently numerous to enable him to put garrisons in those fortresses which fell into his hands. It was therefore wisely determined to demolish every place of strength that was likely to afford their enemies a footing in the country. Hardy themselves, and inured to the inclemency of the weather, they cared little for those comforts which were indispensable to their more luxurious neighbours. In summer, the forest spread its leafy canopy over their slumbers; and, in winter, their robust and sinewy frames felt little inconvenience, though exposed, in their dens and caverns, to all the rigor of the merciless elements. Such men heard with indifference, and executed with alacrity, the command which their leader gave for the destruction of Kincleven Castle. After securing that part of the iron work which might be useful in their sylvan retreats, the remaining furniture and lumber were formed into piles; and, at the dead hour of night, the conflagration rose in volumes to the sky. From the lateness of the hour, and the secluded situation of the castle, its fate remained unknown until the morning, when the smoke, which continued to ascend from the ruins,

led the country people to the knowledge of the desolating vengeance which had overtaken their oppressors. The females, who had been allowed to depart before the work of destruction commenced, carried to St. Johnstone the melancholy account of their disaster.

The grief and indignation which were felt among the English at St. Johnstone, on hearing the doleful recital of the slaughter of their countrymen, induced Sir Gerald Heron, the governor, to allow Sir John Butler, son of the aforementioned Sir James, to follow the Scots with all the force of the garrison, to revenge the death of his father. In this undertaking he was joined by Sir William de Lorayne, an officer of reputation, and a great favourite with the soldiery.

Although the force under these leaders amounted to nearly a thousand men, from the admirable management of the Scottish chief, they were kept in a great measure ignorant of their own vast superiority. In the forest of Shortwood, a part of which they endeavoured to invest, their provident enemy had erected a number of rustic fortifications, in the form of squares, communicating with each other, the walls of which were made, by affixing two rows of planks to the trees, and filling up the space between with thorns. Each of these squares had a small opening towards the enemy, and another at the opposite side, for the purpose of retreat; while the advance towards them was intersected by defenses, formed in a similar manner, in order to break, and otherwise prevent the approach of too great a body of the enemy. By this means, when the Scots found themselves obliged to retire for shelter to these entrenchments, they could only be pursued in broken and straggling detachments. These defenses were not fully completed when the English came in sight; and Wallace, therefore, in order to gain time, appeared at a distant and almost detached part of the wood with a few of his followers, leaving the rest under the command of Stephen of Ireland, to complete the works. On the approach of the English, an arrow from the powerful and unerring hand of our hero, brought down one of their advanced-guard. This had the effect of attracting their attention towards that part of the wood where he had stationed his little party, who also sent their arrows among the English, though not with such good effect as their chief, who continued to bring down his man as they advanced. The enemy, having observed the opening at which Wallace made his appearance to discharge his deadly shafts, sent forward one of the most expert of their Lancashire bowmen to lie in wait for him, while the rest directed their missiles at random toward those parts where they conceived his men to be stationed. It was not long before the eagerness of Wallace betrayed him to the practiced hand of his watchful adversary, whose well-directed shaft, after grazing the collar of steel which he usually wore, stuck fast in the fleshy part of his neck. His keen eye, however, soon discovered his lurking foe; and, hurrying towards him, intercepted his retreat, and slew him in front of his companions, who were so struck with the boldness of the deed, that not one of them attempted to oppose his return to his associates. Although the Scots were generally thought inferior to the English in the use of the bow, on the present occasion, having the covering of the wood to shelter them from the superior number and direct view of their adversaries, they managed, by shifting their ground as their enemies advanced, to keep up a kind of bush-fight till after noon; during which time fifteen of the English had been slain by the hand of Wallace, besides a considerable number by his companions. Their arrows being all expended, and having arrived at a part of the forest, where a high cliff prevented their further retreat, Sir William de Lorayne advanced upon them with nearly three hundred men, while Sir Gerald Heron and young Butler remained without the forest, in order to prevent the escape of any of the fugitives. Wallace had just time to make a short animating address

to his companions; and placing them so as to have the advantage of the cliff as a protection to their rear, they stood prepared for the onslaught. The English were astonished to find themselves opposed to so small a number of Scots as now appeared waiting their attack, and conceived they would have little else to do than to surround the party and take them prisoners. The determined valour, however, with which they received and repulsed their repeated charges, convinced them that the toils of the day were not yet over. Wallace, who was always a tower of strength to his friends in the hour of danger, displayed, on this occasion, more than his usual heroism. While the strength which nerved his resistless arm excited the greatest enthusiasm among his followers, and spread horror and dismay through the ranks of their enemies, Sir William de Lorayne still urged his men on to the conflict, and they as quickly receded, when they found themselves opposed to that champion of whose strength and exploits they had heard so many appalling accounts. The battle, however, still continued to rage with unabated fury on both sides; the English, eager to revenge the slaughter of their countrymen, and the Scots, frantic with the wrongs they had already sustained, determined to conquer or die on the spot. At this time their dauntless chief burst like a thunderbolt amidst the thickest of the English; and, having scattered them before him, ascended a little hillock behind which they had retreated, and applying his bugle horn to his mouth, made the woodlands resound with a bold and animating war-note. The English leader, conceiving that this was done in derision, rallied his forces, and again advanced to the attack. Wallace and his few hardy veterans were soon environed by their enraged assailants, and the battle commenced anew with all the rancor of their former animosities. Though the Scots fought with the most inflexible obstinacy, yet some of them, from the severity of their wounds, appeared unable to continue much longer the unequal contest; but at this critical juncture, Stephen of Ireland, and his party, in obedience to the signal sounded by their chief, suddenly emerged from the brushwood, and fell upon the rear of the enemy with determined ferocity. Surprised and dismayed at so unexpected an attack, the English fled in the greatest confusion, followed by the victors, who continued the pursuit, making dreadful carnage among them, till they reached the boundary of the forest. Here the terrified fugitives were met by Sir John Butler, at the head of five hundred men. This accession of force obliged the Scots, in their turn, to retreat to their defenses the first of which was carried by the enemy, but at the expense of a considerable number of the bravest of their warriors. The English had now the mortification to find that their opponents had only retired to a second enclosure, from which Wallace, supported by Cleland, Boyd, and a few of the most resolute of his companions, made a sortie, in which, after killing a considerable number, Wallace came in contact with the knight of Lorayne, and at one blow clove him to the chin. His terrified followers shrunk aghast from the ponderous weapon of their gigantic adversary; but urged on by Butler, to revenge the death of their leader, they again crowded round the little band of heroes. Again they were dispersed; and Butler, who had been foremost in the attack, came within reach of the sword of the Scottish champion, which descended with a force that would have cut him to the ground, had not the intervening branch of a tree saved him from the blow, and his men, rushing forward to his assistance, carried him off" before it could be repeated. According to some accounts, Butler is said to have been first wounded, and that Sir William de Lorayne was slain in attempting to rescue him from his perilous situation. Whatever may have been the case, the English were so discouraged by the loss of one leader, and the disabling of the other, that they hastily fell back upon the troops left at the entrance of the forest under Sir Gerald Heron. Here a council of war was held, wherein it was proposed to make a simultaneous attack on the defenses of the Scots. During the

discussion, however, which ensued on the manner of carrying the proposal into effect, Wallace and his companions escaped by the opposite side of the forest, and retreated to Cargyle wood, a situation which afforded them more natural advantages in securing themselves from their numerous assailants.

The English, on the retreat of the Scots, now commenced a strict search after the booty taken from Kincleven Castle. Nothing, however, could be discovered, save the favourite steed of old Butler, which had been left behind in one of the enclosures. On this his wounded son was placed, and the whole cavalcade returned fatigued and dispirited to St. Johnstone, leaving one hundred and twenty of their companions dead behind them. Of the Scots, seven were killed, and the rest more or less injured.

From an elevated situation, Wallace had observed the English as they retired to St. Johnstone; and, though still smarting from the wounds he had received, returned at midnight to the scene of action with a number of his companions and dug up the most valuable part of the concealed plunder, which they conveyed to their new retreat, along with whatever arms or other booty the light of the moon enabled them to strip from the dead bodies that lay scattered around them.

A few days after the above reencounter, Wallace is said to have returned to St. Johnstone in the disguise of a priest; and a story is told of his having been betrayed by a female, with whom he had become acquainted during his former visit to that place. Repenting, however, of the information she had given his enemies, she disclosed the danger that awaited him just in time to effect his escape. His foes, enraged at the disappointment, again set off in pursuit of him, taking along with them a slough-hound to assist them in discovering his retreats. A sanguinary battle was again fought, in which Wallace lost nine of his remaining followers, and the English leader about one hundred.

In this retreat of the Scots, their chief is also said to have slain one of his followers, named Fawdon, an Irishman, whom he suspected of treachery. Of this man, Blind Harry gives the following unprepossessing description:

"To Wallace thar come ane that hecht Fawdoun ;  
Melancoly he was of complexioun,  
Hewy of statur, dour in his countenance,  
Soroufull, sadde, ay dreidfull but plesance."

The circumstances of his death, are thus narrated by the same author, who justifies the deed on the plea of necessity:

"To the next woode twa myil thai had to gang,  
Off vpwith erde ; thai yeid with all thair mycht ;  
Gud hope thai had for it was ner the nycht,  
Fawdoun tyryt, and said, he mycht nocht gang.  
Wallace was wa to leyff him in that thrang.  
He bade him ga, and said the strenth was ner ;

But he tharfor wald nocht fastir him ster.  
 Wallace in ire on the crag cam him ta  
 With his gud suerd, and strak the hed him fra.  
 Dreidless to ground derfly he duschit dede,  
 Fra him he lap, and left him in that stede.  
 Sum demys it to ill, and othyr sum to gud ;  
 And I say her, into thir termys rude,  
 Bettir it was he did, as thinkis me.  
 Fyrst, to the hunde it mycht gret stoppyn be.  
 Als Fawdoun was haldyn at [gret] suspicioun ;  
 For he was haldyn of brokill complexioun.  
 Rycht stark he was, and had bot litill gayne,  
 Thus Wallace wist : had he beyne left allayne.  
 And he war fals, to enemyss he wald ga ;  
 Gyff he war trew, the Sothroun wald him sla.  
 Mycht he do ocht bot tyne him as it was? "

On the first view of the case, there appears a degree of barbarity in the conduct of Wallace, which is quite at variance with that affection and tenderness which he had uniformly displayed towards his adherents; and we cannot help condemning the sternness of that policy which could thus deprive a follower of his life, because worn out with toil, and disabled by wounds, he could no longer keep up with his companions. But, on reflection, we find the lives of Wallace, and of the few that remained of the party, placed in jeopardy by one, who, from his reluctance to make a little farther exertion, when assured that a place of safety was at hand, gave good grounds to suspect that he had become unsound at the core. We may also remark, that being acquainted with the spot where the plunder taken from the English was concealed, Wallace had an additional reason to suspect Fawdon's motives for wishing to be left behind; and it may be urged in support of the justice of this suspicion, that his countryman Stephen, who introduced him to the little band of patriots, remained the firm and confidential friend of Wallace through all his difficulties. This he certainly would not have done, had Wallace, on slight grounds, inflicted death on one who was not only his friend and countryman, but in some degree under his protection. So far, indeed, was Stephen from feeling dissatisfaction at the conduct of Wallace, that he and Kerle lingered behind, and, favoured by the shades of night, which had now set in, mingled with the enemy; and while their general, Sir Gerald Heron, was in the act of stooping to examine the body of Fawdon, whose blood had arrested the progress of the slough-hound, Kerle watched the opportunity and gave him a mortal stab in the throat with his dagger. The cry of "Treason!" arose among the English; but, in the confusion, the two confederates slipped down unobserved among the underwood that surrounded them, and made the best of their way towards Loch Earne, the well-wooded banks of which afforded them every chance of security. In the interval, Wallace, and thirteen of his followers, all that were now left him, made good their retreat to the deserted Castle of Gask situated in the

middle of a wood. This place possessed few advantages that could recommend it as a desirable retreat; but, to men in their desperate situation, the prospect of shelter from the swords of their pursuers was a considerable relief, and though it appeared in a sad state, of dilapidation, a number of the apartments were entire; and the courtyard was surrounded by a wall of great thickness, which, broken as it might be in some parts, would nevertheless enable them to make a tolerable defense. With this expectation, therefore, they determined to secure themselves for the night, and trust to their good swords for a path through their enemies in the morning.

## VII WALLACE IN GASK CASTLE

AFTER the confusion produced by the death of the English leader had subsided, a party of forty men were despatched with the dead body to Johnstone; and Butler, who had so far recovered from his wound as to be able to take the field under Sir Gerald, remained, with about 500 men, to look after the fugitives. With this force he proceeded to secure all the neighbouring passes, and to take such other methods as he thought would prevent their escape.

In the mean time, Wallace and his few remaining friends had put their place of refuge in as good a state of defense as its ruinous condition would admit; and having procured a sheep from a neighbouring fold, they kindled a fire in the courtyard, and prepared for their evening repast. Wallace now wisely considered, from the fatigue his followers had undergone during the day, that however much they might stand in want of refreshment, a few hours' repose would be absolutely necessary for recruiting their wearied and exhausted spirits, and rendering them fit for the arduous enterprise that awaited them in the morning. As soon, therefore, as they had allayed their hunger, he ordered them to betake themselves to rest, while he undertook to keep watch by himself.

Surrounded by his sleeping companions, with no light but what the expiring embers afforded, the mind of Wallace became overshadowed with melancholy forebodings. Though in the late conflicts he had destroyed a great number of the enemy, his own little band had been almost annihilated; and, in his present situation, he saw little probability of filling up their places with men on whom he could put the same dependence. Two of his most devoted partisans, Stephen and Kerle, had disappeared; and he had every reason to suppose they were either slain, or fallen into the hands of the enemy. The apathy with which the most powerful of the nobility continued to witness the exertions of himself and his followers for the independence of their country, filled him with grief and indignation; while, from the loss of so many brave friends in the late encounter, he was apprehensive his few remaining companions would now consider their undertaking as desperate. These reflections, aided by the consideration that he was actually surrounded by a force against which his expectations of success could not be very sanguine, tended to excite the most gloomy apprehensions.

From this state of mind he was suddenly aroused by the blowing of horns, mingled with frightful yells, which seemed to proceed from a rising ground in the neighbourhood. Two of his party were despatched to ascertain the cause of the uproar; but these not returning, and the alarm still increasing, other scouts were sent out, till Wallace was at last left alone, without any one to assist in the defense of the place, if it should happen to be attacked.

It was now past midnight; and the flame that still lingered about the remains of the almost extinguished faggots, continued, at intervals, to throw its pale and flickering light on the ruinous walls of the castle, when Wallace was suddenly startled by the shadow of a human figure. Though broken and indistinct at first, yet the moon, which was slowly emerging from behind a cloud, rendered it every moment more apparent. From the feet to the shoulders, which was all of it that was visible, it seemed to be of

uncommon dimensions; and what more particularly riveted the attention of the forlorn chief, a human head hung dangling from its hand, in a manner that gave it the appearance of something supernatural. While gazing with intense anxiety on this singular object, its hand was slowly raised, and the head, which it held, after striking the helmet of Wallace, fell with considerable violence among the dying embers before him. Snatching it up, he discovered, by the light of the moon, the pale and ghastly features of the "ill-fated Fawdon;" and, turning towards the place from whence it was thrown, he observed the figure of a man endeavouring to descend by a broken part of the wall. In the excitement of the moment, he hurled the head after it, and, drawing his sword, hastened from the castle in pursuit of the strange intruder.

Henry, or his authority, in narrating the above circumstance, gives way to the popular belief of his time, and describes it as the real apparition of the late faithless associate; but this evidently arises from that love for the marvellous peculiar to the age. When stripped of the poetical embellishments with which it is clothed, the story simply appears to have been this: The English, on coming to the headless body of Fawdon, naturally conceived that the Scots had quarrelled among themselves; and someone thinking it probable, from the size, that the deceased might be Wallace, for whose head a considerable reward was offered, took care to secure the prize. The impatience of Butler for revenge made him think of a night attack, provided they could discover the enemy; and the horns, therefore, which had been taken from those Scots who had fallen in the conflict, were made use of as a ruse to entrap them into the belief, that it was a party of their countrymen coming to their assistance. The soldier, who had got the head into his possession, appears to have been one of the scouts sent in search of the fugitives; and no doubt, eager to ascertain the value of his capture, had ventured forward with more confidence than his companions. Disappointment at finding the Scottish chief alive, no doubt, induced him to throw the head; and the terror which his name inspired made him likewise think it prudent to effect his retreat.

Though the horns still continued to sound, Wallace was too cautious to reply, but wandered about the forest, searching in silence for his lost companions. His efforts, however, were unavailing; and, at the dawn of the morning, he found himself on the verge of the forest. Here he was observed by Butler, who had rode out to view the posts. Dissatisfied with the answer returned to his challenge, the English leader drew his sword, and urged forward his steed. Wallace advancing from under the shade, which partly concealed him, Butler saw, with astonishment, the formidable foe he was in quest of, and prepared to fall back on his nearest position. His retreat, however, was anticipated by a blow which struck him from the saddle, and, before he could recover himself, the sword of his powerful antagonist had levelled him with the dust. Our hero had just reached the stirrup of his fallen enemy, when he observed an Englishman, armed cap-à-pie, advancing in full career towards him, with his spear in rest. By a dexterous management of his horse, he avoided the stroke; and whilst his foe, unable to recover himself, was hurrying past, he lent him a blow on the neck, which sent him headlong to the ground. The alarm was now spread among the English, whom Wallace observed collecting from various quarters to intercept his retreat. Giving the rein to his charger, he shot like an arrow through a straggling party of horse that seemed the least formidable, but who, on recovering from their surprise, set off in full pursuit, followed by the whole of their force.

Though, from his superior knowledge of the country, Wallace was frequently enabled to distance his pursuers; yet the keenness with which they kept up the chase, obliged him several times to turn and act on the offensive. As this was always done in

situations where he could not be surrounded, those that were most forward paid dearly for their temerity; whilst the suddenness and fury of his repeated attacks spread a panic to the rear of his enemy, from the idea that he had met a reinforcement of his countrymen. Before the shades of evening had set in, twenty of the English were strewn along the line of his retreat; and those who were foremost, had become very cautious in approaching within reach of his arm. A rising part of the ground had, for some time, hid him from their view; and when they again came in sight of him, he appeared leading his jaded and breathless steed up a steep and rugged pass between two craggy precipices. Though he was soon again obscured in the shades of twilight, from the exhausted state of his horse, they saw little probability of his being able to effect his escape. Having with difficulty followed in his track, they found, on descending a precipitous defile, an extensive morass spread before them, far as the eye could penetrate, at the edge of which lay the steed of their late commander, expiring from the wounds and fatigue it had encountered; but the object of their pursuit was nowhere to be seen. Strong picquets were sent out in every direction, but all their exertions were fruitless; and they returned at midnight to their head-quarters, without obtaining the slightest trace of the fugitive.

It has been mentioned, in the early part of our history, that the juvenile years of our hero were spent with a brother of his father, a wealthy ecclesiastic at Dunipace in Stirlingshire. Though he was withdrawn from the protection of this relative at an early age, yet he had been long enough under his roof to endear himself to all the servants and dependants. One of the former, a widow, now lived with her three sons in a secluded part of the Torwood, then an extensive forest in Stirlingshire. In the cottage of this woman, Wallace had in former emergencies found a place of concealment from his enemies; and on this occasion, about the dead hour of night, the faithful inmates were startled by the well-known signal at the window. Never did their heroic guest appear before them in greater distress; exhausted from fatigue, faint with hunger, his armour encrusted with blood, and every part of his dress drenched with water, showed the hardships and perils he had undergone.

After quitting his pursuers at the morass, he had, by a passage unknown to them, crossed over to the other side, and made the best of his way towards the Forth. A large force of the enemy, however, occupied Stirling, and he was therefore compelled to take the river at Camskenneth. After much difficulty, from the weight of his armour, he succeeded in gaining the opposite bank, and proceeded forward on his journey, satisfied that he had got considerably the start of his pursuers.

In the neighbourhood of the house where he had now taken refuge, was an oak of huge dimensions, in a cavity of which he had frequently concealed himself from his enemies, when the search was too close to allow of his remaining within doors. To this retreat he now repaired, after partaking of that refreshment which his situation so much required.

One of the widow's sons was despatched to acquaint his uncle with his safety, and to request his assistance; while another was sent off towards the scene of his late conflicts, to obtain, if possible, some intelligence of his lost companions.

The morning was pretty far advanced, when Wallace was awakened from his sleep by the sound of voices, and, starting to his feet, found his uncle and two of the widow's sons engaged in conversation, one of whom had been watching him during his sleep. His uncle, taking him by the arm, led him apart from the others, and began to inquire into his situation, representing to him, at the same time, the difficulties he was

still likely to experience if he continued to persevere in so hopeless a cause. "Your followers", added he, "are now either slain or dispersed, and all your efforts in the district you have been in, have not procured you a single friend to replace those you have lost; the plunder you have taken has either been recaptured, or left in places where it would be madness to hazard yourself in regaining it. Besides, were you even successful, to your utmost wish, in expelling the English from our country, do you believe that so powerful, so ambitious a prince as Edward, one who is considered the most accomplished warrior of his age, would allow the laurels to be torn from his brow by the son of an obscure Scottish laird? Would not the whole force of his mighty kingdom, assisted, if necessary, by his foreign auxiliaries and vassals, be poured upon our devoted country? Would not the inhuman butcheries which were witnessed at Berwick be again renewed in all our cities? Have we not already had too much experience of his cruelty, to think of increasing our misfortunes by fresh provocations? Listen, therefore, my dear son, to what I am authorized to propose to you. You are aware, that those men, whose duty and interest it was to have defended our country, have submitted to our enemies; if you will, therefore, give over your fruitless hostility to Edward, and acknowledge him as your liege-lord, you will, in place of skulking from covert to covert, have it in your power to become the most powerful vassal of his crown".

Before his uncle had time to explain, Wallace withdrew his arm from his grasp. "My situation", said he, "is gloomy enough, but not so desperate as you imagine. I regret nothing that has yet happened, save the loss of my gallant friends; but I know where the sound of my horn can still call forth as many resolute spirits as will enable me to revenge their fall. Those who have joined me, know that the liberty of our country is the only object I have in view; and they also know, that I have always been as ready to expose my own life as theirs in the quarrel. The liberty which an unprincipled usurper is endeavouring to deprive us of, is the birthright we have inherited from our ancestors, and which belongs to our posterity, to whom it is our duty to transmit it. If we perish in doing so, we perish in doing what is right; and that God, who made us free men, will avert the scenes you dread, if we show ourselves worthy of his gift. If, on the contrary, we basely surrender what we only hold in trust for our children, the galling yoke of slavery will be a just retribution for defrauding them of their sacred inheritance. As to the proposal, come from whom it may, you can acquaint them, that the destruction of a single enemy of my country's independence affords me more pleasure than all the wealth which our proud oppressor has it in his power to bestow. Have you forgot, uncle", said he, while his stern features relaxed into a smile almost sarcastic. "have you forgot

"Dico tibi verum, Libertas optima rerum:

Nunquam servili sub nexu vivito, fili"

(I tell you a truth, Liberty is the best of all things :

My son, never live under any slavish bond. )

"have you forgot those sentiments which you were at such pains to impress on my mind in the halcyon days of my childhood, when peace was in all our borders, and every man sat under his own vine and fig-tree, enjoying the fatherly protection of a righteous sovereign? And is there to be no effort, no sacrifice made to bring again those

days to our poor distracted country?" He was proceeding, when the old man's eyes became suffused, recollections of the past crowded upon his mind, and he threw himself on the breast of his nephew.

While Wallace was thus engaged with his venerable relative, he was agreeably surprised to see his two friends, Kerle and Stephen, advancing towards him, accompanied by a son of his kind hostess. After mutual congratulations and expressions of joy, for the unexpected meeting, had passed between them, they communicated to each other the particulars of the events that had taken place since their separation; and, after receiving the benediction of the priest and returning thanks to the Virgin, they retired to consult about their future operations.

## VIII

## WALLACE JOINED BY SIR JOHN GRAHAM

IT appears, that an oath similar to that which Sir Raynald Crawford had been compelled to take, against holding correspondence with, or affording assistance to Wallace, had also been forced upon his other relatives, as we find the widow alluded to in the foregoing chapter made the instrument of conveying to him the proofs of his uncle's affection.

Having, by her means, been supplied with a considerable sum of money, as well as horses for himself and his companions, they set forward, accompanied by two of her sons whom she devoted to the cause, toward those districts where they had reason to expect a more cordial cooperation, than what they had experienced in the neighbourhood of St. Johnstone.

At the suggestion of his uncle, Wallace visited Dundaff Castle, on his way towards Clydesdale. This fortress, with the lands of Dundaff, Strathblane and Strathcarron, belonged to Sir David, or according to others, to Sir John Graham, an old warrior, who, in his early years, had recommended himself by his gallantry to Alexander, Lord High Steward of Scotland, by whom he is supposed to have been entrusted with an important command at the battle of Largs. His son and heir, Sir John, received, when but a stripling, the honour of knighthood at Berwick, on account of his conduct in a border feud with the Percies of Northumberland. During three days which Wallace passed at Dundaff, he and his companions experienced the most unbounded hospitality; and the old chieftain saw, with delight, those feelings of admiration and friendship with which his son and their noble guest appeared to view each other. Before the departure of the latter, Sir John, with the consent of his father, devoted himself to the cause of his country's independence, by swearing fidelity to Wallace as his chief, and would have instantly accompanied him, but it was deemed more prudent to remain with his father, till he was apprised of the number of followers Wallace could muster in Clydesdale. Meantime, he was to hold himself in readiness to advance, with his father's vassals, as soon as he should receive intimation. After mutual expressions of friendship, Wallace proceeded on his journey, and lodged the same night at Bothwell, in the house of one Crawford, from whom he received information of the state of the country and the strength of the enemy. The following night he reached Gillbank, in the neighbourhood of Lanark, where he remained with a near relation of his own; and from thence he despatched Stephen and Kerle, one to the west, and the other to the north, to acquaint his friends of his situation, and appoint a time and place to meet him.

It seems about this time a report had been circulated among the English, that Wallace had been slain in a mutiny of his followers. This rumour, no doubt occasioned by the circumstances attending the death of Fawdon, had reached Percy, along with the accounts of the destruction of Kinclueve Castle, and the slaughter of Butler and the other English officers; but though he did not give it implicit belief, there was a degree of credit attached to it, particularly by the English in the upper part of Clydesdale, that caused our hero to be less taken notice of when he appeared among them. This was particularly serviceable to him in the visits which he now made to Lanark. We have already alluded to an attachment which Wallace entertained for a young gentlewoman

of that place. A degree of obscurity hangs over the history of this amour. It is supposed, by those writers who have taken notice of the subject, that the parties had been privately married shortly after the battle of Beg, during the time that he remained in the forest of Clydesdale, and that the ceremony was performed by John Blair, but whether in the church, or under the "Greenwood Tree", is nowhere stated. Be that as it may, his situation was too precarious to allow him to remove her from her present residence. His visits were, therefore, made with the utmost secrecy, in such disguises, and at such hours, as would best enable him to escape the notice of his enemies. Meanwhile his sword was not allowed to rust. He and his companions were continually on the watch for stragglers from the English quarters; and as they always attacked them in situations where none could escape, their mysterious disappearance excited the greatest alarm among their countrymen. Various anecdotes are still in circulation among the peasantry of the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, regarding exploits performed by him about this time. Among others, there is a story still handed down, of the severe retaliation he inflicted on a party of Englishmen, who, having come to the same inn at which he and his companions were refreshing themselves, had played off a barbarous attempt at waggery, by cutting the tails from the horses of the Scots. Blind Harry alludes to this circumstance; and the following address, which Wallace is represented as having made to their captain before he cut him down, may be considered as no unfavourable specimen of the humour of the man:

"Gud freynd, abid,  
 Seruice to tak for thi craft in this tyde.  
 Marschell, thou art without commaund off me;  
 Reward agayne, me think, I suld pay the;  
 Sen I offlaitt, now come owt off the west  
 In this cuntre, a harbour off the best  
 To cutt and schaff, and that a wondyr gude;  
 Now thow sail feyll how I oyss to lat blude."

According to some accounts, the above transaction is said to have occurred at Lochmaben, and that he was afterwards pursued by Sir Hew of Moreland, who traced the Scots to the Knockwood by the blood that still continued to issue from their horses. Wallace being here joined by sixteen of his followers who had been lurking in the wood, an engagement commenced, in which, though greatly superior in numbers, the English were defeated, and Sir Hew, with near twenty of his men, were slain. This account is confirmed by a tradition still current in the neighbourhood; and is thus mentioned in the Statistical Account of the Parish of Kirkmichael. "There are several indistinct remains of ancient fortifications, but no tradition about any other than a small fort in the Knock-wood, called Wallace's House, said to have been thrown up by Sir William Wallace after he had slain Sir Hew of Moreland and five of his men, at a place still named from that event, the Sax Corses, i. e. the six corpses, and where there are two or three large stones which seem to have been set up in remembrance of some great transaction". Tradition may be generally relied on when it marks the spot where any remarkable occurrence has taken place; yet the circumstances connected with it are

often misstated. The rude defense alluded to, under the name of Wallace's House, may have been either hastily formed during the advance of Moreland and his party as they are said to have been seen for some time before they reached the position occupied by the Scots or possibly it may be the remains of some strength used in former wars. Wallace only seems to have availed himself of it to protect, for the moment, his little band from being overpowered by their numerous assailants; for we find him immediately after this victory obliged to quit Knock-wood. Those Englishmen who escaped having fled to Lochmaben Castle, a detachment of three hundred horse were ordered to go in pursuit, under the command of one Graystock, an officer who had lately arrived from England with a strong reinforcement to fill up the deficiencies which Wallace had made in the garrisons. Ignorant in a great measure of the talents and prowess of the man he had to contend with, he upbraided his fugitive countrymen with cowardice, when they recommended caution to him in operations against so wary an adversary; and, bent on chastising what he termed the insolence of the freebooter, pressed forward with the greatest expedition.

The Scots, having supplied themselves with the horses of their slain enemies, were preparing to advance into Clydesdale, near the confines of which Wallace had appointed to meet his trusty associates, Kerle and Stephen, with those friends who had promised to join him, when the formidable array of Graystock came in sight, at full gallop. Wallace now ordered his men to form, and retire with deliberation, taking care to keep their horses in breath, while he remained in the rear to repress any sudden attack that might be made. As the enemy advanced, Wallace, mounted on the horse of Moreland, kept in front of them, and rode with so much *sang froid*, occasionally looking over his shoulder, that an uninterested spectator might have supposed he was rather leading the English party on, than watching for a favourable opportunity of attacking them, while the terror of his name prevented any of them from moving from their ranks. They had thus contrived to follow the retreating Scots for some time, when Graystock ordered a movement, by which he imagined he would be able to surround Wallace and his little band. At this juncture Sir John Graham suddenly appeared with about thirty horse, followed by Sir Roger Kilpatrick of Torthorowald, a near relation of Wallace by the mother's side, who, in obedience to the message by the faithful Stephen, had taken the field with twenty of his tenantry. Wallace received these worthy confederates with three cheers, and instantly set them an example, by charging through the centre of the enemy: his friends having put themselves in array, pushed forward at their utmost speed, and soon completed the confusion he had commenced. The left wing of the enemy was thrown into disorder before the impetuous charge of the Scots; and Sir John Graham was busily employed in pursuing and cutting down the fugitives, when Wallace came up with him, and represented the impropriety of killing the common soldiers while their leaders were escaping pointing out to him a body of one hundred of the enemy, which Graystock was endeavouring to keep entire, and recommended, as his horse were still in good condition, to charge and disperse them. Sir John quickly arranged his little squadron, and prepared with alacrity to execute the commands he had received. Wallace, who seldom gave orders which he did not see executed, was soon in the fray. The charge of Graham had been too impetuous to be withstood. Wallace found the enemy in confusion, and Graystock engaged hand to hand with the young knight of Dundaff. The conflict for a few moments remained doubtful, but the superior strength and dexterity of Graham soon became apparent; and the fall of the English leader was the signal of flight for his followers, who sought refuge in the place whence the Scots had been lately driven.

The victors were hastily recalled from the pursuit by the horn of their chief. Having collected them around him, he complimented them on the valour they had displayed, and proposed that they should instantly attack the Castle of Lochmaben; representing to them, that as the garrison had already been put to flight, if they could reach it before the fugitives returned, the plunder they might find would amply reward the labours they had undergone. The proposal was joyfully received; and they instantly set out under the guidance of a person well acquainted with the intricacies of the country.

As their chief expected, the fortress had been left to the care of the porter and a few invalids, who were easily overpowered; and this place they found well stored with abundance of everything their situation required. While enjoying themselves after the fatigues of the day, the remains of their discomfited enemies were observed hastening towards the castle. Orders being immediately given for their admission, on reaching the castleyard, they were surrounded by the Scots, and, after a short conflict, indiscriminately put to the sword.

The fortress, which had thus unexpectedly fallen into their hands, was deemed so important an acquisition, that Wallace thought it advisable to leave a garrison in it. He then took his departure, accompanied by Sir John Graham, Kerle, Stephen, and a few other worthies, for the forest of Clydesdale.

## IX

## ATTACK ON CRAWFORD CASTLE

THE Castle of Lochmaben is supposed to have been the first fortress in which Wallace ventured to place a garrison; and it is probable he was enabled to do so in consequence of a great many in the neighbourhood having joined his standard, encouraged no doubt by his late successes. This supposition is confirmed by the circumstance of his leaving behind him a few of those who had been in the engagement with Graystock.

While the insurrection was thus spreading in Scotland, Edward was prosecuting his views against France. The accounts of the proceedings of Wallace occasionally reached him, and arrested his attention in the midst of his victories; and though he felt no immediate apprehension from the attempts of the freebooter, as he was pleased to call the patriotic leader of the Scots, yet he considered him such an enemy as it was not altogether prudent to neglect.

The applications, therefore, which were made from time to time, by Percy and others entrusted with the management of Scottish affairs, were promptly attended to, and the requisite supplies forwarded to the different garrisons. Part of these supplies, as has been already hinted, had reached Lochmaben before the late rencounter; most of the other fortified places had received their quota; and the garrison of the Castle of Crawford were in daily expectation of their proportion. This fortress, which had belonged to the maternal ancestors of Wallace, attracted his attention. Having learned, from a female whom he stopped on the moor, that the garrison, which consisted of about twenty men, were carousing in an hostelry in the neighbourhood of the castle, he proposed to Sir John Graham to attempt a surprise. For this purpose, he directed Graham to follow slowly with the others under his command, while, with a companion, he went forward himself to observe the condition of the revellers. On approaching the door, the language within had become sufficiently audible; and he soon ascertained that he and his exploits were the subject of discussion; their captain, one Martindale, in the heat of his pot-valour, declaring to his men the pleasure which the presence of Wallace would afford him. Finding himself in request, the fearless Scot stepped forward. The "Benedicites" on both sides were brief. Wallace plied his weapon with his usual effect; and, aided by his companion, the maudlin braggadocio and his fellows were soon overpowered. Meanwhile, Sir John Graham, who had reached the door during the contest, was ordered off to secure the castle; which duty, from the small number of its defenders, he easily performed.

Having burnt the castle, and divided the spoil among his followers, Wallace retired to Lanark on purpose, it is supposed, to concert measures for withdrawing from that place the object of his affections, and placing her in some retreat less exposed to the exactions of Hazelrig.

On this occasion, our hero, for the more effectually disguising himself, had thrown a green mantle over his armour, which he fastened with a belt, from which depended his sword. At the entrance of the town, his dress, and particularly the

uncommon length of his sword, attracted the notice of some of the soldiers belonging to the garrison; and one of them, more insolent than the others, made a snatch at it. Wallace evaded the attempt to deprive him of his weapon; when a sarcastic dialogue ensued, which soon ended in blows; and the English, seeing their companion no match for the Scot, rushed forward to his assistance. Hemmed in on all sides, Wallace became roused into fury, and dealt his blows around him with fearful and destructive energy. His ponderous blade descended with rapid and crashing effect among the bucklers and head-pieces of the enemy, who had begun to retire in confusion, before his irresistible arm; when others arriving, who were unacquainted with the foe they had to contend with, rushed headlong to the fray. Experience, however, soon taught them to be more cautious in their advance; and Wallace had set them completely at bay, when young Hazelrig came on with a fresh party to their assistance. Thus reinforced, and eager to revenge their companions, they were now fast gathering round our hero, when a door facing him suddenly opened, and a fair hand beckoned him from the melee. Wallace quickly embraced the means of escape thus afforded him; and the door being instantly shut against his enemies, gave him an opportunity of saving himself by an outlet behind the house.

Old Hazelrig, or, as Wyntown calls him, the Sheriff, was not in Lanark at the time of this affray; but, on hearing the account of it, and learning the number of English who had been killed, he hastened to town, and caused the fair orphan of Lamington to be brought before him. On discovering her connection with Wallace, and the assistance she had so opportunely afforded him, in a paroxysm of rage and disappointment, he ordered her for instant execution.

In the account of this affair, we have adhered to the statement of Wyntown, who adds, that Wallace, from a place of concealment, had the heart-rending misfortune to be a spectator of the execution of his mistress, without having the power of attempting a rescue. This would not have been the case, if he had, as the Minstrel says, been attended by Sir John Graham, and twenty-four of his associates. Wyntown represents it as a mere personal adventure of Wallace; and states, that, after the melancholy catastrophe, he went in search of his friends, to assist him in revenging the atrocity. Having collected thirty of his followers, he returned with them, for that purpose, to Lanark. At the dead hour of night, the door of the sheriff's apartment was burst from its hinges, and the irongrasp of Wallace awakened Hazelrig from his sleep. On being dragged headlong to the street, after a stern reproof for his cowardly conduct, the trembling victim instantly received the reward due to his villany. The alarm now spread, and the garrison soon engaged with Wallace and his party; but deeply incensed at the late disgusting act of barbarity, the people of Lanark rose en masse against their oppressors, who, unable to stand their ground, were soon overpowered, and driven with great slaughter from the town.

The inhabitants of Lanark, having thus identified themselves with the cause of Wallace, saw no alternative left them, but to join heart and hand with the avenger of their country's wrongs; and the number that now flocked to his standard enabled him to take the field openly, and bid defiance to the enemy. Indeed, so formidable was the force under his command, that he met and defeated a considerable body of the English in a regular engagement in the neighbourhood of Biggar. It has been alleged, that, on this memorable occasion, Edward commanded in person; but such could not have been the case, as the English monarch was not in the country at the time. That a considerable battle was fought in the neighbourhood, there is reason to believe, as well from current tradition, as from the number of tumuli which are still to be seen. In the statistical

account of Biggar, the subject is thus taken notice of: "At the west end of the town is a tumulus, which appears never to have been opened; and there are vestiges of three camps, each of a roundish figure, at different places in the neighbourhood. There is a tradition of a battle having been fought at the east of the town, between the Scots, under Sir William Wallace, and the English, who were said to be sixty thousand strong, wherein a great slaughter was made on both sides, especially among the latter."

These accounts, however, are decidedly at variance with truth, both in regard to the amount of the English, and the person who commanded. It is more probable, that the enemy did not exceed eight, or at most ten thousand men, part of which appears to have been under the command of Roden, Lord de Whichenour. On the side of the Scots, Sir Walter Newbigging, already referred to, headed a body of cavalry. His son David, a youth, at that time little more than fifteen years of age, held a command under him, and the well-trying military talents of the father were not disgraced by the efforts of the young patriot, whose conduct on this occasion was afterwards rewarded by the honor of knighthood, probably conferred by the hand of our hero himself. The family of Newbigging, as has already been noticed, came originally from England; and Sir Walter and his son, on this occasion, found themselves opposed to their near kinsman, the Lord of Whichenour.

At the head of what might now be called an army, Wallace kept the field; and the celerity of his movements confounded all the calculations of the enemy. While the main body of his forces appeared in their formidable entrenchments, occupying the attention of the English, distant garrisons were surprised, and put to the sword by foes, who seemed to spring up as it were within their walls, and of whose approach they had not the slightest intimation.

About this time, one of those iniquitous acts, so often met with in the cold-blooded and relentless policy of Edward, was perpetrated at Ayr, against the barons and gentry of the west of Scotland. This part of the country had been the nucleus, as it were, of the insurrection; and the ill-disposed and well-affected had now become equally objects of suspicion to the usurper's government. Under the pretext of holding a Justice-Aire, they were summoned to attend; and those who appeared (among whom were Sir Raynald Crawford, Sir Bryce Blair, and Sir Hugh Montgomerie) were treacherously seized, and hung up without even the formality of a trial. Wallace heard of the infamous proceeding, and determined on severe retaliation. Selecting fifty of his confederates, he hastened to the spot, and being joined by a number of the retainers of the murdered gentlemen, they surrounded the buildings where the English were cantoned, and who, indulging in fancied security arising from the terror which they imagined the late severity was likely to impress upon the Scots, had, after a deep carousal, betaken themselves to rest, little dreaming of the vengeance that awaited them.

Having procured the necessary combustibles, Wallace, after disposing of his men, so as to prevent the escape of any of the English, set fire to the thatch, which being covered with pitch, the flames soon spread to every part of the buildings, and rose in one general conflagration; while the screaming wretches within, vainly attempting to escape, were received on the points of the Scottish swords, and either killed, or forced back, to perish in the devouring element. It is said that 500 of the English suffered in this lamentable manner. The severity of the retaliation can only be palliated by the nature of the war the parties were engaged in, and the desperation to which the cruelty of the invaders had goaded on the wretched inhabitants. If tradition may be credited, Wallace did not remain till the flames were extinguished; for, when about two miles on his return, at an elevated part of the road, he is said to have made his men look back on

the still blazing scene of their vengeance, remarking, at the same time, that "The barns of Ayr burn weel." The ruins of a church are still to be seen on the spot where the chief and his followers stood to take their last look, and which is named from the circumstance, Burn weel Kirk.

## X

## WALLACE JOINED BY A NUMBER OF THE BARONS

ABOUT this time Sir William Douglas took the Castles of Dresdier and Sanquhair, as already stated in the short notice we have given of his exploits. In conjunction with Wallace, this active and powerful baron, assuming the sanction of the name of Baliol, endeavoured to enforce the edict for the expulsion of the English ecclesiastics holding benefices in Scotland. This edict, issued between the time of the taking of Berwick and the Castle of Dunbar, had been rendered nugatory by, the suppression of Scottish independence. It was now, however, executed with the utmost rigor, wherever the influence of the insurgents extended. In pursuance of this object, Wallace, at the head of three hundred choice cavalry, proceeding to "Glasgow to dislodge Bishop Bek, who, with a garrison of one thousand men, kept possession of the town and episcopal castle, belonging to Robert Wishart, the Scottish bishop of that place.

As the Scots drew near the spot against which their operations were directed, Wallace divided his followers into two bands. Taking the command of one himself, he committed the other to the guidance of his uncle, the Laird of Auchinleck. "Whether" said our hero to his gallant kinsman, "do you choose to bear up the bishop's tail, or go forward and take his blessing?" Auchinleck at once understood the intended plan of attack, and proposed assailing the rear of the English, resigning the more honourable post to the merits of his nephew, "who", as he jocularly observed, "had not yet been confirmed".

Having received the necessary instructions, Wallace enjoined him to be diligent; "for", said he, "the men of Northumberland are all good warriors." The parties separated; that under Auchinleck to make a compass round the town, so as to get in rear of the enemy; and the other, under the conduct of Wallace, advanced up the principal street leading to the castle. Their approach, however, had been discovered; for, when near the present site of the college church, the Scots came in contact with the English, and the inhabitants had scarcely time to shelter themselves in their houses, before a dreadful conflict commenced. The powerful and warlike prelate with whom our patriots had to contend, possessed a feudal following of knights and esquires, inferior only to that of Edward himself. The narrow street, however, in which they were engaged was in favour of the Scots; and the sword of Wallace told dreadfully on the helmets and headpieces of the enemy. The manner in which he swept his antagonists before him, is still a matter of tradition among the descendants of the early inhabitants of Glasgow. Though the enemy fought with obstinacy, the gallantry of the Scots sustained them against the efforts of their numerous opponents; and in the heat of the engagement, Wallace having unhorsed Henry of Hornecester, a stout monk, who carried the banner of the bishop, this circumstance damped the ardour of some of the superstitious vassals of the prelate, who now fell back before a vigorous charge of the Scots. At this juncture, those under Auchinleck having reached the elevated ground in the rear of the English,

and seeing the turmoil of battle that was raging below, hastily arranged themselves for the charge, and, before the enemy were fully apprised of their danger, the torrent of spears came rushing down upon them with overwhelming impetuosity. Their dismay was now complete. A hasty and disordered retreat ensued, and the by-ways leading from the Highstreet were so choked up by the fugitives, that a number of them were trampled to death by their companions. Bek effected his escape, with about 300 horse, and directed his flight towards England, carrying with him, it is supposed, the sacred banner of St. Cuthbert and that of St. John of Beverly .

While Wallace was thus employed in expelling the English ecclesiastics from the west of Scotland, Sir William Douglas was engaged in forwarding the same object in the south. In these proceedings they are charged by the English authors with extreme cruelty. "The unhappy priests", says Knighton, "had their hands tied behind their backs, and in this helpless state were thrown from high bridges into rivers, their dying agonies affording sport to their merciless captors". Fordun merely says, that Wallace pretended to execute the edict of 1296, which appointed all English ecclesiastics to be expelled from Scotland. On which Lord Hailes remarks: "I hope this is not true; it has too much the appearance of a political pretext, by which defenseless individuals might be persecuted". There was little occasion for his Lordship's sympathy. The thirteenth century was not the period when churchmen were the objects of causeless persecutions. Their expulsion appears to have been the result of their political intrigues and criminal interference with the records of the country entrusted to their charge. And from their placing these documents in the hands of Edward at Norham, he was enabled to give a colouring of justice to his attempts upon the independence of Scotland. The evidence which these falsified muniments afforded is mentioned by Langtoft, as being submitted by Edward to the English barons for their advice before the business of the submission respecting the Scottish crown was entered upon. When the Scots reflected on the many thousands of their nation, of all ages, who had already been butchered at Berwick and Dunbar, the oppressions that had followed, the apparently interminable war entailed upon them in support of the pretended proofs of the supremacy of England; it is not to be wondered at, that they should attempt to get rid of those canker-worms who had nestled in their country, and ungratefully betrayed its sacred and most invaluable interests. The edict was early published, and at a time when it could serve no other purpose than a protest against the baseness of their conduct. When the insurrection, therefore, broke out under Wallace, it was not to be expected that individuals who had rendered themselves so deservedly obnoxious, would be treated with much lenity, if they still attempted to retain their temporalities at the expense of the people they had endeavoured to enslave.

Wallace, uniting his forces with those under Douglas, now made a rapid march upon Scone, expecting to surprise Ormsby, the Justiciary of Edward, who was holding his courts in that place. The attempt was all but completely successful. They came unexpectedly on the enemy, a great many of whom were either killed or taken prisoners, and a rich booty fell into the hands of the Scots. Ormsby narrowly escaped; and, impressed with terror at the late dreadful acts of retaliation, fled with precipitation to England. Encouraged by these successes, a number of the aristocracy joined the banner of our hero, among whom were the Steward of Scotland, his brother the Knight of Bonkill, Alexander de Lindsay, Sir John Stewart of Husky (or Menteith), Sir Richard Lundin, and Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, whom he had so lately relieved from the obnoxious interference of the Bishop of Durham. In consequence of this timely assistance, Wallace was enabled to undertake an enterprise of considerable importance.

The reader will perceive, by the annexed note, that though Edward had made a triumphal march with his army from Berwick to Elgin; yet that interesting and extensive portion of Scotland, comprising the West Highlands and Islands, had never been profaned by the foot of the usurper.

The following diary of the progress of Edward through Scotland, in 1296, has been lately published by Mr. N. H. Nicolas, in a volume of the Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of London. It is translated from a MS. in old Norman French; and the names of the places are sometimes a little obscure.

"On the 28th March, 1296, being Wednesday in Easterweek, King Edward passed the Tweed, and lay in Scotland,

"At Coldstream Priory.

"Hatton or Haudene, 29th March, Thursday.

"Friday, being Good-Friday, 30th March, Sack of Berwick.

"Battle of Dunbar, April 24, 26, 27.

"Edward marches from Berwick to Coldingham; 28th April to Dunbar.

"Haddington, Wednesday, Even of Ascension, May 3.

"Lauder, Sunday, May 6.

"Rokisburgh, Monday, May 7, where Edward remained fourteen days.

"Jedworth, May 23.

"Wyel, Thursday, May 24;

Friday, 25, to Castleton;

Sunday, 27, again to Wyel.

"Jedworth, Monday, May 28.

"Rokisburgh, Friday, June 1.

"Lauder, Monday, June 4.

"Newbattle, Tuesday, June 5.

"Edinburgh, Wednesday, June 6, siege of Edinburgh.

"Linlithgow, June 14.

"Stirling, Thursday, June 14. At Outreard, June 20.

"Perth, Thursday, June 21, where he remained three days.

" Kincleven on the Tay, June 25.

"Cluny, Tuesday, June 26. Abode there till July 1.

"Entrecoit, Monday, July 2.

"Forfar, Tuesday, July 3.

"Fernwell, Friday, July 6.

Montrose, Saturday, July 7. Abode there till the 10th.

'Kincardine in the Mearns, Wednesday, July 11.  
 'Bervie, Thursday, July 12.  
 'Dunn Castle, Friday, July 13.  
 'Aberdeen, Saturday, July 14.  
 "Kinkell, Friday, July 20.  
 "Fyvie, Saturday, July 21.  
 "Banff, Sunday, July 22.  
 "Invercullen, Monday, 23.  
 "In tents on the river Spey, district of Enzie, Tuesday, July 24.  
 "Repenage, in the county of Moray, Wednesday, July 25.  
 "Elgin, Thursday, July 26. Remained for two days.  
 "Rothes, Sunday, July 29.  
 "Innerkerack, Monday, July 30.  
 "Kildrummie, Tuesday, July 31.  
 "Kincardine in the Mearns, Tuesday, August 2.  
 "Breachin, Saturday, August 4.  
 "Aberbrothoc, Sunday, August 5.  
 "Dundee, Monday, August 6.  
 "Baligarnach, the Redcastle, Tuesday, August 7.  
 "St. Johnston's, Wednesday, August 8.  
 "Abbey of Lindores, Thursday, August 9. Tarried Friday.  
 "St. Andrew's, Saturday, August 11.  
 "Markinch, Sunday, August 12.  
 "Dunfermline, Monday, August 13.  
 "Stirling, Tuesday, August 14. Tarried Wednesday 15th.  
 "Linlithgow, Thursday, August 16.  
 "Edinburgh, Friday, August 17. Tarried Saturday 18th.  
 "Haddington, Sunday, August 19.  
 "Pykelton, near Dunbar, Monday, August 20.  
 "Coldingham, Tuesday, August 21.  
 "Berwick, Wednesday, August 22.  
 "Having spent twenty-one weeks in his expedition."

This (though Edward had made a triumphal march with his army from Berwick to Elgin; yet that interesting and extensive portion of Scotland, comprising the West Highlands and Islands, had never been profaned by the foot of the usurper) may have

been partly averted, by most of the chieftains coming forward and taking the oath of allegiance, and partly by the extreme difficulty of leading a numerous army through a country so intersected by arms of the sea, and rendered almost inaccessible by its rocky and mountainous barriers. In order to have some control over a people so isolated, the policy of Edward at first suggested the idea of carrying along with him those chieftains whose influence was considered the most extensive. This measure, however, he soon perceived was not so effectual as he anticipated, and he accordingly determined on sending a colony of Irish to fix themselves in some central part of the country he wished to overawe. With this view he compelled MacDougal of Lorn, whom he had carried with him to London, to exchange his patrimony for an equivalent of lands belonging to himself.

Having effected this, he gave a grant, of no very certain limits, to a creature of his own named M'Fadyan, who, with a tumultuous horde of Anglo-Irish and renegade Scots, amounting to about fifteen thousand, landed in Lorn, and proceeded to ravage the country with fire and sword, committing the most revolting atrocities on such of the inhabitants as refused to join them. Much obscurity hangs over the birth, connections, and character of the leader of this cloud of locusts. According to Blind Harry, his origin was low, although high in favour at the English court. He seems to have held some situation of importance in Ireland, as the Minstrel, referring to those Irish refugees who took shelter in Scotland under Wallace, says,

"Sum part off tham was in to Irland borne,  
That Makfadyan had exilde furth beforne;  
King Eduuardis man he was suorn of Ingland,  
Off rycht law byrth, supposs he tuk on hand."

*Buke Feyrd, 180.*

Having talents and ambition he allied himself to the enemies of his country, and, like other mushrooms, throve amid the rankness of that corruption with which he had surrounded himself. A wretch that had risen by oppressing and assisting to bind the necks of his free-born countrymen to the yoke of slavery, was a very fit instrument to employ in forwarding the views of Edward in the subjugation of Scotland.

He had not, however, proceeded far before the Cranntàir, or fiery cross, was seen hurrying on, by hill and glen, to gather the children of the Gael to repel their savage assailants. Duncan of Lorn, the uncle, or, according to some, the younger brother of the chief, unable to withstand the superior force of the enemy, had retreated towards Loch-Awe, to obtain the protection of Sir Niel Campbell. This brave man, along with his brother Donnchadh dubh nan Caisteal (Black Duncan of the Castles), had collected a body of three hundred Gall-oglaich (well-armed warriors), part of whom were the vassals of Malcolm MacGregor of Glenurchy. With this force he continued to embarrass the enemy, by attacking their foraging parties and cutting off their supplies. This determined Mac Fadyan to follow him through the fastnesses of the country, and endeavour to overwhelm him by his superior numbers. Sir Niel managed his retreat with great dexterity. After leading his unwary adversary round by the head of Bradher Pass, he hurried down that dangerous and difficult defile, and, crossing the narrow and ill-constructed fabric which served for a bridge, he broke it down; and thus being secure

from immediate pursuit, found himself in one of the strongest positions imaginable. His front was defended by a castle, which, commanded the only approach by which he could be assailed; while his rear was protected by the Awe, a deep and rapid river, running out of a loch of the same name. The almost perpendicular barrier of rocks which lined the side of the Awe down which, as has already been mentioned, Sir Niel and his party had to make their way, before they could place the river between them and their pursuers was of such a nature, that a man could not get on without the assistance of his hands, to prevent him from slipping down into the deep and eddying abyss below; and even with this assistance, at the present day, it is a passage of considerable danger, from the enormous masses of loose stones with which the sloping face of the rocks is covered, from the brink of the water to their summits, which are of great elevation. The least accidental derangement of the stones at the bottom, never fails to put those above in motion, when an immense rush takes place, attended often with serious consequences to the parties underneath. The reader may readily conceive the facility, therefore, with which, thus circumstanced, Sir Niel and his followers could, from the opposite side of the river, retard the advance of even a larger army than that of M'Fadyan. The difficulty of the pass is not perceptible till the angle of the rock is fairly turned, consequently the Irish army had no opportunity of covering their advance by discharging their missiles. They were obliged to follow each other singly thus affording, as they came creeping along, fair marks for the arrows of the Scots, part of whom plied their deadly shafts, while others were engaged in throwing stones from their slings against the face of the rocks, and thus bringing down masses of the loose fragments upon the heads of their already embarrassed pursuers.

The castle to which Sir Niel retired, though small, possessed great natural advantages. Situated on a rocky knoll at the edge of a deep ravine, it could only be approached from the road through which M'Fadyan had to advance, and that by means of a ladder which the party within always kept on their own side. When they wished to admit any one, a rope was thrown over that he might pull the ladder towards him; he then descended to the bottom of the ravine, when, placing the ladder against the opposite rock, in this manner he ascended and reached the castle.

When Sir Niel Campbell had determined on his line of retreat, he despatched Duncan of Lorn, and an old, but swift-footed Highlander, named Michael or Gillemichel, to acquaint Wallace of his perilous situation, and to crave his aid in driving the invaders from the country. Wallace, aware of the importance of preventing the establishment intended by Edward, lost no time in complying with the request of his old confederate; and Sir Richard Lundin having joined him with five hundred men, he now found himself enabled to march to the relief of the West Highlanders, at the head of two thousand soldiers.

In Duncan of Lorn and his servant, Wallace had sure and intelligent guides. At that time nothing but intricate footpaths, known only to the natives, existed in the Highlands; and as they were often formed by deer-stalkers, while tracing their game, they frequently led through places both perilous and perplexing to the stranger.

By the time the Scottish army had reached the Chapel of St. Phillan, part of the foot soldiers began to flag, and get disordered in their ranks. Wallace, therefore, stopped, and thus addressed them. "Good men", said he, "this will never do. If we come up with the enemy in such broken array, we may receive serious injury ourselves, but can do them very little hurt in return. It is also necessary that we should be up with them as soon as possible; for if they hear of our approach, they may choose a plain field, where their numbers will give them advantage. To prevent this, I will go forward with

those who are able, and leave the rest to follow at more leisure". Accordingly, taking with himself two hundred of the tried veterans of Ayrshire, and placing another hundred under the command of Sir John Graham, with Sir Richard Lundin at the head of his own followers, they crossed a mountain in their front, and descended into Glendouchar. Here they met a scout, whom they had previously sent forward, acting as guide to Sir Niel Campbell and his three hundred Highlanders. This wary leader, on hearing of the advance of Wallace, thought it proper to retire towards him, and leave the passage free to M'Fadyan, who, he knew, if he followed, could make choice of very few positions where his numbers would be of any advantage. Having given our hero a detail of what information he possessed respecting the state of the invaders, Gillemichel was again sent forward to watch the motions of the enemy; and the tough old mountaineer having fallen in with a scout from M'Fadyan, who had been sent to track the route of Sir Niel, managed to despatch him with his claidh mòr, and returned with the intelligence to his chief.

The ground having now become impassable for cavalry, the Scots dismounted, and proceeded on foot. Their march had not been perceived by the enemy, and, from the superior knowledge they had of the country, they managed to surprise the Irish in a situation where flight was almost impracticable, and the superiority of their numbers became rather a disadvantage. The conflict continued for two hours, with unexampled fury on both sides. Multitudes of the Irish were forced over the rocks into the gulf below. Many threw themselves into the water to escape the swords of the Scots; while various bands of Highlanders, stationed among the rocks, sent down showers of stones and arrows where the enemy appeared most obstinate in the strife. Wallace, armed with a steel mace, at the head of his veterans, now made a charge, which decided the fate of the day. Those Scots who had joined the Irish, threw away their arms, and on their knees implored mercy. M'Fadyan, with fifteen of his men, having made his way over the rocks, and attempted to conceal himself in a cave, "wndyr cragmòr," Duncan of Lorn requested permission of Wallace to follow and punish him for the atrocities he had committed; and it was not long before he returned, bringing his head on a spear, which Sir Niel Campbell caused to be fixed on the top of the rock in which he had taken shelter.

After the defeat of M'Fadyan, Wallace held a meeting of the chiefs of the West Highlands, in the priory of Ardchattan; and having arranged some important matters respecting the future defense of the district, he returned to his duties in the Low Country, having received an accession to his numbers, which covered any loss he had sustained in the late engagement. The spoil which the Scots collected after the battle is said to have been very considerable; any personal share in which, our hero, as usual, refused.

## XI

## ROBERT BRUCE JOINS THE STANDARD OF WALLACE.

THE success of the insurrection excited by Wallace has been attributed by some English authors - and by Langtoft in particular - to the foolish parsimony of Cressingham, who had disgusted the English soldiery by withholding their pay, at a time when their services might have been of the greatest advantage. In consequence of this unjust procedure, many of the yeomen and pages, finding little else than danger to be met with in the service, deserted their posts, and returned to their own country. Although the impolitic and avaricious character of the English treasurer is a matter on which the authors of both countries are agreed, the precipitation with which the garrisons of the Usurper now retreated on the approach of the Scots, shows that the severe examples which had already been made were not without their effect.

While our hero was thus following up his plan for the emancipation of his country, his standard was unexpectedly joined by the younger Robert Bruce. This powerful baron, it seems, had incurred the suspicion of the Warden of the Western Marches, who summoned him to attend at Carlisle, on pretence of business relating to the kingdom. Afraid to disobey, Bruce made his appearance, accompanied by a numerous retinue of his followers, and was there obliged to make oath on the consecrated host, and the sword of Thomas à Becket, that he would remain the faithful vassal of the King of England. In order to prove his loyalty, and do away with the mistrust attached to him, he made an inroad on the estates of Sir William Douglas, who at the time was acting with Wallace, and carried off his wife and children to one of his own fortresses in Annandale. Having thus lulled the suspicions that had been awakened, he next assembled his father's vassals, and endeavoured to persuade them to join him in attempting the deliverance of their country. In this, however, he was disappointed: he therefore collected his own retainers, and marched to the quarters of Wallace; consoling himself with the reflection, that the Pope would easily absolve him from his extorted oath.

The insurrection in Scotland had hitherto been regarded by Edward more as the unconnected operations of banditti, than anything like an organized scheme for regaining the national independence. Having most of the Scottish barons in his power from whom he thought he had anything to apprehend, and conceiving that their vassals would not dare to move without the warrant of their superior, he looked upon the affair as one which the troops he had left behind were more than sufficient to suppress. In this opinion he was confirmed both by the English and the Scotch barons whom he had along with him. The latter, either ignorant, or pretending ignorance of the talents and resources of our hero, represented their presence as being absolutely necessary before any formidable force could be brought into the field; and Langtoft charges the English barons with deceiving their sovereign in the affair, and concealing from him the real state of the country. It is a matter of notoriety, that about this time, Edward and his nobles were not on the best of terms. Having now, as he thought, in addition to Wales,

insured the subjection and obedience of Scotland, and remembering the facility with which, by the aid of 30,000 Scots lent him by Alexander III, he overawed and suppressed the Earl of Gloucester and those who took part with him; he began to assume towards the English nobility an imperious and haughty demeanour, which both alarmed their fears and excited their jealousy. The unprincipled stretches of power which he had attempted since his triumphal entry into London after his victories in Scotland, had also sown the seeds of dissatisfaction among the inferior classes, who, no longer dazzled with the splendour of his achievements over the freedom of their neighbours, began to reflect on the encroachments which their ambitious sovereign was making on their own.

When Edward, therefore, became fully apprised of the serious nature of the revolt in Scotland, he paused in the midst of preparations for an expedition to Flanders, and despatched orders to the Earl of Surrey for the suppression and punishment of the insurgents. This distinguished and powerful nobleman, the most efficient perhaps of all Edward's generals, was at that time residing in Northumberland for the recovery of his health. Having associated with him in the command, his nephew Lord Henry Percy, and Robert de Clifford, he sent them forward with forty thousand foot and three hundred cavalry, a force which he deemed sufficient to restore the country to the allegiance of his master.

While the troops under Percy and Clifford were on their march through Annandale, their camp was attacked during the night by a body of Scots, led on by Wallace and Douglas. The darkness prevented the English from at first discovering the numbers of their assailants. Much confusion in consequence ensued; and many were either killed or driven into the adjacent morass. In this extremity, the English set fire to a number of their own tents; and, by the light thus obtained, they were enabled to form their ranks, and repulse the enemy, who were too inconsiderable in number to attempt anything beyond a surprise. Hence, it may be inferred, that Bruce and his Annandale vassals were not engaged in the affair.

The English army lost no time in following the track of the Scots, who retired towards those districts where the cause of national liberty had gained the greatest ascendancy. On reaching the neighbourhood of Irvine, the English commander found Wallace and the insurgent barons encamped on a well-chosen position, and able, from their numbers, to have given battle, had they not been woefully enfeebled by dissension. The feuds among them ran so high, that Sir Richard Lundin, whose services had lately proved so useful, went over in disgust to the enemy, declaring that "he would no longer remain with a party at variance with itself". His example was speedily followed by others, most of whom, as they were the cause of the dissension, could not assign the same reason for their conduct. Pride of birth, and reluctance on the part of the higher barons to submit to the only man among them who had talents to meet the emergency, have been assigned, with great probability, as the cause of this unfortunate disagreement. The Steward of Scotland; his brother, the Knight of Bonkill; Robert Bruce; William Douglas; Alexander de Lindsay; and Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, with their followers, were among those who submitted to the enemy. The Bishop negotiated the terms on which they were to be admitted to the peace of their "Lord Paramount": an acknowledgment of their errors, and hostages for their future obedience, were the basis of the treaty; and a copy of the deed, to which their seals were appended, was sent to Wallace, in expectation of his following their example. The high-minded patriot, however, entertaining views of a more elevated nature, treated this record of their desertion of the liberties of their country with merited disdain.

At the head of his personal adherents, and a large body of the "liberi firmarii" or free yeomanry of Scotland, Wallace retired indignantly towards the North. This latter class of men consisted of the tenants, and descendants of tenants, of the crown and church-lands, or those who occupied farms on the demesnes of the barons, for which they paid an equivalent rent in money or produce. They had the privilege of removing to whatever place they might think most desirable, and owed no military service except to the King for the defense of the country. Among them the independence of Scotland always found its most faithful and stubborn supporters. These "liberi firmarii," for so they are called in the chartularies, and chamberlains' accounts, were considered so useful from their superior industry, and agricultural knowledge, that during the minority of the Maid of Norway, a sum of money appears to have been distributed among them as an inducement to remain on the crown lands of Libertoun and Lawrencetown, which they were preparing to leave in consequence of a mortality among their cattle. They formed a striking contrast to the cottars or villeyens, who were entirely subject, both in body and means, to the will of the landholder, and were sold or transferred along with the estate; and could be claimed or brought back to it, if they removed, in the same manner as strayed cattle. These formed the bulk of the degraded horde who followed the banners of the recreant barons, and whose servility, ignorance, and ferocity, often made them dangerous to the liberties of the country; while the former class, along with the freemen of the boroughs, supplied the materials from which Wallace recruited the ranks of his patriotic battalions.

Aware, from former experience, of the difficulty of bringing Wallace to action if he were not so inclined, Percy and Clifford appear to have withdrawn their forces, satisfied with having detached the aristocracy from his standard; none remaining with our hero save the gallant Sir Andrew Murray, Sir John Graham, and a few of his own personal friends.

But the system which Wallace had organized for the emancipation of his country, was not liable to any material derangement, in consequence of the defection of a few timid and interested barons. It is true, the desertion of such men as Sir William Douglas must have occasioned him considerable regret, being thereby prevented from meeting the enemy openly in the field, with such an equality of force as would have insured success. This feeling, however, did not retard his exertions, but rather stimulated him to fresh undertakings; for we find that he shortly afterwards surprised and garrisoned the Castle of Dunotter. Tyber, or Tiber, on the banks of the Nith, he also took and destroyed. Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose, were either taken or deserted by their garrisons on his approach. Aberdeen, which the enemy set on fire, and then retreated to their ships, afterwards fell into his hands. He then led his troops against the Castle of Dundee, and had already made considerable progress in the siege of that strong-hold, when he was apprised of the advance of an English army under the Earl of Warren, and Cressingham the treasurer.

Edward, dissatisfied with the imperfect measures which had been taken for the suppression of the Scottish revolt, and irritated by the accounts which were daily received of the operations of the insurgents, had despatched peremptory orders for Warren to proceed in person to the North. He also directed his writs to the Bishop and Sheriff of Aberdeenshire, commanding them to adopt strong and effectual means for extinguishing the flame of rebellion within the boundaries of their jurisdiction. They were likewise required to furnish whatever supplies might be wanted by William de Warren for the defense of the Castle of Urquhart, a strong and extensive fortress on the

banks of Loch Ness, of which he was governor. Warren was also ordered to be at his post, and fully prepared to meet any attempt of the enemy.

On learning the movements of the English, Wallace collected those of the burgesses of Dundee who were able to bear arms, and, placing them under the command of their townsmen, Sir Alexander Scrymgeour, enjoined them, at the peril of "lyf and lyme", to continue the siege. He then retired, with his followers, who were now considerably increased, to watch the motions of the advancing army.

In cases of invasion, a favourite plan adopted by the Scots for the defense of their country was to convey their cattle and other valuables to the more inaccessible districts north of the Forth. By this measure, they not only secured their own supplies, but, by depriving their enemies of the means of subsistence, compelled them to an early retreat as the only resource against the miseries of starvation. On the present occasion the usual precaution was not omitted.

The success which had attended our hero, since the affair of Irvine, and the formidable character of the well-disciplined force which now adhered to his banner, occasioned a wavering among a number of those barons who had so shamefully submitted to the usurper. Their situation, it must be allowed, had become one of great difficulty. The character of Wallace was stern and decisive. The punishment he inflicted on such offenders, they had reason to know was seldom mitigated by any consideration for the high rank of the parties; and the English had repeatedly shown, that they were unable to protect the serviles from the vengeance of their indignant countrymen. It was therefore with no slight alarm that the party heard of the house of the Bishop of Glasgow being attacked, and pillaged, and his family carried off they knew not whither. The selection which Wallace had made of Wishart, as an example to the others, had no doubt been suggested partly by the ingratitude of that churchman, in deserting the cause, after having been, by means of the patriots, so lately restored to his diocese; and partly from his being so instrumental in the disgraceful negotiation with the enemy. The sacredness attached to his character, as a priest, would speedily disappear before the heinous offence of assisting to detach, in the hour of need, the swords of a Douglas, a Lundin, and a Bruce, from the service of their country. Meanwhile the hostages for their fidelity had been carelessly exacted; and when soon after called for by Warren, (whose remiss conduct had so far incurred the displeasure of Edward, that he sent Brian Fitz Alen to supersede him as lieutenant), he found them more inclined for a new arrangement, than willing to fulfil the terms of the former. They wished, in particular, to introduce some stipulations respecting the liberty of Scotland, a proposal no doubt made for the purpose of allaying in some degree the indignation of their patriotic countrymen. The continued obstinacy, and increasing power of Wallace, was made a pretext for their non-compliance; and they could now with apparent justice decline the final ratification of a deed of treason against the independence of their country, when protection from the consequences was so extremely uncertain.

In this dilemma the Steward and the Earl of Lennox sought permission of Warren to open a communication with the leader of the Scots, under pretext of bringing him over to the interests of Edward. In consequence of this arrangement, these chiefs ventured to visit the Scottish army, which, by this time, had reached the neighbourhood of Stirling, and taken up a strong position near the bridge, where it appeared determined to wait the approach of the English. The retiring population had left little behind them that could be useful to the enemy; all their cattle and provisions being now secured in the rear of the protecting columns of their countrymen. This rendered the position of Wallace still more valuable, prepared, as he was, in the event of a defeat, to fall back to

certain supplies, while his opponents would be still farther removed from their resources.

But if feuds had rendered the Scots inert and submissive to the enemy at Irvine, the councils of the English were now, in their turn, distracted from the same cause. The mind of Warren appeared more occupied in brooding over his late disgrace, than in attending to the details of the campaign; while Cressingham, a haughty, ambitious, and imperious churchman, assumed additional importance on learning that his colleague had incurred the royal displeasure. Conflicting measures, supported by querulous and acrimonious language, engendered a dangerous spirit of animosity between them. Cressingham, on the plea of economy, ordered the disbanding of a body of eight thousand foot and three hundred cavalry, commanded by Lord Henry Percy, a force which Warren wished to retain as a reserve; and during the altercations which this occasioned, the communications of the Steward and the Earl of Lennox with the Scottish camp were injudiciously allowed to continue.

On the arrival, however, of the English in front of the position occupied by the Scots, those noblemen returned. With well feigned displeasure they announced their inability to make any pacific impression on Wallace and his followers; and then took their leave, for the alleged purpose of bringing up a number of their mounted vassals to join the English, who were to defile along the bridge in the morning.

Five thousand foot and a body of Welsh archers had passed the bridge before Warren had left his bed. Whether this sluggishness on the part of the English general arose from indisposition or chagrin, is not explicitly stated. The troops, however, on finding that they were not supported by the rest of the army, returned to their station. Warren, who arose about an hour after, feeling, perhaps, reluctant to attack the Scots in their present position, and not deeming it prudent to calculate on the recurrence of the same mistake which had given him so easy a victory at Dunbar, despatched two friars to make a last attempt at pacification.

The answer returned was evidently intended to exasperate the English, and bring them on headlong to the fray. After a bold declaration of independence, a taunting allusion was made to the conquerors of England. "We came not here", said the intrepid assertor of Scotland's rights, "to negotiate, but to fight; and were even your masters to come and attack us, we are ready to meet them at our swords' point, and show them that our country is free". Enraged at this stern and provoking defiance, the English became clamorous to be led on.

A council of war being called, it was proposed by Cressingham that the army should instantly cross the river and attack the Scots. In this he was opposed by Sir Richard Lundin, who pointed out the many difficulties they would have to encounter in attempting to defile along a bridge, so narrow, in presence of so wary an enemy; and offered to guide them to a ford not far distant, where they could pass with less hazard. Cressingham, either displeased at being contradicted, or not placing full reliance on the fidelity of Lundin, who had but recently joined the English, told Warren, who appeared to hesitate, that, as treasurer of the King of England, he (Cressingham) could not be answerable for squandering the money of his master in protracted warfare with a handful of enemies, who, in order to be defeated, had only to be attacked, and would always be formidable, provided they were never brought to an engagement. Stung by the reproach conveyed in these remarks, Warren gave orders for the troops to move onwards.

Sir Marmaduke Twenge, a knight belonging to the North-Riding of Yorkshire, of much experience and distinguished personal prowess, assisted Cressingham in leading the van. When nearly one half of the English had cleared the bridge without opposition, an attempt was made to dislodge the Scots from the ground they had chosen; and for that purpose, Sir Marmaduke rather impatiently charged up-hill with a body of heavy-armed cavalry. The consequence was, however, fatal to the assailants, as the enemy, from their vantage-ground, drove them headlong before them with their long spears. In the mean time, the communication between the bridge and the van of the English army was cut off by a masterly movement of a division of the Scots, who afterwards kept up such an incessant discharge of arrows, darts, "gavelocks," and other missiles, as completely interrupted the progress of the enemy. Wallace contemplated, for a moment, the success of his plan, and instantly rushed down to the attack with an impetuosity which the scarcely formed battalions of the English were ill prepared to withstand. Giving way to the shock, they fell into irretrievable confusion, while the repeated charges of the compact bodies of the Scottish spearmen were fast covering the ground with the splendid wreck of the chivalry of England. The scene now became animating beyond measure; and many of those who had defended the bridge forsook their companions to join in the desperate *mélée*. The passage being thus left comparatively open, the royal standard of England, displaying "Three gold leopards courant, set on red", was advanced to the cry of "For God and St. George!" attended by a strong body of knights, who, with their triangular shields, defending themselves from the missiles which still showered thick upon the bridge, rushed forward to aid their fellow-combatants. The banner of Warren next appeared, chequered with gold and azure, and followed by his numerous vassals. The day, however, was too far gone to be retrieved, even by this powerful assistance. Finding no room to form, they only increased the confusion, and swelled the slaughter made by the Scottish spearmen, before whose steady and overwhelming charges thousands were either borne down or driven into the river.

While Warren, with inexpressible anxiety, beheld from the opposite bank the destruction of the flower of his army, the Steward of Scotland and the Earl of Lennox were seen approaching with a strong body of horse; but, as might be expected, instead of joining the English, they assisted their countrymen in pursuing and killing those who were attempting to save themselves. Sir Marmaduke Twenge gallantly cut his way to the bridge, and escaped.

The panic now became general, and the face of the country was covered with a confused mass of terrified fugitives, hurrying on to avoid the swords of their conquerors, and increasing, as they fled, the disorder of their retreat, by throwing away their arms and their standards, in order to facilitate their flight.

Wallace having crossed the ford alluded to by Lundin, the pursuit was followed up with the most destructive perseverance. The day of retribution had arrived; the butcheries of Berwick, the carnage of Dunbar, with a long list of national indignities and personal sufferings had now to be atoned for. Conscious of the provocation which had roused to frenzy the vengeance of an infuriated people, Warren turned with dismay from the scene of havoc, leaving twenty thousand of his soldiers to manure the fields of those they had so lately oppressed. Cressingham, the most detested of all the tools of Edward, was among the number of the slain; and when Wallace came up, a party were employed in flaying the body. According to the MS. Chronicle of Lanercost, he is said to have ordered only as much of the skin to be taken off as would make a sword-belt; and his men, perhaps, imitating his example, might have appropriated the rest. This,

says a respectable author, is no doubt the origin of the tale told by Abercromby and some other historians, of the Scots having used it as girths to their horses. An order of this kind, given in the heat of the pursuit, was perhaps never thought of afterwards; at least, we have no account of Wallace ever wearing such an appendage. The circumstance, however, shows the deep-rooted detestation with which the individual was regarded.

Warren, who fled rapidly to Berwick, was most probably, like another English general of more modern times, the first herald of his own discomfiture. The consternation which his disaster occasioned among his countrymen in Scotland was so great, that few or none would venture to wait the approach of the enemy; but abandoning their strongholds, they hurried southward with the greatest precipitation, justly conceiving that the terms they were likely to obtain from one who followed up his victories with so much energy, were hardly worth staying for. The loss on the part of the Scots was comparatively small; none of note having fallen, save the brave Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell.

In this manner was Scotland once more restored to that liberty of which she had been so unjustly deprived. Nor was the benefit conferred on the country less than the glory which redounded to her gallant liberator. The brilliant and decisive victory at Stirling Bridge was gained on the 11th September, 1297, exactly twelve months and eleven days from the return of Edward to Berwick, after what he conceived to be the final subjugation of the kingdom.

The state of Scotland in the early part of 1297, was such as might well have extinguished the ardour of any mind possessed of less energy than that of Wallace. He saw his country humbled and debased at the feet of a tyrant, whose talents and power forbade every hope of emancipation, while the boldest of her nobles dared not express a wish to be free. His own indignant feelings blazed forth, and, with his kindling enthusiasm, he breathed into his torpid and enslaved countrymen, the breath as it were of a new existence. The regenerating influence of his heroic example was quickly caught by those whose bosoms still beat responsive to the call of honour; and in the short space we have mentioned, those banners which had lately waved over hecatombs of butchered Scots, and had been paraded through the land with all the triumphant arrogance of conquest, were now trampled under foot, and the colossal power by which they were sustained, overthrown before the virtuous indignation of a people determined to be free. When we contemplate the might and the resources of Edward, who, in addition to those of his own kingdom, had Ireland, Wales, and his continental possessions to depend upon; it is impossible not to feel impressed with admiration at the greatness of that mind, which, with the fractions of a divided and dispirited people, could form the idea of braving a force so overwhelming but when we find those plans which he had conceived in the deep recesses of his woodland retreats, not only perseveringly carried on against a tide of adverse circumstances in defiance of the aristocracy of his own country, and the opposition of secret and avowed enemies it may with truth be said, that, however highly he may have been extolled, a tithe of his greatness has not yet been appreciated. Much has been said of romance being mixed up with the accounts given of him; but it would be difficult for any of those who delight in nibbling at great names, to point out any tradition respecting Wallace, sufficiently romantic to outstrip the simple facts that stand recorded of him in the authentic annals of British history.

Deserted by the barons at a time when he conceived he had united in the sacred cause all that was noble, and all that was high-minded in the land, it required no

common intrepidity to bear up against their heartless and unseemly defection; and to recruit his ranks after so serious a diminution, required talents of the highest order, and exertions beyond the reach of ordinary men. This, however, he not only accomplished, but also recovered a number of fortresses, drove the enemy from the North, and, with a numerous and gallant army, sat down in a well-chosen position, to await the advance of the legions of England, all within two months of the disgraceful negotiation at Irvine.

After a victory achieved in the face of difficulties so formidable, with what feelings must the hero of Stirling Bridge and the Scottish aristocracy have regarded each other! The mighty force of him whom they had acknowledged as their Lord Paramount, was now broken and dispersed before the superior valour and steadiness of one whom they had so rashly abandoned. In the rich harvest of laurels which had been acquired, they had excluded themselves from all participation; and, though conscious that they could not lay claim to a single leaf, they were sensible that the heroism of their late companions would soon be emblazoned through every country in Europe; while they had the mortification to reflect, that the tale of their own pusillanimous submission, would be held up as a counterpart to the gallantry of those friends whom they had so shamefully forsaken in the road to immortality.

## XII WALLACE INVADES ENGLAND

STIRLING CASTLE capitulated immediately after the battle, and Sir Marmaduke Twenge, who had taken shelter in it, was sent prisoner to Dumbarton. The surrender of the castle of Dundee followed; and, with the exception of the garrisons remaining in Roxburgh, Berwick, and Dunbar, Scotland was once more completely cleared of her invaders. These places, with the exception of the last, were also given up, as soon as they were summoned by the leaders of the Scottish army; and about this time, at a meeting held in the Forest-kirk, Selkirkshire, Wallace was elected, or declared Regent of Scotland, in the name of King John; the appointment being sanctioned by the presence of the Earl of Lennox, Sir William Douglas, and a number of the most powerful among the nobility.

Thus armed with legitimate authority, the newly appointed Guardian began to exercise it in the manner that he conceived would be most conducive to the general interest and welfare of the country. He had often experienced the difficulties which feudal vassalage presented to his efforts in behalf of the national independence. The numerous serfs who were retained in bondage by the more powerful barons, could be either restrained from taking up arms, or withdrawn at the caprice of their masters, even when their services were of the greatest importance. A power so dangerous in the hands of a party comparatively small, had been productive of the most ruinous consequences. To reform a system pregnant with mischief, and one at the same time so much in favour with the prejudices of the age, required wisdom and energy, such as he possessed. Aware of the opposition which an open and declared attempt to emancipate the adscripti gleboe would create, he attacked the system in the only part where it appeared to be vulnerable. Having divided the country into districts, he caused a muster-roll to be made out, containing the names of all who were capable of bearing arms between the ages of sixteen and sixty. These he divided and subdivided in a manner peculiarly his own. Over every four men he appointed a fifth; over every nine, a tenth; over every nineteen, a twentieth; and thus continued the gradation of rank till it reached the chiliarch, or commander of a thousand. In the different parishes, gibbets were also erected to enforce obedience to these regulations; and whoever refused to appear for the defense of his country when summoned, was hung up as an example to others. Those barons who interposed their authority to prevent their vassals from joining the ranks of the patriots, were either punished with imprisonment, or confiscation of property. Though the active and restless mind of Wallace may now seem to have had full employment in the various duties of his office, yet, amidst the multiplicity of objects of internal policy which occupied his time, the resuscitation of the foreign trade of the kingdom appears to have had its proper share of his attention. The advantage which Scotland derived from her foreign commercial intercourse, as has been already stated, was too important to be soon forgotten; and the heroic and faithful conduct of the Flemings at the siege of Berwick, was too recent not to be dwelt on with grateful remembrance. In order, therefore, to renew the connection with those useful strangers, accredited persons appear to have been despatched with letters to the free towns of Hamburg and Lübeck.

Having provided for the necessary supplies of men, the Guardian determined on retaliating the injuries Scotland had sustained at the hands of her late oppressors. Meanwhile a famine, the natural consequence of the neglect of agriculture during the unsettled state of the country, had begun to make its appearance; and was soon followed by a pestilence, occasioned, doubtless, by the multitude of putrid carcasses which remained, partially at least, if not altogether, exposed after the recent carnage. To alleviate, as far as possible, the misery consequent on those dreaded calamities, he commanded all the standing crops to be carefully gathered in, and stored up in barns and yards under proper regulations, to meet the exigencies of the country during winter. In order, at the same time, to concentrate the strength and resources of the country, and establish that unanimity so necessary for its defense, he summoned all the vassals of the Scottish crown to meet him at Perth. From this parliament, which was pretty numerously attended, Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, thought proper to absent himself. The great power and military experience of this baron, joined to the circumstance of his occupying a fortress which was considered as the key of the eastern part of the kingdom, made it an object of some importance that his allegiance should be unquestionable. An early partisan of Edward, he had as yet shown no disposition to relinquish his unnatural connection with the enemy. When the subject of his absence came, therefore, to be discussed before the Scottish nobles, they unanimously resolved on proceeding against him without delay. Wallace, however, proposed the more gentle expedient of remonstrance, before having recourse to extremities; and a deputation was accordingly sent, to request his attendance as a Scottish peer, in order to take part in the government of the country, and to aid, with his counsel and his arms, in the establishment of the national independence. Possessed of large dominions in England, as well as an extensive inheritance in Scotland, this Earl felt little inclination to incur the displeasure of his Lord Paramount in the South, by a too ready accession to the cause of liberty in the North; and he accordingly returned a haughty and scornful answer, no way calculated to allay the prejudice which his former contemptuous behaviour had excited against him. As soon, therefore, as the various objects which had engaged the attention of the parliament were disposed of, Wallace proceeded, with a select body of 400 men, to reduce the turbulent chieftain. A little to the east of Dunbar, the Guardian found the Earl awaiting his approach at the head of 900 followers; and a desperate conflict immediately commenced, which ended in the flight of Patrick, who escaped to England. The castle of Dunbar was in consequence surrendered to the victor, who gave it in charge to Sir Christopher Seton, with a competent garrison for its defense.

Early in October, 1297, a proclamation was issued for every one capable of bearing arms to appear on the moor of Roslin. An immense multitude attended. The most vigorous and the best equipped were then selected; and having thus embodied an efficient, numerous, and gallant army, Wallace excited their ardour by a short and animating address, in which he told them, that, united as they were, with only one glorious object in view, they had nothing but victory to expect, their country had been stripped of its wealth by their late oppressors, and it was now their duty and interest to recover it, and punish the aggressors.

The army then proceeded in high spirits towards the English frontier, their leader rightly judging, that, by withdrawing so many men, a larger quantity of provisions would remain for those left behind; and by adopting this measure, his soldiers also, while they escaped from the contagion which had appeared in Scotland, would be moreover rewarded for their past labours, by the riches they would find in the more

flourishing regions of the South; which, having enjoyed a long interval of peace, might be conceived to be overflowing with that description of wealth most desirable in the estimation of the needy adventurers of the North; and the latter, no doubt, as they drove home their lowing and bleating prey from the rich pastures of Durham and the neighbouring counties, considered that they were merely removing their own property, of which they had been unjustly deprived by the tyranny of the English.

In this expedition, Wallace divided the command of the army with Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell, the promising son of the brave Sir Andrew, who fell in the late engagement. This honour he may have thought due to the patriotic conduct of the father, in adhering to the fortunes of his country, amidst the general defection of the Scottish barons. And as it might tend to give the lie to those reports which began to be circulated of an intention to aggrandize himself at the expense of the aristocracy, the appointment was evidently a measure of judicious and honourable policy.

On the approach of the Scottish army, the inhabitants of Northumberland deserted their dwellings, and fled to Newcastle, carrying with them their wives and children, their cattle and household stuff. The Guardian, however, for a short time delayed his advance; and having received notice that several of the burgesses of Aberdeen, and others in that quarter, had disobeyed his summons to appear at Roslin, he hurried back to the North, where, on apprehending the parties, those whose excuses were inadmissible, he ordered for immediate execution. Hastily rejoining his forces, he crossed the Border, and succeeded in surprising the English, who, thinking the storm had blown over, were returned to their homes.

The Scots now commenced their destructive reprisals, by wasting with fire and sword the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland. In this work of devastation they were assisted by Robert de Ros of Werk, a great northern baron, who, as we have already observed, had deserted the standard of Edward in 1295. It is presumed that the same influence which formerly seduced him from his loyalty, still existed; and it is a pity that the name of the lady who made so patriotic a use of her charms, has not been preserved by the historians of her country.

The former inroads of the Scots were trifling, compared with the wide-spreading desolation which now marked their career. The havoc they made, and the spoils they collected, are feelingly dwelt on by the English writers of the day. Langtoft thus expresses himself:

"To werre than ros thei eft, tille God thei mad a vowe,  
That nothing suld be left, that myght to Ingland prow,  
Mercy suld none haue, tille alle thei suld do wo,  
Kirke suld no man saue, hot brenne ther in & slo.  
In Northumberland ther first thei bigan,  
& alle that com tille hande, they slouh and ouer ran  
To Flandres tille Edward tithinges men him sent,  
That Scottis com in hard, the North is nere alle brent,  
& more salle zit be lorn, hot if we haf socoure.  
Nouht standes tham biforn, toun, castelle ne toure."

Hemingford says: "At this time the praise of God was not heard in any church or monastery through the whole country, from Newcastle-upon-Tyne to the Gates of Carlisle; for the monks and canons regular, and other priests who were ministers of the Lord, fled with the whole people from the face of the enemy; nor was there any to oppose them, except now and then a few English who belonged to the castle of Alnwick, who ventured from their strongholds, and slew some stragglers. But these were but slight success; and the Scots roved over the country from the Feast of St. Luke to St. Martin's day, inflicting on it all the miseries of rapine and bloodshed".

The Guardian having summoned in all his plundering parties, and concentrated his army, directed his march towards Carlisle. The sack of this city would have been most desirable to the invaders, not only on account of its riches, but also as in some measure enabling them to avenge the injuries inflicted upon Berwick. The place, however, was strongly fortified; and the Scots not being provided with a battering train, they had to content themselves with sending a summons; which, being disregarded by the garrison, they passed on, and laid waste Cumberland and Allerdale, from Inglewood Forest to Derwentwater and Cockermouth. Winter now advanced: the frost set in with uncommon severity, and the Scots, who had created a desert around them, began also to dread the miseries of famine, as well as the inclemency of the season. Their encampments could now be traced by the frozen bodies of those who had perished during the night from the intensity of the cold. Under these circumstances, Wallace gave orders for their return to Scotland.

On their reaching Hexceldsham, the monastery of which had been plundered during their advance, the following singular scene is said by Hemingford to have occurred. Three monks, all who had the courage to remain, were observed in a small chapel. Thinking that the danger was over, they had forsaken their concealments, and were endeavouring to repair the damages of the late visitation, when, in the midst of their labours, they discovered the Scottish army returning, and fled in dismay to the oratory. The soldiers, however, with their long spears, were soon among them; and brandishing their weapons, commanded them, at their peril, to give up the treasures of the monastery. "Alas!" said one of the monks, "it is but a short time since you yourselves have seized our whole property, and you know best where it now is". At this juncture Wallace entered, and commanding his soldiers to be silent, requested one of the monks to perform mass: he obeyed, and the Guardian and his attendants heard the service with becoming reverence. When the elevation of the host was about to take place, Wallace retired for a moment to lay aside his helmet and arms. Instantly the avarice and ferocity of the soldiers broke out. They pressed upon the priest, snatched the cup from the high altar, tore away the ornaments and sacred vestments, and even stole the book which contained the ceremony. When their leader returned, he found the priest in fear and horror at the sacrilege. Wallace, indignant at such conduct, gave orders that the villains should be searched for, and put to death. In the mean time, he took the monks under his own special protection.

As some atonement for the outrage committed, the Guardian granted to the monks of Hexceldsham a charter of protection for twelve months, from the 7th November, 1297, by which their lives and property were held sacred. "The prohibition," says Lord Hailes, "to slay any ecclesiastic of the monastery of Hexceldsham, shows that the Scots had been guilty of uncommon barbarities." Had his Lordship said that the conduct of the

of the Scots was merely an humble imitation by the example which the English had set after their "Good Friday" revelries at the sack of Berwick, he would have been nearer the truth. We find no such restraint put upon the English soldiery, who were allowed to murder their lay and clerical victims indiscriminately; not even excepting nuns, whose sex, independent of every other consideration, ought to have been their protection. If a shadow of humanity can be discovered in the mode of warfare carried on by the two nations, it certainly belongs of right to those who published a prohibition of such enormities. In the invasion by the Scots in 1296, there is no charge brought against them of killing priests. Langtoft says, vol. II. p. 273, that in coming to Hexham and Leynertofte, they merely chased out the canons, and took away their goods. Their subsequent severity must therefore have been forced upon them by their enemies.

English writers have lamented, with eloquence and pathos, the cruelties exercised in this invasion; and from their silence respecting the atrocities of their own countrymen, have endeavoured to fix the stain of exclusive barbarity on the arms of Scotland. This is all natural enough, and quite consistent with that national prejudice by which the people of every country are more or less imbued; but it is painfully mortifying, when we find Scotchmen of acknowledged talent and penetration forgetting what is due to themselves and to their country; and from a weak fear of being thought illiberal, following humbly in the train of such authors, and echoing their reflections; or labouringly assenting to their *ex parte* statements, in place of standing forward and showing the world, that their countrymen, in resorting to such severities, merely exercised a system of fair retaliation, for the purpose of repressing enormities of the deepest dye, committed in support of an aggression of the most unparalleled baseness.

During the time the Scottish army was engaged in ravaging the northern counties of England, Robert de Clifford, at the head of one hundred men-at-arms, and twenty thousand foot, left Carlisle, and proceeded to plunder in Scotland. His success, however, was not great, having killed three hundred and eight Scots, burned two villages, and taken a few prisoners, with whom he returned home about Christmas.

Whilst the Guardian was thus successfully prosecuting the cause of his country's independence, his efforts, at the same time, were becoming daily more beneficial to the real liberties of the very people to whom he was opposed. Elated, first by the conquest of Wales, and afterwards by that of Scotland, Edward had already begun to stretch forth the iron rod of oppression over the legitimate subjects of his own native kingdom; and, trusting to the assistance he should receive from the barons of his newly acquired conquests, who, he might naturally suppose would not be found reluctant to act as instruments in holding their late conquerors in subjection, he assumed, towards the nobles of England, an air of haughty superiority that awakened their jealousy, and alarmed their fears.

### XIII WALLACE RETURNS TO SCOTLAND

DURING the time that Wallace remained in England, his army was occasionally renewed; for as soon as the quota of men belonging to one clan or parish had collected a sufficient share of booty, they were allowed to retire and secure it in the North, while their places were supplied by fresh hordes of not less hungry adventurers. By such means the spoil of England became pretty equally divided throughout the several districts of Scotland, and the inhabitants began to experience the benefits of returning plenty. Having, in this manner, enriched his own country at the expense of her enemies, the intrepid Guardian returned poor it is true, in wealth, but rich in fame to behold the prosperity he had so gallantly achieved. This expedition, however, though it had increased his reputation among the common people, failed not to awaken the envy of the nobles, who could ill brook the popularity of one whose actions had thrown them so much into the shade; and his praise, which they heard on all sides, sounded in their ears like so many reproaches against themselves, who, possessing wealth and power, either could not, or from treachery would not, do what he, so much their inferior in wealth and influence, had taken in hand and finished, with glory to himself and honor to the country. Hence the private heartburning which arose among these noblemen, whose consciences whispered that they had been either traitors or sluggards when the liberty of their country was at stake.

In the meantime, Edward having complied with the demands of his subjects, the Barons of England collected an army, and advanced towards the Border. On the 14th March, 1298, the King himself landed at Sandwich, and instantly summoned the Scottish barons to a Parliament at York. According to Abercromby, he also addressed letters to the Guardian, and in a strain more impassioned than courteous, upbraided him for his audacity in disturbing the tranquillity of Scotland, and in presuming afterwards to invade England, a line of conduct which, he observed, would not have been ventured upon, had he (Edward) been in the country; and concluded, by commanding Wallace to redeem his errors by an immediate submission to his authority. To these letters the Guardian replied, that in availing himself of the absence of Edward, in order to regain the liberty of his country, he had done no more than his duty, and that the baseness lay with the English monarch in taking advantage of the disunion of a free people to enslave them. As to invading England, he had done so in order to indemnify Scotland for the injuries she had so unjustly sustained; and in respect to submission, as he intended soon to be in England again, he would then give him his answer in person.

The active and undaunted Guardian was instantly at the heels of his messenger, and on the 20th of March came in sight of the English army at Stanmore. Scottish historians say, that Edward's force though much superior to that of Wallace, was composed chiefly of raw militia hastily raised, few or none of his veterans having been yet landed, and that the English monarch, struck with the appearance and admirable discipline of the Scots, and, unwilling to risk his fame in a conflict so doubtful, when about five hundred paces from the enemy, turned his banners and marched off the field. Wallace, afraid of an ambush, restrained his soldiers from the pursuit, and repressed

their ardour by telling them, that the victory they had already gained was the more glorious, as it was got without blood and against the first captain of the age, at the head of an army which, to all human appearance, was able, from its numbers, to have swallowed them up; concluding his address, by ordering thanksgivings to Heaven for so great an interposition in their favour.

This account, however, is not corroborated by English historians. They allege that the King was not present; and in this they are certainly in the right. Edward, on his arrival in England, was detained by matters of importance, in such a manner as to render his presence at Stanmore on the 20th March utterly impossible. That the Scots may have come in sight of the English army on the borders, is not at all unlikely; or that the latter should decline risking a general engagement, after their late reverses, without the presence of their King, who was daily expected, is extremely probable. It may also be observed, that the charters of their rights, though granted at Ghent, had not as yet been confirmed in England. The conduct of the English leaders, under such circumstances, may be considered as highly prudent and judicious.

But if the Scots were disappointed in not coming to blows with their enemies at Stanmore, it was not long before they had an opportunity of trying the mettle of their swords. Aymer, or Aldomer de Vallance, son of the Earl Pembroke, a youth at that time of eighteen years, had raised himself high in the estimation of Edward, by the ready manner in which he accompanied him to Flanders. The abilities and discretion, which he soon displayed, obtained for him so much of the confidence of his master, that he was employed in various important matters of state. On the truce with France being concluded for the furtherance of which he was appointed a commissioner Edward, it appears, had ordered him to sail for Scotland with the force under his command, for the purpose of co-operating in the invasion which he meditated on his arrival in England. Various circumstances contributed to retard the projected attempt; and it was not till Midsummer that Aldomer and Sir John Siward (a recreant Scot, son of the traitor of Dunbar) landed in Fife with a considerable body of troops, and began to lay waste the country. Their destructive operations, however, were soon interrupted by the arrival of Wallace and his Scots, who fell upon them in the extensive forest of Blackironside, and, after an obstinate conflict, the invaders were defeated with the loss of 1,580 men. This engagement, which is sometimes called the Battle of Dillecarew, was fought on the 12th June. The loss of the Scots was comparatively trifling; and, with the exception of Sir Duncan Balfour, Sheriff of Fife, and, according to some, Sir Christopher Seton, few, if any, of note, were killed, Sir John Graham being only wounded. Sir John Ramsay of Auchterhouse, with Squires Guthrie and Bisset, are particularly mentioned as having distinguished themselves in this brilliant reencounter.

On his return to Scotland, after the affair at Stanmore, Wallace applied himself to rectify the abuses and disorders which had arisen from the disorganized state of the country. For this purpose, he seems to have made a tour through the kingdom, and on 29th March we find him presiding in an assembly of the Barons at Torphichen. At this assembly, which was most probably held in the preceptory of the Templars, various meritorious individuals were rewarded for their patriotic exertions in the cause of independence. Among these, Alexander Scrymgeour had the constabulary of Dundee conferred upon him and his heirs, for his "faithful aid in bearing the Royal Banner of Scotland which service he actually performs". This document appears to have been made with the consent and approbation of the Scottish nobility, and is dated 29th March, 1298.

Some authors assert, that the election of Wallace to the Guardianship took place after his return from the invasion of England. Lord Hailes says, he assumed the title of Guardian subsequent to that event. This we consider extremely improbable; as the degree of popularity he had attained among his countrymen would have certainly anticipated any assumption on the part of their deliverer. Although Abercromby be not a first-rate authority, we conceive that he is right in placing the election before the advance of Wallace to the south. The immense preparations necessary for an invasion of England, required the sanction of something like legitimate authority to carry it into effect; and the measures which he resorted to for the good of the country, immediately posterior to the battle of Stirling, were not of a less decisive character than those which marked his policy on his return from England. Abercromby also states, that he held a commission of Regency under the seal of Baliol, which was privately executed during the captivity of the latter in the Tower of London. To this statement, tradition unites her testimony, and adds, that Wallace likewise obtained a bond from the principal barons of Scotland, authorizing any measures he might adopt for the recovery of the kingdom. This bond, it is asserted, he held *in terrorem* over the heads of the aristocracy, for the purpose of compelling them to their duty.

The authority of Wallace, however, whether conferred or assumed, unfortunately for his country, was not destined to be of long duration. Soon after the defeat of the Earl of Pembroke, Edward, now reconciled to his barons, entered Scotland by the eastern marches, with a formidable army, consisting, according to English writers, of 3000 horsemen, armed at all points, 4000 of a lighter description, called *hobelars*, and 80,000 foot. A further reinforcement overtook him on his march, which swelled his forces to upwards of 100,000 fighting men, a great proportion of whom were veterans, inured to arms in the French wars. To oppose a power so overwhelming in the open field, the Guardian well knew would be in vain; he, therefore, again resorted to those measures which had already been found so effective: the population retired with their cattle and provisions before the approaching enemy, after destroying whatever they conceived might be useful to the invaders. While the Scottish army kept far in the advance, a strict surveillance was exercised over the motions of their adversaries, so that few of the English scouts were able to return with any satisfactory account of the position or numbers of their opponents; and though most of the fortified places made little or no resistance, yet the supplies the conquerors found in the garrisons, did little to relieve that scarcity which soon began to be severely felt among the multitudes who followed the banner of England.

In the mean time, the fleet which Edward had ordered to attend him with provisions being detained by contrary winds, he was compelled to wait their arrival; and, for this purpose, he fixed his head-quarters in the preceptory of the Knights Templars at Torphichen; while part of his army occupied Templeliston, thus keeping open his communication with the sea.

Edward, in his march, had met with little annoyance, except from the stronghold of Dirlerton, and two other castles in his rear, the garrisons of which made frequent sorties, and cut off several of his foraging parties. The Bishop of Durham was therefore ordered to lay siege to these fortresses. His efforts, however, were at first unsuccessful; he was driven from the walls of Dirlerton with considerable loss; and as the force under his command was in want of provisions, as well as of a sufficient battering train, he sent Sir John Fitz-Marmaduke to represent his situation at headquarters. "Go back", said Edward, "and tell Antony that he is right to be pacific when he is acting the Bishop, but that in his present business he must forget his calling: and as for you, Marmaduke",

addressing the messenger, "You are a relentless soldier; I have often had to reprove you for too cruel exultation over the death of your enemies; but return now whence you came, and be as relentless as you choose, you will deserve my thanks, not my censure; but look you do not see my face again till these three castles are razed to the ground".

While lying inactive in the preceptory of the Templars, Edward appears to have amused himself by raising a number of young squires to the rank of knighthood; and - a few ships, affording a temporary supply, having very opportunely arrived - a donation of wine was distributed on the occasion among the soldiers, the effects of which liberality soon became apparent. Intoxicated with their allowance, the national animosity of the English and Welsh troops broke out in a dangerous mutiny. The latter, inflamed by wine, and irritated by the privations they had already suffered, attacked the English in their quarters during the night, and murdered eighteen ecclesiastics; whereupon the English cavalry, in revenge, rode in upon the assailants, and slew eighty of their number. The Welsh, who amounted to 40,000, now withdrew from the English in high displeasure at the slaughter of their countrymen; and Edward, having at first made light of the affair, afterwards found it necessary to exert himself, in order to effect a reconciliation. Meantime, the scarcity continued to increase in his camp to such an extent, as induced him to issue his orders for a retreat.

The Scottish army, by the prudence of its leader, had hitherto been kept as it were invisible from the enemy, who were only aware of its existence, by the desolation with which it surrounded them; and the excellent generalship of Wallace was now to all appearance about to be crowned with its usual success, when his plans were rendered abortive by the treachery of his pretended adherents. Two Scottish noblemen found means to communicate to the Bishop of Durham the position of the Scottish army, and their intention to surprise the English by a night attack, and afterwards to hang upon their rear, and harass them in their retreat. Edward received this news with ecstasy. "Thanks be to God!", he exclaimed, "who hath hitherto extricated me from every danger. They shall not need to follow me, since I shall forthwith go and meet them"; and, instantly countermanding the orders for a retreat, he prepared to go in search of the Scottish army.

Though the utmost diligence was used by Edward and his officers, morning was pretty far advanced before the immense concourse of warriors could be put in motion. The distant stations which an army so numerous must necessarily have occupied, rendered an instant removal altogether impossible; and a whole summer's day was therefore consumed in enabling them to reach an extensive heath to the east of Linlithgow; where, for that night, they rested in their armour. In the mid-watch, however, an alarm spread, that the enemy were at hand, and considerable confusion ensued. It originated in an uproar, occasioned by an accident which happened to the King: His war-horse, which stood beside him, had it seems become restive, and trampled on him as he lay on the heath; and his domestics having raised the cry, that the King was wounded, every man grasped his weapon, and stood on his defense. Philip de Belvey, the King's surgeon, however, soon quieted their apprehensions, and they again betook themselves to rest.

XIV  
THE ENGLISH ARMY ADVANCE TO LINLITHGOW. BATTLE OF  
FALKIRK

DAY broke on the army of England moving onward to Linlithgow in one long and variegated column. To those whom sanctity of character, or local situation, enabled to await its approach, the spectacle, which was now at hand, must have been fearfully interesting. Since the days of the Romans, the present army was perhaps the largest that had traversed the plains of Scotland. Many alterations had been introduced about this time into Europe by the crusaders; and Edward, who was no inapt scholar in the military art, had, during his residence in Palestine, and his expeditions to France, availed himself of every invention that came under his observation. His army, therefore, might justly be considered as the most perfect in discipline, equipment, and feudal splendour, that Christendom could boast of at the time. As it approached, it seemed to lengthen, the interminable array issuing, as it were, from some inexhaustible source on the verge of the horizon: its glittering mazes occasionally appearing and disappearing among the inequalities of the road, might be aptly compared to the undulating movements of one of those enormous serpents that figure in the pages of romance, some of whose coils are at times seen while its extremities are concealed amid the darkness of the den from whence it is represented as issuing forth. Most of the inhabitants fled before the unwelcome intruders, except a few Carmelite friars, who stopped to gaze on the warlike pageant.

The confused hum of this living mass increased as it advanced, till the deserted walls of Linlithgow resounded to the braying of clarions, the thundering of kettle-drums, and the prancing of warsteeds in flowing caparisons, bestrode by warriors mailed to the teeth, having long two-handed swords depending from their girdles, while their right hands held lances, and their left supported triangular shields painted with the various devices of their families.

Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Constable of England, led the first division. The second was under the charge of Bishop Bek, who, having executed the commission Edward had sent him by John Fitz-Marmaduke, next appeared in this portentous march, attended by thirty-nine banners; for this proud ecclesiastic spared no expense to render his retinue as magnificent as possible. In the third division under the command of the King, besides the royal standard (three leopards courant), there waved, the sacred banner of St. John of Beverley, that of St. George (white with a red cross), that of St. Edmond, King of the West-Saxons (blue with three gold crowns), that of St. Edward the Confessor (blue, with a cross fleury between five martlets, gold), and also the ominous standard of Henry III, by the unfurling of which the army were apprised of the vicinity of the enemy, and the certainty of an approaching battle. This gorgeous emblem of war was never displayed, except to announce a positive intention to fight: it was formed of red satin,

bearing a dragon embroidered in gold, having sapphire eyes, and the tongue ingeniously contrived to seem continually moving.

Amongst those who followed the royal banner, was Brian Fitz-Allan, the late Governor of Scotland, attended by his vassals, and those Scots who still ventured to oppose the liberties of their country. Of the latter, we find Brian le Jay, preceptor of the Scottish Templars, who probably joined Edward at Torphichen. What number of knights accompanied him to the field in this formidable crusade against the freedom of that people who fostered them, cannot now be ascertained; we may, however, venture to include John de Sautre, "Maister de la Chivalerie de Templi en Ecosse."

The immense multitude of Welsh collected by Edward, as being better acquainted with mountain warfare, were dispersed among the different divisions of the forces. Being mostly archers, and clothed in white tunics, they were easily distinguished from the other troops.

Tradition asserts, that this grand army took a whole day to deploy through the town of Linlithgow. This perhaps may be true respecting the parties escorting the heavy war-engines, sutlers attending the camp, and other stragglers; but the advanced guard of the English came in sight of the Scottish outposts early in the day. The latter occupied the ridge of a hill; and as the English marched up to attack them, a thick mist intervened, and prevented the intended rencounter.

When the day cleared up, the Scottish army was discovered in the distance, taking up their positions, and preparing for battle. Their numbers did not exceed 30,000 not a third part of the force opposed to them; and aware of the immense advantages which Edward possessed, and extremely averse to risk the safety of the country on the issue of a single battle, the Guardian would gladly have protracted the warfare, by retiring farther to the north. Divisions, however, prevailed among the leaders of the Scots; and, before they could agree on the measures necessary to be adopted, the near approach of the English, and the great superiority of the latter in cavalry, rendered retreat extremely hazardous.

The Scottish army, which consisted principally of spearmen or lancers, was arranged in four divisions or schiltrons. Those in the centre held their long spears perpendicular, and stood ready to fill up a vacancy, while each intervening rank gradually sloped their weapons till they came to a level. The front rank kneeling, and the whole closely wedged together, presented to the enemy the appearance of four enormous, impenetrable porcupines, the space between each being filled up with archers.

Edward, on seeing these dispositions for battle, hesitated to give orders for the attack, and proposed that his followers should pitch their tents, and allow the soldiers and horses time for rest and refreshment. This was opposed by his officers, as being unsafe in their present situation, a small rivulet only intervening between the two armies. "What, then, would you advise?" exclaimed Edward. "An immediate advance!" was the reply; "the field and the victory will be our's". "In God's name, then, let it be so!" said the King.

The Earls of Lincoln and Hereford, accordingly, led the first squadron to the attack. Their progress, however, was retarded by an extensive morass, which covered the front of the Scots, and obliged their enemies to make a circuit to the west. While thus employed, the powerful squadron under the Bishop of Durham managed to get in front of the enemy. Bek, however, on observing the formidable appearance of his

opponents, wished to delay the charge till supported by the column under the command of the King. "Stick to thy mass, Bishop", said Ralf Basset of Drayton, "and teach us not what to do in the face of an enemy". "On, then", said Bek, "Set on, in your own way; we are all soldiers to-day, and bound to do our duty". Instantly they rushed forward, and soon became engaged with the first schiltrons, which was almost simultaneously attacked on the opposite quarter by the first division which had cleared the morass. "The cavalry of the Scots, and a large body of the vassals of John Cumyn, immediately wheeled about, and left the field without awaiting the attack. The schiltrons of spearmen, however, stood firm, and repulsed all the efforts of their numerous and heavy-armed assailants, who recoiled again and again from before the mass of spears which their enemies presented. Baffled in their attack, the cavalry of Edward charged upon the archers, who, less able to stand their ground against the weight of their mail-clad adversaries, gave way. In this confusion, Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, brother to the Steward of Scotland, was thrown to the ground, while attempting to rally his vassals, the archers of Selkirk; and though many of them rushed forward to his assistance, their exertions were in vain: their gallant leader fell, surrounded by the bodies of his faithful tenantry.

Though heavy squadrons of cavalry were continually pushed forward against the Scottish spearmen, still the latter maintained their ranks, and displayed such admirable discipline and stubborn resolution, that Edward, convinced of the inability of breaking their array, suspended the charges of his horsemen, and ordered all his archers and slingers to advance.

Langtoft thus describes the conduct and appearance of the Scottish infantry:

"Ther formast conrey, ther bakkis togidere sette,  
 Ther spares poynt ouer poynt, so sare & o thikke  
 & fast togidere joynt, to see it was ferlike.  
 Als a castelle thei stode, that were walled with stone,  
 Thei wende no man of blode thorgh tham suld haf gone  
 Ther folk was so mykelle, so stalworth & so clene,  
 Ther foyntes forward prikelle, nonhut wild thei wene,  
 That if alle Inglond fro Berwik vnto Kent,  
 The folk therin men fond had bien thider sent,  
 Stength suld non haf had, to perte tham thorgh oute,  
 So wer thei set sad with poyntes rounde aboute."

*Vol. II. p. 304, 30,5.*

The formation of these Scottish schiltrons was admirably adapted for defense; and had they been supplied with a sufficient body of cavalry to have protected them from the assaults of the archers, they might have kept their ground, in defiance of every effort of the enemy. But, deserted by their own cavalry, they now stood helplessly exposed to a storm of missiles which assailed them in all directions; for though those in the centre bravely pressed forward to fill up the chasms in front, cloud after cloud of arrows,

mingled with stones, continued to descend among their ranks with increasing and deadly effect, till the ground was encumbered around them; while their former assailants sat with their horses on the rein, ready to burst in upon them at the first opening that would offer. The Scots at last became unsteady, under the incessant and murderous discharge of the English artillery. The cavalry then dashed forward, and breaking in upon their ranks, completed the confusion.

Wallace now saw that retreat was the only expedient left by which he could save the remnant of his countrymen; and having, with incredible efforts, rallied a number of his most determined adherents, he attacked the foremost of the pursuers, and by that means covered the retreat of the fugitives. Amongst the slain, Brian le Jay is particularly mentioned. The death of this Templar, which took place in Callender-wood, damped the ardour of his companions, and enabled the Scots to make good their retreat. In this sanguinary conflict, 15,000 Scots are said to have been left on the field; the most distinguished of whom were Sir John Graham of Dundalk, Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, and MacDuff, grand-uncle to the Earl of Fife. The extent of the English loss, from the stubborn opposition of their enemies, must also have been considerable. After the battle, Wallace fell back on Stirling, which he burnt, in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the English.

Respecting this battle, Scottish authors give a very different account from the preceding, which is chiefly taken from the pages of English historians. According to the former, the envy of the nobles towards Wallace, and the dissensions incident thereto, were the chief, if not the sole occasion of the disaster. The Scottish army, say they, consisted of three divisions of ten thousand men each, under the command of Sir John Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch, chief of the powerful clan of that name; Sir John Stewart, brother to the Lord of Bute, who, in addition to his own tenantry, headed those of his absent brother; and Sir William Wallace, three of the most powerful men in the country, the two former from their birth and influence, the latter from the great fame acquired by his military achievements. On the brink of the engagement, an imprudent and unfortunate disagreement arose among the leaders. Stewart in impatient at the resistance he had already met with, ordered Robert Bruce and the Bishop of Durham to advance with the forces under their command. While Wallace was engaged in securing the retreat of his unfortunate countrymen, Bruce made a circuit round the hill which he occupied, and gaining the ascent, obliged him to quit his position, and endeavour to force his way through the enemy beneath. The charge of this fresh body of Scots, composed of the stoutest and best disciplined warriors in the country, was but ill sustained by the division they attacked, which, giving way before their impetuous descent, was thrown into confusion; and Wallace, availing himself of their disorder, directed his troops to cross the Carron, and occupy a post which commanded the ford. In the mean time, with a small but choice body of his friends, he kept in the rear, and continued to charge and repulse those that were most forward in the pursuit. In one of these efforts, Wallace advanced alone from the midst of his little band, and, with a single blow, slew Sir Brian le Jay, a knight templar of high military renown, who had shown himself most active in harassing the retreating Scots. This action rendered the others more cautious in their approaches. Sir John Graham, however, giving way to a gallant but imprudent ardour, advanced too far amongst the enemy, where he was surrounded and slain; and Wallace, after repeated endeavours to revenge the death of his friend, rejoined his followers. This he effected with great difficulty, from the influx of the tide, and the weakness of his horse, which is said to have been so worn out with the fatigues of the day, and the wounds it had received, that the noble animal expired as

soon as it had placed its master beyond the reach of his pursuers. By the attention of his trusty follower Kerle, who stood an anxious spectator on the danger of his chief, Wallace was furnished with a fresh horse; and the two friends, as they moved slowly along the banks of the river, were gazing with silent and sorrowful interest on the scene of carnage they had left, when Bruce, from the opposite bank, having recognized the Guardian, raised his voice, and requested an interview. This was readily granted, and the warriors approached each other from opposite sides of the river, at a place narrow, deep, and rocky. When on the margin of the stream, Wallace waved his hand, to repress the curiosity of his followers, while he eyed his misled countryman with stern, but dignified composure. Bruce felt awed by the majestic appearance and deportment of the patriot, and his voice, though loud, became tremulous as he thus addressed him: "I am surprised, Sir William, that you should entertain thoughts, as it is believed you do, of attaining to the crown of Scotland; and that, with this chimerical object in view, you should thus continue to expose yourself to so many dangers. It is not easy, you find, to resist the King of England, who is one of the greatest princes in the world. And were you even successful in your attempts, are you so vain as to imagine, that the Scots will ever suffer you to be their King?" The Guardian did not allow him to say more. "No", replied he, "my thoughts never soared so high, nor do I intend to usurp a crown I very well know my birth can give me no right to, and my services can never merit. I only mean to deliver my country from oppression and slavery, and to support a just cause, which you have abandoned. You, my lord, whose right may entitle you to be king, ought to protect the kingdom; it is because you do it not, that I must, and will, while I breathe, endeavour the defense of that country I was born to serve, and for which, if Providence will have it so, to die. As for you, who, in place of exerting your talents to turn the tide of battle in your country's favour, choose rather to live a slave, if with safety to your life and fortune, than free, with the hazard of losing the latter, you may remain in possession of what you so much value, while the hollow praises of our enemies may blind you to the enormity of your conduct; but remember, my lord, they whom you are thus aiding to bind the yoke of slavery on the necks of your countrymen, will not long consider that conduct praiseworthy in you, which they would condemn as infamous in themselves; and if they are successful in riveting our chains, you will find your reward in the well-earned contempt of the oppressor, and the hearty execrations of the oppressed. Pause, therefore, and reflect; if you have but the heart to claim the crown, you may win it with glory, and wear it with justice. I can do neither; but what I can I will live and die a free born man". These generous sentiments, uttered in a clear, manly, and determined tone of voice, came home to the heart of Bruce, with all the sternness of deserved reproof; and he was about to reply, when the ringing of harness, followed by the appearance of a number of helmets, over-topping the ridge of a neighbouring hillock, made it prudent to break off the conference.

Such are the particulars of this memorable battle, as related with some trifling variations, by most of, if not by all, our old Scottish historians. As modern commentators, however, consider themselves justified in denying some of the material points; particularly the feud among the leaders the presence of Bruce in the engagement and, consequently, his conference with Wallace, we shall in this place devote a few pages to their consideration.

These objections are chiefly founded on the authority of Hemmgford and Trevit, two English monks, who are said to have had their information from eye-witnesses. This may be all true; but when we find one of them (Hemingford) asserting, that "fifty thousand Scots were slain in the battle, many drowned, three hundred thousand foot

taken prisoners, besides a thousand horse," we may reasonably suppose the possibility of the eye-witnesses being so much occupied in counting their killed and captured enemies, that matters of such comparatively trifling importance may not have had their requisite share of their attention. Lord Hailes, however, lends the weight of his highly respectable name in support of those who deny the truth of this portion of our national annals, and thus expresses himself on the points in question: "It would be tedious and unprofitable to recite all that that has been said on this subject by our own writers, from Fordun to Abercrombie, how Wallace, Stewart, and Comyn quarreled on the punctilio of leading the van of an army, which stood on the defensive; how Stewart compared Wallace to an owl, with borrowed feathers; how the Scottish leaders, busied in this frivolous altercation, had no leisure to form their army; how Comyn traitorously withdrew with ten thousand men; how Wallace, from resentment, followed his example; how, by such disastrous incidents, the Scottish army was enfeebled, and Stewart and his party abandoned to destruction. Our histories abound in trash of this kind. There is scarcely one of our writers who has not produced an invective against Comyn, or an apology for Wallace, or a lamentation for the deserted Stewart. What dissensions may have prevailed among the Scottish commanders, it is impossible to know. It appears not to me, that their dissensions had any influence on their conduct in the day of battle. The truth seems to be this: The English cavalry greatly exceeded the Scotch in numbers were infinitely better equipped, and more adroit. The Scottish cavalry were intimidated and fled: had they remained in the field, they might have preserved their honour, but never could have turned the chance of that day. It was natural, however, for such of their party as survived the engagement, to impute the disaster to the defection of the cavalry: National pride would ascribe their flight to treachery rather than to pusillanimity. It is not improbable, that Comyn commanded the cavalry; hence a report may have spread, that Comyn betrayed his country: the report has been embellished by each successive relation. When men are seized with a panic, their commander must of necessity, or will from prudence, accompany them in their flight. Earl Warren fled with his army from Stirling to Berwick, yet Edward did not punish him as a traitor or a coward. "The tale of Comyn's treachery and Wallace's ill-timed resentment, may have gained credit, because it is a pretty tale, and not improbable in itself; but it always amazes me that the story of the congress of Bruce and Wallace, after the battle of Falldrck, should have gained credit. I lay aside the full evidence which we now possess, "that Bruce was not at that time of the English part", nor present at the battle for it must be admitted, that our historians knew nothing of those circumstances which demonstrate the impossibility of the congress but the wonder is, that men of sound judgment should not have seen the absurdity of a long conversation between the commander of a flying army, and one of the leaders of a victorious army. When Fordun told the story, he placed "a narrow but inaccessible glen"; between the speakers. Later historians have substituted the river Carron in place of an inaccessible glen; and they make Bruce and Wallace talk across the river like two young declaimers from the pulpits in a school of rhetoric.

With all due deference to his Lordship, we conceive that the strength of his first objection lies chiefly in adhering too literally to the words "leading the van", made use of by some of our old writers; others, who mention the quarrel, do not so express themselves. Now, we do not see anything so improbable in a discussion arising among these chiefs, who considered themselves independent of each other, about who should have the supreme command in directing the operations of the day, which, we presume, is all that is to be understood in this instance by "leading the van". The obvious advantage of having a commander-in-chief in so momentous an occasion, could not have escaped the merest tyro in military tactics; and that no person was appointed to this

office, even his Lordship does not deny. That Wallace, from past services, as well as from being Guardian of the kingdom, had reason to consider himself entitled to this distinction, cannot be disputed; and it is not likely, from the talents and foresight he had displayed on former occasions, that he would have come to the field against so powerful and so experienced an adversary, without having previously formed some plan for conducting the operations of the day, so as to counteract the great superiority of force, which the English monarch had brought into the field. The thwarting of his plans, by the envy and hauteur of his colleagues, affords a plain and obvious solution of his conduct; and his resignation of the Guardianship after the battle (which his Lordship does not deny), very strongly corroborates the account given by our Scottish historians, of the treatment which he received on the field; and this treatment must have been attended with circumstances which convinced him of the utter hopelessness of his being able to direct the resources of the country to advantage. Strong indeed must have been the reasons which induced this brave, intrepid, and prudent pilot, to relinquish the helm of affairs at so critical a juncture. That an unfortunate animosity existed, we have the most ample testimony; and though his Lordship conceives it to have been so very trifling in its nature, as not to influence the parties in the discharge of their duty, yet we have respectable and incontrovertible evidence that it not only did so, but was the principal, if not the sole cause of the disasters which overwhelmed the country. Wyntown this expresses himself, on the occasion:

"For dyspyt and gret inwy  
 The Comynys Kyn all hályly  
 Fyrst left the Feld; and, as behowyd,  
 Syne Willame Walayis hym remowyd;  
 For he persáwyd gret malys  
 Agayne hym scharpyd mony wys."

And again,  
 "Before than couth ná man say,  
 Ná nevyr wes sene befor that day,  
 Sá hále wencust the Scottis men:  
 Ná it had noucht fallyn then,  
 Had noucht Falshed and Inwy  
 Devysyd theme sá syndryly."

Here there is no national pride interfering, to conceal the extent of the discomfiture of the Scots; and it is surprising his Lordship should conceive, that any one would think it necessary to invent what he calls a "pretty tale" for the purpose of soothing the national feelings. Thirty thousand Scots, we presume, may be defeated by ninety or a hundred thousand English, without being very much disgraced by the affair; whereas the English authorities may have been silent on circumstances which tended to diminish the glory of their victory, even had they come to their knowledge.

That Cumyn commanded the cavalry is merely a conjecture of his Lordship; but allowing it to have been the case, we conceive there is a material difference between a leader joining in the general flight of his army, and one riding off with part of the forces, and leaving the rest to stand the brunt of the engagement. If Warren had acted so, we presume he would either have been punished as a traitor, or cashiered as a coward. That Cumyn was afterwards elected one of the regents of the kingdom, affords no satisfactory evidence of his having acted correctly. He was at the head of the only entire body of troops in the country, and his faction unbroken of course, there could be no opposition to his election. And the wonder is, considering the ambition of the man, that under these circumstances he was not appointed sole regent, in place of sharing a divided authority, as will be seen in the sequel, with one who was his inferior in birth, talents, and influence.

We cannot see any great improbability of the "congress" (as his Lordship calls it) having taken place in the manner described, provided that Bruce was present. Wallace had already secured his troops from immediate pursuit. Bruce might think it a favourable opportunity to palliate his conduct at Irvine; and Wallace, who was seldom afraid to come in juxtaposition with any one, might have been easily induced to stand when he hailed him. His Lordship's objection is founded chiefly on the length of the conversation. Now, if any one will peruse it, even in the most verbose of our historians, he will find that it could not have occupied more than five minutes, which certainly cannot be called "a long conversation", or at least so long as to afford anything like a plausible objection to its occurrence. As to Fordun having placed "a narrow inaccessible glen" between the parties, it does not in the least affect the credibility of the account. Few glens are to be found in Scotland, without a river or stream of some description running through them; and in speaking of any of these, it is no uncommon thing for one person to allude to the glen, and another to the river or stream so connected with it.

That all our ancient authors should agree in the circumstance of Bruce being present at the battle, is very singular, provided he was not there. How they should all be in this state of ignorance is rather unaccountable, considering the facility they had of informing themselves; as some of them must have written from authority, if not of eyewitnesses, at least of those who derived their accounts from such. It is not at all probable that Bruce, who is universally acknowledged to have been a monarch of great political sagacity, would have allowed a tale, so likely to injure him in the opinion of his subjects, to get into general circulation, while the contrary statement, if true, would have tended to exalt him in their estimation. There appear so many irreconcilable circumstances involved in the belief of this opinion, that we feel much inclined to suspect some little discrepancy in the evidence to which his Lordship so confidently alludes, more particularly as Wyntown, whose authority is highly appreciated by all writers, is so very pointed in asserting the presence of Bruce in the English army. The words are,

"Bot yhit the lele Scottis men,  
 That in that feld ware feychtand then,  
 To-gyddyr stwd sá fermly  
 Strykand before thame manlykly,  
 Swá that náne tliare thyrl thame mycht,

Bot Robert the Brows than wyth a slycht,  
 (He thare wes wyth this Kiny Edwart,  
 Set he oure Kyng wes eftywart)  
 Wyth Schyre Anton the Bek a wyly man,  
 Of Durame Byschape he wes than,  
 A-bowt ane hill a well fere way  
 Owt of that stowre than prikyd thay;  
 Behynd bakkis alsá fast  
 Thare thai come on, and layid on fast;  
 Swá made thai the dyscumfytowre."

Here our author, not satisfied with stating, that "Robert de Brows" was with "King Edwart"; but, in order to establish the identity of the person, and guard against his being confounded with the elder Robert Bruce, or any other of the same name, he says expressly,

"Set he oure Kyng wes eftywart"

If Bruce was at this time on the side of the patriots, as his Lordship says, it is singular that he did not appear among them on this eventful day, in a manner becoming his birth, talents, and great territorial influence. When all the chiefs of the party had collected their followers for a grand national struggle, Bruce is represented as employed in guarding, what his Lordship, for the sake of effect, calls the "important castle of Ayr," which, it seems in those days, "kept the communication open, with Galloway, Argyllshire, and the Isles". Had the possession of this "important castle" been of any use to an army stationed between Linlithgow and Falkirk, it certainly could have been defended by a person of less consequence than Bruce, whose military talents and numerous vassals would have been of infinitely greater service in the field. When Wallace was straining every nerve to collect the strength of the country, to oppose the formidable invaders, and with his utmost efforts could not muster more than 30,000 soldiers, can it be supposed, that he would have failed to summon to the standard of liberty a baron of such influence as the Earl of Carrick, if he thought there were a chance of the summons being obeyed?

Though his Lordship asserts that Bruce had deserted the cause of Edward, yet he does not attempt to show that any communication took place between him and the Scottish army; nor by what authority he assumed the defense of the castle of Ayr, which was a fortress at that time belonging to the Crown. If Hemingford, on whose authority his Lordship chiefly relies, could have gone so egregiously astray from everything like probability in the account he gives of the casualties of the battle, we may, without injustice, receive his testimony on this, or on any other subject, with suspicion; particularly when it goes to contradict historians of acknowledged veracity, who had opportunities of being at least equally well informed on the subject as himself. It has been advanced by the learned analyst, in evidence of the truth of Hemingford's

statement, that lands and castles belonging to Bruce were plundered and taken by the English army. By a parity of reasoning, if these lands and castles had been exempt from the general outrage, it would have proved that Bruce was in the interest of England; and the Guardian and Barons of Scotland would thereby have stood convicted of the unparalleled folly of allowing lands to be occupied, and castles to be held, in the very centre of the country, by the open and declared partisan of their enemy. That the title of Bruce to his Scottish estates was in abeyance, and his castles garrisoned for the safety of the commonwealth of Scotland, is the most probable state of the affair. When the half-famished soldiers of Edward, therefore, pillaged the lands, and attacked the castles of Bruce, they did what their King, under such circumstances, neither could nor would restrain, whether his vassal had renounced his allegiance or not. This conduct on the part of the English, therefore, can afford no evidence whatever of Bruce being at the time "in arms against England".

These observations the writer has thought it expedient to make, in support of the relation given of the battle of Falkirk by the ancient historians of Scotland. As the talents, however, which Lord Hailes has displayed in his researches into Scottish history, are held by the public in high, and in many instances, deserved estimation; and though it is with reluctance that we differ from one whose opinions in general are entitled to credit, yet, as we find him in this instance at variance with most of our ancient Scottish authorities, we have thought it our duty to endeavour to lay both sides of the question fairly before the reader, in order that he may be able to form his own opinion of the matter.

## XV

## WALLACE RESIGNS THE GUARDIANSHIP.

THE retreat of Wallace from the field of Falkirk, may justly considered as a masterpiece of generalship. The formidable bodies of horse at the disposal of Edward, afford him ample means of following up and cutting off the retiring army of the Guardian. That so large a body of the Scots, though deserted by their own cavalry, should however have effected their escape in presence of a force so powerful, so well appointed, and headed by one of the first generals of the age, is truly astonishing; and can only accounted for by supposing, either that the English must have suffered severely in the action, or the conduct displayed by Wallace was such as awed them from the attempt.

According to the Minstrel, the Guardian, after withdrawing his troops to a place of safety, returned to the field, accompanied by Malcolm Earl of Lennox, Ramsay of Auchterhouse, Sir Richard Lundin, Wallace of Riccarton, Sir Crytell Seton, and a number of their followers, to seek for the body of Sir John Graham, the English being by this time removed to Linlithgow.

Considering the great affection our hero entertained for this gallant and accomplished warrior, the circumstance is not improbable. The high value he placed in his great services was such, that, in speaking of Graham, he uses to designate him as "his right hand". The regret which he felt at his death, would no doubt have been embittered by the reflection, that his friend might easily, from the state of the wounds which he had received at the affair of the Blackironside, have absented himself from the battle of Falkirk, without the slight injury to his reputation. The distress of Wallace seeing the dead body, is thus finely depicted by the aforementioned author:

"Amang the ded men sekand the worthiest  
 The corss off Graym, for quham he murned mats  
 Quhen thai him fand, and gud Wallace him saw  
 He lychtyt down, and hynt him fra thaim haw  
 His armyss up; behaldand his pail face  
 He kyssyt him, and cryt full out "Allace"!  
 My best brothir in warld that euir I had!  
 My afald freynd, quhen I was hardest stad!  
 My hop, my heill, thow was in maist honor!  
 My faith, my help, my strenthiast in stour!  
 In the was wist, fredom and hardiness

In the was treuth, manheid and nobilness  
 In the was rewli, in the was gouernans  
 In the was wertu with outyn warians  
 In the lawté, in the wasgret largnas  
 In the gentrice, in the was stedfastnas  
 Thow was gret caus off wynnyng off Scotland  
 Thocht I began, and tuk the wer on hand  
 I wou to God, that has the world in wauld  
 Thi dede sall be to Sotheroun full der sauld  
 Martyr thow art for Scotlandis rycht and me  
 I shall the wenge, or ellis tharfor de  
 Was na man thar fra wepyng mycht hym rafreym  
 For loss of him, quhen thai hard Wallace pleyn  
 Thai caryit him with worship and dolour  
 In the Faw Kirk graithit him in swpultour"

In this monody, we have a highly finished portrait of a warrior and a gentleman; and the assemblage of rare and shining virtues which are thus said to have met in this illustrious individual, have never been denied or depreciated by the most fastidious of our critics; while all the historians bear uniform testimony to the correctness of the character. Having discharged this duty to his departed friend, Wallace rejoined his followers in the Torwood; and, on the following night, he is said to have broken into the English camp on Linlithgow muir, and, after killing a number of the enemy, and spreading alarm through the whole army, effected his retreat without loss.

Edward, incensed at the frequency with which these night attacks were repeated, now determined on pursuing the Scots with his whole forces. His nimble adversaries, however, retired before him, and, having burned Stirling, continued to waste the country as they went along; so that the enemy was put to the greatest inconvenience, from the want of forage for his numerous cavalry.

While the Guardian and his little army of patriots were thus engaging the attention of the invader, Cumyn and the partisans of Stewart were loud in their expressions of disapprobation at the conduct of our hero. The latter charged him with the loss of the battle, by his refraining to assist Stewart till it was too late; and the former, conscious of his own misconduct, in order to supply something like a pretext for having treacherously deserted his countrymen, accused the Guardian with an intention of usurping the sovereign authority; declaring, "that it was more honourable for men of birth to serve a great and powerful monarch, though a foreigner, than subject themselves to the tyranny of an upstart of yesterday."

While such sentiments were circulating among the adherents of these two powerful families, to the manifest injury of the cause of liberty, Cumyn was still increasing the number of his followers; and it appeared uncertain, whether he intended to assist his countrymen, or take part with the invader. Wallace now saw, that, without

involving the kingdom in all the horrors of civil war, he could not exercise his authority so as to compel this factious chief to the discharge of his duty; and as the views of Cumyn with regard to the crown, had, on many occasions, been too palpably displayed, to have escaped the observation of Wallace, his late unaccountable retreat had completely opened the eyes of the Guardian to the line of policy he was pursuing. Indeed, had both divisions of the Scottish army been destroyed, Cumyn would have found little difficulty in obtaining the crown from Edward, on the same terms as it had been awarded to Baliol: for being at the head of a powerful body of men, with great family interest, and having already made a favourable impression on the English king, by his conduct at the battle of Falkirk, it is highly probable that any lingering partiality which Edward might still entertain for Bruce whom he had long amused with hopes of the crown would soon disappear before the pretensions of a more useful claimant. But as Cumyn made the ambition of Wallace the pretext for his refraining to co-operate against the English, with a promptitude which showed his mind as decisive as his sword, when the interest of his country was at stake, the latter called the Estates together, and solemnly renounced the Guardianship of the kingdom, reserving to himself no other privilege than that of fighting against the enemies of Scotland, at the head of such friends as might be inclined to adhere to him. This resignation was accordingly followed by the election of a Regency, consisting of Cumyn, Soulis, and William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrew's; and by this conduct on the part of Wallace, Cumyn was left without the shadow of an excuse for withholding his assistance against the common enemy; while the talents, prowess, and patriotism of the late Guardian acted as a check in restraining him from sacrificing the interest of the country to his own personal aggrandizement.

Edward reached Stirling four days after the late battle, and took up his quarters in the convent of the Dominicans. Here he remained fifteen days, waiting his recovery from the wound inflicted on him by his horse, and for the arrival of his long expected fleet. The Castle of Stirling having been partly demolished by Wallace, in his retreat, Edward now applied himself to repair it; and therein, as a place of safety, he deposited those unwieldy engines of war he had brought with him for the purpose of battering the fortifications, and which he found would be troublesome, while pursuing his enemies over the rugged and mountainous country that lay before him.

The accession of strength which the cause of liberty acquired, by the prudent measures of our patriot, enabled the Scots more effectually to embarrass the movements of the enemy. While he, with his brave followers, continued to surprise the foe, by breaking into their camp where least expected, the other leaders were engaged in preventing supplies from reaching the English; and Edward, at last, became apprehensive of advancing too far into the sterile regions of the North. A scarcity had already begun to be severely felt in his army, and he now prudently directed his march towards the more fruitful districts in the neighbourhood of Perth. But there also his unwearied and restless enemy continued to assail those parts of the army that appeared most vulnerable; and having at last cut off a part from the main body of the English forces, by breaking down the bridge over the Tay, in three successive engagements he defeated them with great slaughter. The English army, however, was still too numerous for the Scots to risk a general engagement; and Edward, finding no probability of bringing the war to a satisfactory conclusion, after wreaking his vengeance on the most fruitful parts of the country, returned home through Ayrshire and Annandale, carrying with him all the spoil he could collect. A body of troops under the command of Henry de Lacy, made a similar inroad in Fife, destroying whatever came in their way, in

revenge, no doubt, for the gallant stand the inhabitants had made under MacDuff, their late unfortunate chief. After destroying St. Andrew's, he laid siege to the castle of Cupar, which surrendered about the end of July.

Edward now led his army homewards, after leaving a force to protect the southern part of Scotland, the reduction of which was all his mighty efforts had been able to accomplish. To have defeated Wallace, however, a name which had filled England with dismay, was considered by his subjects an achievement deserving of the highest eulogium. The disasters of the campaign were accordingly forgotten, and bands of minstrels issued from the different towns on his route, to welcome the conqueror at Falkirk. The Londoners decreed him a triumphal procession in honour of his victory, and the different corporations vied with each other in the richness of their banners and the splendour of their emblematical representations. Stowe thus mentions the affair; and if we may judge of the appearance of the other professions by the display made by the fishmongers on this joyous occasion, the whole must have exhibited a mass of barbaric magnificence not easily to be surpassed: "The citizens of London hearing of the great victory obtained by the King of England against the Scottis, made great and solemn rejoicings in their citie, every one according to their craft, especially the fishmongers, which with solemn procession passed through the citie, having, amongst other pageantes and shows, foure sturgeons gilted, carried on four horses, then four salmons of silver on four horses, and after five and fortie knights armed, riding on horses made like luces of the sea, and then Saint Magnus with a thousand horsemen. This they did on St. Magnus' day, in honour of the King's great victory and safe return."

Before closing this chapter, it may not be amiss to take a retrospect view of this most interesting campaign. At the commencement of it, Scotland, by the wisdom and energy of her intrepid Guardian, had again taken her place among the independent nations of Europe. His noble achievements had not only become a theme for the Troubadours of France, but also the subject of conversation and applause at all the courts on the Continent. To Edward, who had not only distinguished himself by his warlike exploits in Syria, but had also, in a tournament held at Calais, baffled and disgraced the most renowned of the chivalry of France, the plaudits bestowed upon a rival so far beneath him in rank, was peculiarly mortifying, and excited in him the most inveterate hostility toward the nation thus rescued from his thralldom. Wallace, though making every effort for the safety of his country, found no abatement of that feeling of jealous animosity which existed in the minds of a great majority of the aristocracy. It was in vain he endeavoured to ensure their confidence, by refusing all participation in the fruits of their victories, thus showing that self-aggrandizement formed none of the objects of his ambition. Still they yielded with reluctance that obedience which his rank as Guardian entitled him to expect; and their language in private continued to be, "We will not have this man to reign over us."

Cumyn, whose conduct had hitherto been suspicious, had strengthened his interest at the English court, by means of a marriage which he contracted with the sister of Adomer de Vallance, a cousin, and one of the principal favourites of Edward; and the Steward, brother to the knight of Bonkill, had made his peace with the invader, and taken the oath of allegiance. In consequence of which, according to the policy of the English monarch, though the tenantry of the Steward were arrayed against him, yet the banners of the family floated among those of the other vassals of the English crown, while the knight of Bonkill himself (who had but recently joined the standard of his country's independence) had as yet given no proof of the sincerity of his attachment to the cause. Under these circumstances, it became Wallace to be particularly circumspect

in his movements, having to guard against the chance of treachery on the one hand, and a powerful adversary on the other; while his country's safety, and his own well-earned laurels, depended alike on the prudence of his conduct. We have already hinted at the great improbability of his appearing before so formidable an enemy, without having formed a regular plan of operation, and made provision for the contingencies that might occur. That he had arranged such a plan, and was prevented, by the jealousy of his colleagues, from putting it into execution, appears sufficiently obvious, even from the meagre details of which we are possessed. What this plan was, cannot now be fully ascertained; but if we may judge from the circumstances on record, we may infer that it was not his intention to risk a general engagement with the enemy at Falkirk, but merely to retire as they advanced, and to lead them as far as possible into the barren districts of the North, where their numerous cavalry would be rendered in a great measure unavailing. But the conduct of Cumyn, and the profitless display of valour on the part of Stewart, brought him unavoidably into contact with the enemy respect for his own reputation prevented him from retiring, while part of his countrymen were so seriously engaged; and by remaining, he not only covered the retreat of the remains of Stewart's division, but also, by his commanding attitude, prevented the enemy from pursuing the fugitives with that destructive celerity which their numerous cavalry would have enabled them to do, had he acted otherwise. We have been induced to make these remarks, as Wallace is too rashly blamed for "remaining a passive spectator of the destruction of Stewart." This, according to the generality of writers, is the only stain upon his character. However, from a careful review of all the circumstances of the case, we can find no foundation whatever for the charge; on the contrary, taking into consideration the peculiarly embarrassing situation in which he was placed, we conceive that, during the whole of his brilliant career, the wisdom, talents, and patriotism of Wallace, never shone forth with more resplendent lustre than at the battle of Falkirk.

## XVI

## STATE OF SCOTLAND AFTER THE RETURN OF EDWARD

ON retiring with his army, as stated in the last chapter, Edward left behind him a considerable force to protect that part of Scotland which lay contiguous to England, and which he seemed determined, if possible, to annex to his own dominions. Although his invasion had been productive of very disastrous consequences to the Scots, they did not suffer so much on this, as they had done on former occasions. The judicious orders issued by the Guardian, for driving the cattle which formed the principal part of their wealth to inaccessible parts of the country, contributed not only to their safety, but also to the disappointment and distress of the enemy. On the retreat, therefore, of the grand army of Edward, the inhabitants were far from being that wretched and dispirited race, which they had appeared after the battle of Dunbar. Several of the chieftains, it is true, had repeated their oaths of fidelity to the invader, but the defection from the cause of liberty was by no means general. The principal places of strength, with the exception of Stirling, were in the hands of the Scots; and the impregnable fortress of Dumbarton had been given, by Wallace, in consequence of his services in the cause of his country, in charge to Sir John Stewart of Rusky, better known by the name of Menteith. This man had been present with Wallace at the burning of the barns of Ayr, as well as in many other situations of danger and difficulty. According to Henry, when the Guardian bestowed this charge upon him, he stipulated for the erection of a mall house for himself within the fortress, in the building of which considerable progress had been made, when the English army entered Scotland. Some writers allege, that the reason which induced Wallace to make choice of such actuation, was the great friendship which existed between him and Menteith, to whose society, they say, he was much attached, and which, by this means, he would have a better opportunity of enjoying. With this opinion, however, we cannot agree. That Menteith was high in the confidence of Wallace, is sufficiently evident from his appointing him to so important a trust - for, besides the governorship of the castle, his situation naturally gave him the command of a considerable part of the district of Lennox - yet we conceive that Wallace had other motives for selecting such a place of retirement, than the mere pleasure of enjoying the society of a friend, however valued that friend might have been. The hostility which he had excited in the breast of Edward by his conduct in Scotland, as well as by his invasion of England, gave him every reason to dread the revenge of that haughty and crafty potentate; while the vacillating character of a great proportion of the nobility joined to that inextinguishable jealousy which existed against him in the minds of some of the most powerful families made it both desirable and prudent to look out for a place where, in the decline of life, he might be secure from the attempts of his country's enemies, as well as the machinations of his own. The more immediate cause, however, may have been the safety of his surviving relations. The circumstance of so many of them having already suffered on his account, would, no doubt, make him consider it as a duty incumbent on him to provide for those that remained. His uncle, the parson of Dunipace, he had but recently relieved from a dungeon, into which the English had

thrown him; and his mother had frequently been obliged to fly from the fortalice of Elderslie, in order to preserve herself from falling into the hands of the enemy. These we presume to have been the motives which induced him to stipulate for this little sanctuary, and not an overweening affection for the society of Menteith. His selection of him, however, for this purpose, shows the entire confidence he had in his fidelity.

With regard to the building itself, we have it on record, that the workmen on one occasion had to desist from their operations, in consequence of the English having taken possession of the town: they were, however, soon dislodged by Wallace, who surprised them at midnight, and drove them out with great slaughter. This affair is supposed to have taken place after the battle of Falkirk.

Aware that the approach of winter would render the conveyance of military stores almost impracticable, after his return to England, Edward lost no time in despatching to the castles of Stirling, Dumfries, Lochmaben, and the other fortresses in his possession, those necessities of which they were most likely to be in war. But the active and persevering character of the enemy he had to contend with, made him apprehensive that they would avail themselves of his absence, and the inclemency of the season, to recover the strengths they had lost in the last campaign; and in this he was not mistaken, for winter had scarcely commenced, before Wallace and the Scottish regents laid siege to, and recaptured, several places of importance.

During 1299, while hostilities were still going on, Baliol appears to have become an object of negotiation between the Pope and the English court, although the Pontiff had solemnly and repeatedly declared his fixed determination never to interfere in the affairs of Scotland; assuring Edward of his conviction "that the Scots were a false and treacherous people", and that he believed they had a design against his life. Still his liege-lord held the King of Scotland in unmitigated captivity, till, at the urgent entreaty of the Pope, he was delivered over to the Papal Nuncio, with liberty to dispose of him and his English possessions as the Pontiff thought proper. It is possible that the renunciation of the guardianship on the part of Wallace, conduced as much as anything else to Baliol's release; and it is likely that the crafty usurper conceived the measure might distract the regency, by exciting anew the jealous competition among the former claimants of the crown. If this were his intention he must have felt grievously disappointed on learning that the regents, awed, no doubt, by the watchfulness and influence of the late Guardian, continued to act in concert, and had even laid siege to the strong castle of Stirling, which he had been at such pains to repair and provision. The vigour with which the operations against this fortress were carried on, soon compelled the besieged to despatch messengers to Edward to acquaint him with their situation; and fully aware of the importance of the place, and determined to relieve it, the latter assembled his army at Berwick early in November. His barons, however, he found intractable. Certain charters had not been confirmed, and certain lands in Scotland had been gifted away to strangers without their consent, and contrary to his engagements; in consequence of which they resolutely refused to proceed beyond Berwick, alleging, among other causes, the impolicy of undertaking a campaign beset with so many dangers, at such an advanced season of the year. Edward and his barons were alike obstinate, and the latter retired in dudgeon; while he, in the same humour, marched forward with the remains of his army to the relief of Stirling.

He had not, however, proceeded far, before he became acquainted with the numbers and formidable position occupied by the Scots. Thus circumstanced, he retraced his steps, and allowed the garrison to negotiate a surrender; in consequence of which, the castle was shortly after given up to Lord Soulis, one of the Regents, who

placed it under the charge of Sir William Olifant, a brave knight, who proved himself in every respect deserving of the trust reposed in him.

John Cumyn, the other Regent, is said to have also gained advantages over the enemy, and to have, in other respects, conducted himself so as in a great measure to efface the remembrance of his former offences. Indeed, so well pleased were the generality of his countrymen with his proceedings on the commencement of the regency, that we find some of the old historians applying to him the epithet of the "Gude Scottisman" From this circumstance, some have supposed that John Cumyn, the Regent here alluded to, was not the same who behaved with such treachery at the battle of Falkirk. In this opinion they at first sight appear to be countenanced by Wyntown, who styles him "Jhon Comyn, that was Jhon Comyn's swn;" but, it must be recollected that there were three Cumyns of the name of John, father, son, and grandson.

The gleam of popularity which at this time shone out upon Cumyn, is not to be wondered at. Placed in a situation desirable, on account of the prospect it opened up to his ambition and which he could only retain by a line of policy in unison with the spirit of liberty which his predecessor had infused into the people he not only exerted himself against the common enemy, but used every effort in his power to gain the affections of his countrymen. His large possessions and great wealth, which, it is said, were never equalled by those of any family in Scotland, enabled him to relieve the people from various imposts necessary for the support of the government; while the applications which the Regency made to France, for troops to assist them in the defense of their independence, were answered by supplies of grain and wine, which, being a boon, were sold out to the people at half their current value.

This procedure would no doubt ensure him the good opinion of that class of his countrymen, who could not see the high price, which, in a national point of view, was paid for the comforts thus procured them. The more thinking party however, saw through the policy of France, in thus attempting to cajole the Scots with a few cargoes of wine, instead of fulfilling the terms of the treaty, offensive and defensive, that existed between them. From the dissatisfaction which this conduct, on the part of their allies, occasioned among the Scottish nobility, it was determined to send commissioners to France, to demand that assistance which they were bound to afford; and, if unsuccessful, they were instructed to proceed to Rome, and lay their grievances at the feet of the Apostolic Father, and to solicit his interference to restrain the English monarch from renewing his aggressions upon their country.

## XVII

## EDWARD AGAIN INVADES SCOTLAND. SIEGE OF CARLAVEROCK.

THE accounts which Edward was daily receiving of the progress of the Scots, determined him to renew hostilities, as soon as circumstances would permit. Having regained the good will of his barons, by a gracious compliance with their demands, by writs tested, on 29th December 1299, he summoned all who owed him military service in England and elsewhere, to attend at Carlisle on the feast of the nativity of John the Baptist.

"On the day appointed", (1st July, 1300) says an eye-witness, "the whole host was ready, and the good King, with his household, then set forward against the Scots, not in coats and surcoats, but on powerful and costly chargers, and, that they might not be taken by surprise, well and securely armed.

"There were many rich caparisons embroidered on silks and satins; many a beautiful pennon fixed to a lance; and many a banner displayed.

"And afar off was the noise heard of the neighing of horses; mountains and valleys were everywhere covered with sumpter-horses and wagons with provisions, and sacks of tents and pavilions.

"And the days were long and fine. They proceeded by easy journeys, arranged in four squadrons."

The first squadron was led by Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln!"

The second was under John, Earl of Warren and Surrey.

King Edward conducted the third squadron himself, and, says the fore-mentioned author, "brought up the rear so closely and ably, that none of the others were left behind. In his banner were three leopards courant of fine gold, set on red; fierce, haughty, and cruel; thus placed, to signify, that, like them, the King is dreadful, fierce, and proud to his enemies, for his bite is slight to none who inflame his anger; not but his kindness is soon rekindled towards such as seek his friendship or submit to his power". This part of his character, the Scots would not call in question.

The fourth squadron was led by "Prince Edward, a youth of seventeen years, and bearing arms for the first time. He was a well-proportioned and handsome person, of a courteous disposition, and intelligent; and desirous of finding an occasion to display his prowess. He managed his steed wonderfully well, and bore with a blue label the arms of the good King his father". John de St. John, an experienced warrior, was in close attendance upon the Prince, ready to instruct him in what his duty required.

Eighty-seven of the most illustrious vassals of the Crown of England, with their retainers, were in this array, including knights of Bretagne, Lorraine, and renegades of Scotland, among whom we find Alexander de Baliol, brother to the King of Scots, Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, and his son, Sir Simon Frazer, Henry de Graham, and Richard Siward. This formidable and splendid assemblage of feudal power, which completely filled the road from Newcastle, halted about nine miles south of Dumfries, for the

purpose of besieging the Castle of Carlaverock, a stronghold belonging to Herbert Maxwell, chief of a powerful border clan of that name, and who had refused to surrender to a summons which Edward had sent forward. The siege of this place has been passed over, or very slightly noticed, by the historians of both countries. Langtoft merely says

"A pouere hamlete toke,  
The Castelle Karelauerok,"

passing over, in this brief manner, a siege which not only engaged the attention of the King, but also interrupted the progress of his whole army.

The account which is given by Walter of Exeter, is not only valuable from its being the only well authenticated description extant, by an eye-witness of the leaguer of any of the Scottish fastnesses during this period, but also from its being extremely interesting, by the minuteness of its details, and the graphic manner in which the author has portrayed the appearance and demeanour of the combatants. It would be doing the reader injustice to present it to him otherwise than in the nervous, elegant, and appropriate language of the accomplished translator.

"Carlaverock was so strong a castle, that it did not fear a siege, therefore the King came himself, because it would not consent to surrender. But it was always furnished for its defense, whenever it was required, with men, engines, and provisions. Its shape was like that of a shield; for it had only three sides all round, with a tower in each angle; but one of them was a double one, so high, so long, and so large, that under it was the gate, with a draw-bridge, well made and strong, and a sufficiency of other defenses. It had good walls, and good ditches filled to the edge with water; and I believe there never was seen a castle more beautifully situated; for at once could be seen the Irish sea towards the west, and to the north a fine country, surrounded by an arm of the sea, so that no creature born could approach it on two sides, without putting himself in danger of the sea.

"Towards the south it was not easy, because there were numerous dangerous denies of wood, and marshes, and ditches, where the sea is on each side of it, and where the river reaches it; and therefore it was necessary for the host to approach it towards the east, where the hill slopes.

"And in that place by the King's commands, his battalions were formed into three, as they were to be quartered; then were the banners arranged, when one might observe many a warrior exercising his horse: and there appeared three thousand brave men at arms; then might be seen gold and silver, and the noblest and best of all rich colours, so as entirely to illuminate the valley; consequently, those of the castle, on seeing us arrive, might, as I well believe, deem that they were in greater peril than they could ever before remember. And as soon as we were thus drawn up, we were quartered by the Marshall, and then might be seen houses built without carpenters or masons, of many different fashions, and many a cord stretched, with white and coloured cloth, with many pins, driven into the ground, many a large tree cut down to make huts; and leaves, herbs, and flowers gathered in the woods, which were strewed within; and then our people took up their quarters.

"Soon afterwards, it fortunately happened, that the navy arrived with the engines and provisions; and then the footmen began to march against the castle; then might be seen stones, arrows, and quarreaux, to fly among them; but so effectually did those within exchange their tokens with those without, that in one short hour there were many persons wounded and maimed, and I know not how many killed.

"When the men-at-arms saw that the footmen had sustained such losses who had begun the attack, many ran there, many leaped here, and many used such haste to go, that they did not deign to speak to anyone. Then might there be seen such kind of stones thrown as if they would beat hats and helmets to powder, and break shields and targets in pieces; for to kill and wound was the game at which they played. Great shouts arose among them, when they perceived that any mischief occurred.

"There, first of all, I saw the good Baron Bertram de Montbouchier, on whose shining silver shield were three red pitchers, with besants, in a black border.

"With him Gerard de Gondronville, an active and handsome bachelor. He had a shield neither more nor less than vaire. These were not resting idle, for they threw up many a stone, and suffered many a heavy blow.

"The first body was composed of Bretons, and the second were of Lorrain, of which none found the other tardy; so that they afforded encouragement and emulation to others to resemble them. Then came to assail the castle, Fitz-Marmaduke, with a banner and a great and full troop of good and select bachelors.

"Robert de Hamsart I saw arrive, fully prepared, with five followers, holding a red shield by the straps, containing three silver stars.

"Henry de Graham had his arms red as blood, with a white saltire and chief, on which he had three red escalop shells.

"Thomas de Richmont, who a second time collected some, lances, had red armour, with a chief and two gemells of gold. These did not act like discreet people, nor as persons enlightened by understanding; but as if they had been inflamed and blinded with pride and despair, for they made their way right forwards to the very brink of the ditch.

"And those of Richmont passed at this moment quite to the bridge, and demanded entry; they were answered with ponderous stones and cornues. Willoughby in his advances received a stone on the middle of his breast, which ought to have been protected by his shield, if he had deigned to use it.

"Fitz-Marmaduke had undertaken to endure as much in that affair as the others could bear, for he was like a post; but his banner received many stains, and many a rent difficult to mend.

"Hamsart bore himself so nobly, that from his shield fragments might often be seen to fly in the air; for he, and those of Richmont, drove the stones upwards, as if it were rotten, whilst those within defended themselves by loading their loading their heads and necks with the weight of heavy blows.

"Those led by Graham did not escape, for there were not above two who returned unhurt, or brought back their shields entire.

"Then you might hear the tumult begin. With them were intermixed a great body of the King's followers, all of whose names, if I were to repeat, and recount their brave actions, the labour would be too heavy, so many were there, and so well did they

behave. Nor would this suffice, without those of the retinue of the King's son, great numbers of whom came there in noble array; for many a shield, newly painted, and splendidly adorned, many a helmet, and many a burnished hat, many a rich gambeson, garnished with silk, tow and cotton, were there to be seen, of divers forms and fashions.

"There I saw Ralph de Gorges, a newly dubbed knight, fall more than once to the ground from stones and the crowd, for he was of so haughty a spirit that he would not deign to retire. He had all his harness and attire mascally of gold azure.

"Those who were on the wall, Robert de Tony severely harassed; for he had in his company the good Richard de Rokeley, who so well plied those within, that he frequently obliged them to retreat. He had his shield painted mascally of red and ermine.

"Adam de la Forde mined the walls as well as he could, for the stones flew in and out as thick as rain, by which many were disabled. He bore, in clear blue, three gold lioncels rampant crowned.

"The good Baron of Wigtown received such blows, that it was the astonishment of all that he was not stunned; for, without excepting any lord present, none showed a more resolute or unembarrassed countenance. He bore, within a bordure indented, three gold stars on sable.

"Many a heavy and crushing stone did he of Kirkbride receive, but he placed before him a white shield with a green cross engrailed. So stoutly was the gate of the castle assailed by him, that never did smith with his hammer strike his iron as he and his did there. Notwithstanding there were showered upon them such huge stones, quarrels, and arrows, that with wounds and bruises they were so hurt and exhausted, that it was with great difficulty they were able to retire.

"But as soon as they had retreated, he of Clifford, being advised of it, and like one who had no intention that those within should have repose, sent his banner there, and as many as could properly escort it, with Bartholomew de Badlesmere, and John de Cromwell, as chose who could best perform his wishes; for whilst their breath lasted, none of them neglected to stoop and pick up the stones to throw them, and to attack.

"But the people of the castle would not permit them to remain there long. Badlesmere, who all that day behaved himself well and bravely, bore on white, with a blue label a red fess between two gemelles. Cromwell, the brave and handsome, who went gliding between the stones, bore on blue, a white lion rampant, double-tailed, and crowned with gold; but think not that he brought it away, or that it was not bruised, so much was it battered and defaced by stones before he retreated.

"After these two, La Warde and John de Gray returned there, and renewed the attack. Those within, who were fully expecting it, bent their bows and cross-bows, and prepared their espringalls, and kept themselves quite ready both to throw and to hurl.

"Then the followers of my Lord of Brittany recommenced the assault, fierce and daring as lions of the mountains, and every day improving in both the practice and use of arms. Their party soon covered the entrance of the castle, for none could have attacked it more furiously; not, however, that it was so subdued, that those who came after them would not have a share in their labours; but they left more than enough for them also.

"After these, the people of my Lord of Hastings assembled there, where I saw John de Cretinques in danger of losing a horse. When upon it, one came beneath pricking it with an arrow; but he did not seem to be dissembling, he used such haste to strike him. On his white shield he caused to be depicted a red chevron, with three mullets.

"He who bore a dancette and billets of gold on blue, John Deincourt by name, rushed on to the assault, and there extremely well performed his duty.

"It was also a fine sight to see the good brothers of Berkeley receiving numerous blows; and the brothers Basset likewise, of whom the eldest bore thus, ermine, a red chief indented, charged with three gold mullets; the other, with three shells; found the passages straitened. Those within continually relieved one another; for always, as one became fatigued, another returned fresh and stout; and, notwithstanding such assaults were made upon them, they would not surrender, but so defended themselves, that they resisted those who attacked, all that day and night, and the next day until tierce. But their courage was considerably depressed during the attack, by the brother Robert, who sent numerous stones from the robinet, without cessation, from the dawn of the preceding day until the evening. Moreover, on the other side, he was erecting three other engines, very large, of great power, and very destructive, which cut down and cleave whatever they strike. Fortified town, citadel, nor barrier nothing is protected from their strokes. Yet those within did not flinch, until some of them were slain; but then each began to repent of his obstinacy, and to be dismayed. The pieces fell in such manner, wherever the stones entered, that when they struck either of them, neither iron cap nor wooden target could save him from a wound.

"And when they saw that they could not hold out any longer, or endure more, the companions begged for peace, and put out a pennon; but he that displayed it was shot with an arrow, by some archer, through the hand into the face; then he begged that they would do no more to him, for they will give up the castle to the King, and throw themselves upon his mercy. And the marshal and constable, who almost remained on the spot, at that notice forbad the assault, and these surrendered the castle to them."

The besieged, who had thus retarded the progress of this mighty host, were now passed in review before Edward, and, including all ranks, were found to amount to "sixty men", "who were", says our author, "beheld with much astonishment". "They were all kept and guarded, till the King commanded that life and limb should be given them, and ordered to each of them a new garment". "But this account of the treatment of the prisoners", says Mr. Nicolas, "differs entirely from that in the Chronicle of Lanercost, where it is said that many of them were hung."

The banner of Edward now waved on the battlement of Carlaverock Castle, along with those of St. Edmond, St. George, St. Edward, Sir John Segrave, the Earl of Hereford, and that of Lord Clifford, to whom Edward had given it in charge.

The army then proceeded on their march.

XVIII  
WALLACE VISITS FRANCE.

WHILE the English army were encamped before Carlaverock, Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, arrived with a bull, directed to Edward, from the Pope.

The application which, as has already been stated, the Scottish commissioners were instructed to make to King Philip for the stipulated assistance having at first been evaded, and afterwards finally refused - the embarrassing situation of his own affairs affording him a plausible pretext for withholding the aid necessary for the relief of his allies - the Scots, according to their instructions, proceeded to lay their complaints before the Court of Rome. Boniface listened with complacency to their grievances, and readily undertook to interpose his authority in their behalf. For this purpose, he addressed to Edward a letter of admonition, exhorting him to desist from any further attempts to subvert the liberties of a kingdom over which he had no lawful claim. The groundless nature of the pretensions he had set up, the Pontiff proceeded, at considerable length, to explain - being, no doubt, enabled to do so, from the information furnished him by the commissioners. Among other matters, he reminded him, that the mere circumstance of his having negotiated with the Scots, for the marriage of his son with the heiress of Scotland, must prove fatal to any plea he might advance in favour of his being the feudal lord of that kingdom, as he would find no one weak enough to believe that he would have submitted to negotiate, when he had a right to command. "He also", says a respectable historian, "mentioned several striking facts which fell within the compass of Edward's own knowledge, particularly that Alexander, when he did homage to the King, openly and expressly declared in his presence, that he swore fealty not for his crown, but for the lands which he held in England; and the Pope's letter might have passed for a reasonable one, had he not subjoined his own claim to be liege lord of Scotland, a claim which had not once been heard of, but which, with a singular confidence, he asserted to be full and entire, and derived from the most remote antiquity". This letter Boniface concluded, by exhorting him, in his name, to set at liberty all those ecclesiastics and others belonging to the country whom he had imprisoned, and to remove all officers he had appointed to places of trust in the kingdom, contrary to the wishes of the people; directing him, if he conceived he had still any reasons to allege in support of his pretensions, to send persons properly authorized to Rome, where he, the Pope, would hear the case, and within six months give an impartial decision. To these exhortations the Archbishop added his own, urging, among other things, the propriety of his yielding obedience to so sacred an authority, observing, that Jerusalem would not fail to protect her citizens, and to cherish, like Mount Zion, those who trusted in the Lord. At the conclusion of this address, which was made in the presence of Prince Edward and the assembled nobles, the King became furious, and with a great oath exclaimed:

"I will not be silent or at rest, either for Mount Zion or for Jerusalem, but, as long as there is breath in my nostrils, I will defend what all the world knows to be my right".

On calmer reflection, however, he saw the necessity of returning a milder answer to the admonition of his adviser, in which he promised to consult his parliament, and send messengers to Rome to acquaint his Spiritual Father with the result of their deliberations.

In a parliament assembled some time after at Lincoln, the Pope's bull was submitted to the consideration of the English Barons; and in his reply, Edward attempted to prove the superiority of England by historical facts, deduced from the period of Brutus the Trojan, who, he said, founded the British monarchy in the age of Eli and Samuel. He then supports his position by all the events which passed in the island before the arrival of the Romans: and, after laying great stress on the extensive dominions and the heroic victories of King Arthur, he vouchsafes at last to descend to the time of Edward the Elder, from which period he has chosen to begin his claim of superiority. He asserts it as a fact notorious, and confirmed by the records of antiquity, that the English monarchs had often conferred the kingdom of Scotland on their own subjects had dethroned those vassal kings when unfaithful to them, and had substituted others in their stead. He displays, with great pomp, the full and complete homage which William had done to Henry II without mentioning the formal abolition of that extorted deed by King Richard, and the renunciation of all future claims of the same nature. Yet in this paper he begins with a solemn appeal to the Almighty, the searcher of hearts, for his own firm persuasion of the justice of his claim; and no less than a hundred and four barons, assembled in parliament at Lincoln, concurred in maintaining before the Pope, under their seals, the validity of the pretensions. At the same time, they took care to inform Boniface, that although they had justified their cause before him, they did not acknowledge him as their judge: the crown of England was free and sovereign: they had sworn to maintain all its prerogatives; and would never permit the King himself, were he willing, to relinquish its independence.

Edward, on leaving Carlaverock, now advanced into Galloway, and took several castles in that province. He appears to have been at Lochroieton on the 17th July, and at Kirkcudbright on the 22d of same month. On 29th August he returned to Carlaverock.- He was at Dumfries on the 24th October, and again at Carlaverock on the 1st November. His own operations appear, on this occasion, to have been in a great measure confined to the south of Scotland. Detachments of his army, however, extended themselves in different directions; and various conflicts took place between them and the Scottish guerilla parties under Wallace. A strong division of the English army, commanded by the Earl of Warren, advanced also as far as Irvine, and came in contact with the Scottish forces, headed by the Regents. The invasion was keenly contested for some time; but 'the Scots were at last compelled to fall back before the repeated charges of their more numerous opponents. Another portion of the English army laid waste Clydesdale; and after destroying Bothwell, advanced to Lesmahago -to the Abbey church of which, a number of the inhabitants had fled for safety. This sanctuary, however, according to tradition, did not avail them. Their merciless invaders set fire to the sacred edifice, and many of the Scots perished miserably in the flames. During the perpetration of this tragic act, Wallace, who followed the tract of the destroyers, was forced, it is said, to conceal himself in a cave, four miles distant from the scene of barbarity, carefully watching, by his scouts, the motions of the enemy. This cave stilt goes by his name, and is pointed out by the country people as an object of curiosity to strangers.

While this warfare was carrying on by his detached squadrons, Edward was concerting measures for permanently annexing to his own dominions the district he had

overrun. For this purpose, he employed numerous bodies of his own subjects, in repairing and fortifying the different places of strength which had surrendered to his arms; and the reluctance of the Scots to assist in the subjugation of their country, appears evident from his being compelled to bring labourers, at a considerable expense, from the northern counties of England .

A large portion of the provisions required for his troops he seems also to have been under the necessity of bringing from Ireland. Between Whitehaven and Carlaverock we find William de Torni, master of a vessel belonging to the Isle of Man, employed in carrying flour for the supply of the army. In the Wardrobe Account there is also an entry, from which it may be inferred, that the destruction of the mills formed part of the system which the Scots resorted to for the annoyance of their enemies.

As the campaign had hitherto been productive of no result adequate to the expense incurred, Edward now affected to listen to the remonstrances of Philip and Boniface, and agreed to a truce with the Scots in arms against him. The negotiation took place at Paris between the English envoys and the Scottish commissioners at the French court, and was finally ratified by Edward at Dumfries on the 30th October, 1300, when he expressed himself highly offended with the English envoys for allowing Baliol's name, as King of Scotland, to appear in the treaty. This truce was to last from Hallowmas to Whitsunday; and in consequence of it, all the English troops except those in garrison were withdrawn from Scotland and disbanded. Edward then summoned his parliament at Lincoln, and returned the answer to Boniface to which we have already alluded.

After the conclusion of the treaty, Wallace is supposed to have gone on a visit to France (1301), in consequence of the repeated invitations of Philip, who was no doubt anxious to behold a man whose name had become familiar at every court in Europe, and whose exertions in his own country had so often, relieved himself from the hostile visits of the King of England. On his way, the vessel in which he had embarked along with a few select friends, is said to have been attacked by a noted pirate of the name of Longueville, at that time the terror of the seas, and the Paul Jones of his day. After a desperate conflict, Wallace and his party succeeded in boarding the enemy; and Longueville, being vanquished in a personal combat with Wallace, surrendered at discretion. The gallant manner, however, in which he acted during the fight, gained him the esteem of our hero, who subsequently discovered that he was a French nobleman, and, at one time, high in favour at court, but who had fallen under the displeasure of the King, in consequence of having killed a knight in the royal presence; for which offence his estates were forfeited, and himself banished from the kingdom. Smarting under these indignities, he had commenced a system of piracy, for which he was outlawed, and every avenue to the royal clemency shut against him. Wallace, on arriving at Paris, found himself so well received by the French monarch - who no doubt expected his assistance against the English in Guienne - that he ventured to solicit, and, after some difficulty, obtained a pardon for Longueville, who had accompanied him to Paris in disguise.

Various stories are told of the adventures of Wallace in France; but as the histories of that country are in general silent regarding them, most of our authors have considered them fabulous; and some even carry their incredulity so far as to doubt of his ever having been there. But as he appears evidently, on one or more occasions, to have withdrawn himself from Scotland, and as those writers who doubt of his being in France have not accounted for the chasms that his absence naturally makes in his history, nor appear to have anything to urge against his visits to that country but their doubts; we cannot allow unsupported misgivings to stand in opposition to the recorded testimony of

ancient writers, who ought to have known more of transactions near their own days than authors who wrote many ages after them particularly as the circumstance in question could serve no political or party purpose at the time; and of course, could afford no temptation for misstatement. We may also remark, that the adventure with Longueville is corroborated by traditions still existing in the country, as well as by the fact of a family in Scotland, not long extinct, having derived their pedigree from that brave man; who, according to the law of arms in those days, thought himself bound to follow the fortunes of his conqueror. Longueville is said to have accompanied Wallace to Scotland, where he had lands assigned him; and the following notice in the Statistical Account of the parish of Kinfauns, goes a considerable way to establish the truth of what is here related: "In the castle of Kinfauns is kept a large old sword, probably made about five hundred years ago, and to be used by both hands. It is shaped like a broadsword, and is five feet nine inches long, two and a half inches broad at the hilt, and of a proportionate thickness, with a round knob at the upper end, near eight inches in circumference. This terrible weapon bears the name of Charteris's Sword, and probably belonged to Sir Thomas Charteris, commonly called Thomas de Longueville, once proprietor of the estate of Kinfauns. Sir Thomas Charteris, alias Longueville, was a native of France, and of an ancient family in that country. If credit can be given to accounts of such remote dates, when he was at the court of Philip le Bel, in the end of the thirteenth century, he had a dispute with, and killed a French nobleman, in the King's presence. He escaped, but was refused pardon.

"Having for several years infested the seas as a pirate, known by the name of the Red Reiver, from the colour of the flags he carried on his ship, in May, 1301 or 1302, (by Adamson's chronology,) Sir William Wallace, in his way to France, encountered and took him prisoner. At Wallace's intercession, the French King conferred on him a pardon, and the honour of knighthood. He accompanied Wallace on his return to Scotland, and was ever after his faithful friend, and aiding in his exploits. Upon that hero's being betrayed and carried to England, Sir Thomas Charteris retired to Lochmaben, where he remained till Robert Bruce began to assert his right to the crown of Scotland. He joined Bruce, and was, if we may believe Adamson, who refers to Barbour, the first who followed that King into the water, at the taking of Perth, January 8, 1313.

"Bruce rewarded his bravery by giving him lands in the neighbourhood of Perth, which appear to be those of Kinfauns, and which continued in the family of Charteris for many years. It is to this ancient knight, and to the antique sword above-mentioned, that Adamson refers in these lines (Book VI.) of his Muses Threnodie:

'Kinfauns, which famous Longoveil  
Sometime did hold; whose auncient sword of steele  
Remaines unto this day, and of that land  
Is chiefest evident.'

p. 158.

"About forty years ago, upon opening the burying vault under the aisle of the church of Kinfauns, erected by this family, there was found a headpiece, or kind of helmet, made of several folds of linen, or some strong stuff, painted over with broad

stripes of blue and white, which seems to have been part of the fictitious armour wherein the body of Sir Thomas Longueville, or Charteris, had been disposed.

"Some persons of the surname of Charteris", says the editor of the Perth edition of Wallace, "lairds of Kinfauns, and of Cuthilgourdy, were provosts of Perth, and would make a distinguished figure in the heroic annals of Perth, if the old writs of that city were properly displayed".

According to the same authority there were families of the name of Charteris in Scotland, long before the time assigned to Thomas de Longueville. Andrew de Charteris, who swore fealty to Edward in 1296, is said to have been the ancestor of the noble family of Wemyss.

XIX.  
BATTLE OF ROSLIN.

THE truce which circumstances had extorted from Edward, was no sooner expired, than the campaign was opened by a fresh invasion of Scotland. The English army again advanced as far as Linlithgow, where, fixing their head-quarters, they commenced building a fortress for the same object as had induced them to rear similar structures in the south. The treaty of peace had not yet been concluded with the King of France; and Edward anxiously endeavoured to detach him from the interests of the Scots. In this he was successful; for, by giving up his allies, the Flemings, to the chastisement of Philip, and sacrificing a lucrative branch of trade, in order to gratify his enmity against the Scots, he obtained the King of France's consent to a separate peace, stipulating only for a truce with Scotland, to endure till St. Andrew's day, 1302, after which period, Edward was left at liberty to prosecute his views against that country.

In the mean time, the cause of independence acquired a valuable accession in the person of Sir Simon Frazer, who at last awakened to the injuries of his country, and a just sense of his own unnatural conduct deserted the standard of Edward, and enrolled himself among the asserters of the liberty of Scotland. The talents and bravery of this leader more than counterbalanced the loss which the patriots had sustained in the defection of the Bishop of Glasgow; who, on the 7th October, 1300, at Holmcoltrum, had renewed his former fealty to Edward, swearing upon the consecrated host, and upon the Groyz Gneytz and Black Rood of Scotland; in consequence, as is supposed, of remonstrance from Boniface, who now thought proper to espouse the interest of Edward.

On hearing of the situation of Scotland, Wallace withdrew from the French court, and returned home. What services he was enabled to render his country during his absence, do not appear in any of our records.

After the expiry of the truce, Edward sent John de Segrave with an army of 20,000 men into Scotland, who, having advanced to the neighbourhood of Roslin, divided his troops into three divisions, for the purpose of procuring forage. In the mean time, John Cumyn and Simon Frazer, having collected a body of eight thousand Scots, suddenly fell upon the first division, which they defeated with great slaughter. While engaged in collecting the spoil, the second division came in sight, on which the Scots, elated with the success they had already obtained, stood resolutely to their arms, charged, and, after a desperate conflict, again drove their enemies from the field. After this double victory, the Scots, exhausted with the fatigues of the day, were preparing to refresh themselves, when their scouts brought notice that the third division of their enemies was at hand. Their leaders flew from rank to rank, beseeching them to make one effort more to preserve the glory they had acquired; and having equipped the followers of the camp in the arms of their slain enemies, they again commenced the bloody strife, with that enthusiasm which the remembrance of their former victories inspired. The fury of the Scottish charge decided the third battle: the English were once

more thrown into confusion, and fled in the greatest terror, leaving behind them all their camp-equipage a prey to the conquerors.

The advantages resulting from this day's successes were not thrown away: the Scots everywhere flocked to the assistance of their countrymen; and the fortresses which Edward possessed in the south of Scotland, were quickly recovered, and garrisoned by their lawful masters.

Respecting the events of this day of triumph for the Scottish arms, the historians of the two countries are not exactly agreed. According to Langtoft, Sir John de Segrave, with his son and brother, were surprised in their beds by the Scots, who captured sixteen knights, among whom were Sir Thomas Neville and Sir Ralf de Cofferer, the treasurer of Edward, who, on interceding with Sir Simon Frazer for his life, was sternly reminded by him of the defalcations he had committed in his office, by defrauding himself and others of their wages. Having upbraided him with his unpriestly conduct, he struck off his hands, as being polluted with the wages of iniquity, and afterwards severed his head from his body, by a blow with his sword.

## XX

## SECOND VISIT OF WALLACE TO THE FRENCH COURT.

THERE is no certain account of Wallace having been present at the battle of Roslin: if he was, it must have been only in a private capacity, he not being mentioned by any author as holding a command on that occasion. According to some, he was absent from the country at the time; but this, however, seems to be contradicted by the *Scotichronicon*, where it is said, that, after the battle of Roslin, he went on board of a merchant vessel, and, with a few companions, again sailed for France. Henry, whose strong partiality would not have omitted so excellent an opportunity for aggrandizing his hero, had there been any authority in the narrative of Blair for so doing, passes over the circumstance in silence. This conduct in an author so strongly biassed in favor of the subject of his biography, is not only a proof of the absence of Wallace from the field of Roslin, but a strong argument in favour of the general accuracy of his own details. The laurels, therefore, that were gathered at Roslin, will fall to be divided between Sir Simon Frazer and the lord of Badenoch.

That Wallace returned a second time to the court of France, is asserted in the most positive manner by the *Minstrel*, and is in part corroborated by the *Scotichronicon*. The particular periods of his history, however, which those visits occupied, it is rather difficult to ascertain. That the first occurred after the battle of Falkirk is without doubt; and the second immediately before, or soon after the affair of Roslin, is almost equally certain. As, in the first voyage, Wallace is said to have fallen in with and captured a French pirate; in the second, he is represented as having a similar reencounter with an Englishman of the same profession, who carried on his depredations principally against the Scottish vessels. Had the *Minstrel's* work been one of pure fancy, this sameness of incident, we presume, would not have occurred; for the judgment of the poet would no doubt have suggested the propriety of a change of adventure.

The English pirate, who is called John of Lyn, is first seen by the Scots, making his way out of the Humber, displaying a red sail, and a flag at his mast-head bearing three leopards courant, the well-known insignia of Edward. The Scottish merchants, who knew his ferocious disposition, were appalled at first; but encouraged by Wallace and his companions, they prepared themselves for action, by stuffing sheep-skins with wool, which appears to have been their cargo; and thus making a kind of defensive armour, to protect them against their better equipped assailants. On their refusing to surrender, the battle commenced by a heavy discharge from bows and cross-bows on the part of the English; and the Scots, who were not so well supplied with missiles, kept themselves as much as possible out of the way of the shot, till it was nearly expended; when, laying their vessel alongside of the enemy, Wallace and his companions threw themselves on board the pirate, and attacked the crew with the greatest fury. The commander, seeing the desperation of the Scots, and the havoc they were making amongst his men, would gladly have made off; but the sword of Wallace was not to be

evaded. The two leaders, therefore, engaged, and after a short reencounter, John of Lyn was cut down by his opponent, and his men submitted to the conqueror. In this conflict none distinguished themselves more than Longueville, and John Blair, the chaplain of Wallace the latter of whom, with three successive arrows, shot three of the enemy, and otherwise conducted himself with the greatest heroism. As it would not have been becoming in Blair to have narrated such deeds of himself, we are told by Henry, that the account of them was inserted in the memoir of Wallace by Thomas Gray, who acted as steersman on the occasion. In this there is consistency, as we are elsewhere informed, that Gray occasionally assisted in writing the achievements of the champion of the Scots.

On arriving "in the Sloice-hawyn", says Henry, Wallace made a division of the spoil among his followers, and, presenting the merchants with the ship, took his departure for Paris.

The reception he met with from Philip is reported to have been highly flattering; and our hero soon became involved in a number of adventures, all sufficiently romantic; but as the French historians appear, from their silence, to have been ignorant of them, we must refer the curious reader to the pages of the Minstrel. We shall only remark, that it has been asserted by various writers, that the name of Wallace was frequently found in the songs of the ancient Troubadours. This, however, may have arisen as much from the fame he had acquired in his own country, as from any chivalrous exploits he had performed in France. But in whatever manner he was employed in the service of Philip, the proceedings of Edward soon recalled him to his native land.

The mortification which the reverses at Roslin occasioned the King of England, was greatly increased by the praises that were everywhere bestowed upon the gallantry of the Scots: and the noise which their triple victory made at the different courts of Europe, excited a deeper and more determined inveteracy in his mind. It is probable, that, but for the discomfiture at Roslin, the resolution which he had so long displayed, of reducing Scotland to subjection, might have gradually given way before the reflections occasioned by the immense losses which he had sustained in his various expeditions; and perhaps he would have contented himself with retaining possession of that part of Scotland which bounded his own kingdom.

The defeat, however, of his lieutenant, and the subsequent proceedings of the victors, awakened afresh all the rancorous hostility of his ambitious and unprincipled mind; and he resolved, by one mighty effort, to overwhelm the Scots, and efface their name from the number of the nations. In order to accomplish this project, all the ultramarine vassals of his crown were summoned to his standard. In his own kingdom of England, large levies of men and horses were raised, and the din of preparation was heard from one extremity of the land to the other. A powerful fleet was also equipped, to attend the motions of the land army, and prevent the chance of scarcity from interfering with that work of destruction he had in contemplation.

Wallace heard with sorrow, of the mighty preparations that were making for the annihilation of his country's independence, and he resolved again to join his old associates, and brave along with them the fury of the storm that was about to burst upon their heads. To his friends, who listened with increasing apprehension to the progress of the coining war, the hope of his return came like a sunbeam through the tempest that was blackening around them. Before, however, the French monarch would permit his departure, the countless host of the invader had crossed the Tweed, and spread its desolating squadrons over the adjacent country; and those places which manifested the

slightest disposition to defend their liberties, were consigned to indiscriminate carnage. Among the few which made any resistance, the castle of Brechin appeared eminently conspicuous. Under the command of the governor, Sir Thomas Maule, this garrison maintained a most heroic defense, and did not give in till the death of their commander obliged them to surrender.

Wherever the army of Edward now appeared, the chieftains were found anxiously waiting to tender their submission, and again repeat their oaths of allegiance. Some of the principal nobility, in order to claim the merit of an early repentance, even met the invader on the borders, and thus procured more advantageous terms than they otherwise would have obtained. Among those who thus started for the goal of slavery, few shared more largely in the wages of iniquity than Sir John Menteith. Having met Sir Aymer de Vallance at Annan, he found means to acquire so much of his confidence, as to induce that favourite of Edward to obtain for him, not only a confirmation of the governorship of Dumbarton castle, but also an extension of his authority, over the whole of the district of Lennox.

While affairs were in this situation, accounts were brought to the English camp, that the bugle of Wallace had been heard at midnight among the woods on the banks of the Tay; and a body of troops, - under the command of Sir John Butler, were despatched in pursuit of him. This officer, two of whose relations had already fallen by the hand of Wallace, set forward with alacrity to execute the service assigned to him. But, after ranging the country in all directions, he was at last obliged to return without having once seen the object of whom he was in search, although the reports brought him by his scouts, as well as the evasive answers of the inhabitants, convinced him of the certainty of Wallace being in the country.

In the early part of our narrative, we alluded to the admirable discipline which Wallace had introduced among his countrymen, and the facility with which, by the sound of his horn, he could rally them around him in cases of emergency. From the frequency with which these calls had been made, there was scarcely a district in Scotland where his war-note was not understood and obeyed with alacrity. Though this was the case, we do not mean to say, that all who attended its summons were animated by pure and disinterested patriotism. To the ears of many, it probably sounded only as an invitation to divide the property of their more wealthy enemies; whom under so daring and fortunate a leader they never doubted of being able to conquer; and it is likely that they would have obeyed the call with the same promptitude, had it summoned them to a foray against some neighbouring clan: but the generosity with which he divided his own share of the booty among those who had suffered most, or had borne themselves with the greatest gallantry in the conflict, gained him a complete ascendancy over the discordant materials of which his little armies were frequently composed; and rendered him more formidable to an invader, than all the jarring aristocracy put together. It is therefore not surprising that the report of his return should have caused alarm among the English.

On the night referred to, Wallace had landed in Scotland, accompanied by Sir Thomas de Longueville, John Blair, Thomas Gray, and a few other friends who had attended him in France; and being near one of his old places of resort, he wished to gain some knowledge of the state of the country, to enable him to regulate his further proceedings; for this purpose he raised his bugle, and before the reverberations had died away among the woodlands, a rustling was heard among the underwood, and presently an unarmed Scot stood before him. From this ready adherent, who had been watching the landing of the party, Wallace learned the situation of the kingdom, the slaughters

committed by Edward, the submission of the regency, and the terror that pervaded the nobility. Finding, from the number of the English that were in the neighbourhood, the necessity of betaking himself to some place of concealment, he and his party were conducted by their informer to a farm-house in a secluded part of the country, occupied by a relation of Wallace, of the name of Crawford. Here he was joyfully received, and a hiding-place artfully constructed in the barn, for him and his companions, where they lurked during the search made for them by Butler.

In this retreat they might have remained, till some favourable occurrence had enabled them to appear more openly; but it seems the unusual quantity of provisions which Crawford was obliged to purchase for the maintenance of his guests, awakened the suspicions of the English at Dundee; and on his return, having mentioned the examination he was subjected to, Wallace and his party thought it prudent to retire to a neighbouring thicket, and wait the result. They had not long adopted this precaution, before a body of the English made their appearance; and having surrounded the dwelling of Crawford, they discovered, in the course of search, the lair of the fugitives.

The wife of Crawford having refused to answer their inquiries regarding the route of her visitors, they were proceeding, by violent measures, to compel her to disclose the place of their retreat, when Wallace, ascertaining the danger to which she was exposed, advanced from the thicket, and sounded a bold defiance to the enemy. The situation he had chosen was such as could only be assailed from three narrow and rugged paths.

These he proposed to guard, by dividing his little party, which consisted only of about twenty men, into three divisions; with the smallest of these he undertook to defend the path that was most exposed to the enemy's attacks. Butler was not long in commencing the assault, which he did by a simultaneous movement on all those little parties of the Scots. The resistance, however, which he met with, aided by the rugged nature of the ascent, rendered all the ardour of his troops unavailing. As the evening advanced, he called them off; and having beat a chamade, he attempted to persuade Wallace to surrender, by representing the folly of continuing a resistance which must at last terminate in the ruin of himself and his friends. Our hero replied, by advising him to stand to his arms; for in place of surrendering, he intended, before morning, to become the assailant; and he gave him this warning, in return for the care which he had shown for himself and his companions. Irritated by this coolness, Butler determined to take every precaution to prevent his escape; and for this purpose he kept his men under arms all night. Wallace, however, was as good as his word; for at daybreak, under cover of a thick mist, he descended at the head of his little band, and, before the enemy was aware of his approach, broke into that quarter where Butler had his station. The surprise occasioned by his sudden appearance, threw the English into confusion, which their uncertainty as to the number of their assailants greatly increased; and availing himself of the disorder into which they were thrown, Wallace pressed forward, and came in contact with Butler, who, after a slight resistance, fell beneath his arm. The Scots having forced their way through the enemy, Wallace now discovered that their faithful host Crawford had been left behind. Returning, therefore, to the charge, he was fortunately in time to save him from the spear of an English soldier, whom he slew; and grasping his wounded friend in one of his arms, he carried him off in triumph to his companions. Favoured, by the denseness of the fog, the gallant little band were soon lost to their pursuers. Though thus relieved from their perilous situation, they are said to have suffered the greatest privations in the wild and unfrequented solitudes to which they were now obliged to retire. However, their indefatigable chief, always fertile in expedients, found means to preserve them from actual starvation, till Edward withdrew

his troops, for the purpose of resuming his march of subjugation throughout the kingdom.

The time which the English monarch spent in the southern part of Scotland, it appears had not altogether been employed in the chastisement of those who were most active in the late insurrection. With a policy worthy of himself, he endeavoured to obliterate the remembrance of national independence, by ransacking the monasteries, and carrying off, and committing to the flames, all the ancient records they contained; so that the Scots in future might have no documents to produce which could falsify his claims to sovereignty over them. In this proceeding he might have been partly influenced, by the discussion he had been engaged in with Boniface. Having, to his spiritual father, so solemnly asserted the justice of his claim, it was but natural that he should wish to possess or destroy every evidence which might establish his asseverations; and this object being, as he conceived, so far accomplished, he proceeded with his army, by slow marches, towards the North, exercising the same Gothic barbarity as he went along, and demolishing those fortresses which made any show of resistance.

According to Henry, a number of the old associates of Wallace, before his return from France, had fled for shelter to the islands and other places for security. Seton, Lauder, and Lundy retired to the Bass. Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, and Sir Niel Campbell, had sought concealment along with Bishop Sinclair in Bute; and these last mentioned worthies, on hearing of the arrival of Wallace, despatched a messenger to find him out, and explain the difficulties of their situation, and their readiness to join him as soon as he approached their present places of refuge. They had not to wait long, before our hero issued forth with his little band, and collected those who were still inclined to struggle for the liberties of Scotland. At the head of such he followed the invading army, and appearing now in front, and now in rear, made frequent and impressive attacks upon them as they struggled through the deep and rugged defiles of the country. But all his efforts could not retard the march of the invaders. They advanced to the extremity of the kingdom, unmolested by any save the hardy followers of our hero, who, however, as they had attended the motions of their foes in their laborious progress through the rough and mountainous regions of the North, now waited their return, and resumed the same harassing system of warfare. Often, from an eminence, Edward could distinguish the lofty plume of the Scottish leader, as he dashed forward to charge some isolated corps of the English army; and while he beheld the enthusiasm with which his conduct inspired his followers, and saw the disorder of his own soldiers, hurrying to gain the protection of the main body, his heart mistake him as to the stability of his conquest, while Scotland contained a man whose appearance alone was capable of inspiring his friends with so much confidence, and his enemies with so much dread.

## XXI.

## HALIBURTON UNDERTAKES TO BETRAY WALLACE.

EDWARD having returned from the bleak regions of the North, took up his quarters in Dunfermline, judging that his presence in the country, during the winter, would contribute much towards establishing his authority, as he had formerly observed, that the places he had conquered from the Scots in summer, were generally retaken when the severe weather set in. He accordingly took every precaution for the comfort of his troops; large supplies of provisions being ordered, both by sea and land, that his army might not be placed in such difficulties as had formerly compelled him to retreat into England.

In order, also, to secure his present conquest, he began to assimilate the state of the country as much as possible to that of his other dominions; and, for this purpose, he abrogated all the old laws and customs substituting those of England in their stead. In the prosecution of this object, he announced a parliament at St. Andrew's, which was attended by all Scotsmen of any note, except Sir William Wallace, Sir Simon Frazer, and Sir William Oliphant, governor of Stirling Castle, the latter of whom refused either to appear or surrender the trust, which had been committed to him by Lord Soulis, who happened then to be in France. Of this fortress, which was now the only one that held out against him, Edward determined to gain possession as soon as the season would permit. As to Wallace, it is said, that, at this time, among other great offers, he tendered him the crown of Scotland, provided he would accept of it in fee of the crown of England; to which, with his usual dignity, Wallace replied, that as he had been born a free man, he was determined to die one; and that he preferred rather to be the subject of his lawful sovereign, than the crowned slave of one who had no right to his allegiance. That Edward was sincere in this offer, is a matter of considerable doubt; he had already cajoled others by similar proposals, and he might naturally conceive, that although Wallace should not be caught by the bait, the offer would have the effect of exciting the suspicions of his countrymen, and thereby weakening his influence among them. But whatever his motives may have been, Wallace sternly rejected all compromise, and remained the only Scotsman who never acknowledged his authority. On the present occasion, Sir Simon Frazer followed his example, for which the tyrant passed sentence of banishment and outlawry against him. This gallant gentleman, who now adhered to the fortunes of Wallace, had given great offence to Edward, by the conspicuous part he had acted at the battle of Roslin, as it was generally believed to have been owing principally to him that the English sustained the mortifying defeat.

Early in the spring, 1304, Edward discovered, that, through the exertions of Wallace and Frazer, a body of troops had been got together; in order to disperse which, before it became too formidable, he took the field, and proceeded towards Stirling, in the neighbourhood of which it had assembled.

The force under the patriots, however, when compared with the enemy, was so very insignificant, that they prudently retreated to their former places of refuge. On the 21st April the siege of Stirling commenced, and continued without intermission till the

24th July; thus occupying Edward and his army for three months and three days, during which time every artifice was put in practice, and every piece of mechanism then known was directed against the besieged. The stubbornness of the garrison, however, seemed to increase as the means of annoyance multiplied around them; and the anxiety of Edward to gain this last strong hold of the liberties of Scotland was displayed, by his close and unremitting attendance on the details of the siege. Though now advanced in years, he is represented as exposing himself with all the imprudent gallantry of a youthful warrior; and on one or two occasions he had nearly fallen a victim to his temerity. While riding near the walls, a stone, from one of the engines at work on the rampart, struck the ground before him with so much violence, that his horse backed, and fell under him; and at another time, a javelin, thrown by a soldier on the wall, struck him on the breast, and stuck between the plates of his armour. The point of the missile, however, had not pierced the skin. Pulling it out with his hand, he shook it in defiance, and loudly proclaimed that he would hang the villain who had hit him. In the mean time, the engines belonging to the castle were so well managed, and the enormous stones which they threw, so skilfully directed, that great numbers of the besiegers were destroyed. Edward now saw, that, without still greater efforts, the place was not likely soon to capitulate. He therefore wrote to London, and other towns in England, ordering the most powerful engines to be sent him, with supplies of javelins, quarrells, and other missiles; and the lead was torn from the roof of the Cathedral of St. Andrew's to furnish materials for the siege. Thirteen engines of the largest size were at last brought to bear upon the castle, one of which, called by Langtoft "the Ludgare, or Lurdare of Strivelyn", was of the most formidable description. This "hidous engyn", when put in operation, made tremendous breaches in the walls, which the besieged in vain attempted to repair; and after many destructive sallies, and "fulle and hard affrays," and a siege unparalleled in the history of the war their provisions exhausted, and their walls torn to pieces Sir William Oliphant and his brave little garrison were forced to surrender at discretion. Every possible indignity which a tyrannical mind destitute of generosity, and exasperated by opposition, could inflict, was now heaped upon the gallant defenders. They were compelled to go in procession to the tent of Edward, and denuded of every garment save their shirts, their heads and feet uncovered on their bended knees, with uplifted hands, had thus to implore his clemency; upon which their magnanimous conqueror condescended to spare their lives, and sent them to expiate their offences in the dungeons of England. The garrison, according to Langtoft, consisted of Sir William Oliphant, Sir William Duplin, twenty gentlemen of inferior degree, a preaching friar, a monk, and thirteen "maydens and ladies". The common soldiers are said to have amounted to 140, whose names, it is to be regretted, have not been preserved. The following are all that remain on record:

Domini Willielmus Olyfard. Willielmus de Dupplyn, milites. Fergus de Ardrossan. Robinus de Ardrossan, frater ejus. Willielmus de Ramseya. Hugo de Ramseya. Radulfus de Haleburton. Domini Thomas de Knellhulle. Thomas Lellay. Patricius de Polleworche. Hugo Olyfard. Walterius Olyfard. Willielmus Gyffard. Alanus de Vypont. Andreas Wychard. Domini Godefridus le Botiller. Frater Willielmus de Keth, ordinis Sancti Dominici Praedicatorum. Johannes le Naper. Willielmus le Scherere Hugo le Botiller. Johannes de Kulgas. Frater Petrus de Edereston de domo de Kelsou, ordinis Sancti. Benedicti. Willielmus de Anart. Robertus de Ranfru. Walterus Taylleu Simon Larmerer.

The proceedings of Edward at length gave umbrage to Cumyn and Bruce. These chieftains, after Baliol, had the nearest pretensions to the crown, and they had both been

amused by Edward with hopes of the kingdom. In the destruction, however, of the fortresses, and the alterations he had made in the constitution of the country, they saw little that tended towards the fulfilment of the promises he had made them. Cumyn, therefore, having found an opportunity, broke the matter to Bruce, by lamenting the state to which their country was reduced by the power or policy of Edward, who endeavoured to sow discord among those whose interest it was to be friends; and by taking advantage of the animosities he thus excited, furthered his own ambitious and tyrannical designs.

These remarks begat the confidence of his rival, who communicated without reserve the promises that had been held out to him by Edward; which drew from Cumyn a proposal for the delivery of their country, in which he offered to give Bruce his estates, on condition that he relinquished his claim, and assisted him to gain the crown; or to accept of Bruce's estates on the same terms. Bruce, who considered his claim to be better founded than that of Cumyn, agreed to make over his estates on attaining to the kingdom through the assistance of Cumyn; and a private bond was entered into between them for this purpose. In order to cover their intentions, Bruce agreed to accompany Edward to London, and leave his brother, Edward Bruce, to attend to his interest in Scotland.

The English monarch having now, as he thought, completely depressed the spirit of the Scots, and brought them effectually under his yoke, began to make preparations for his return to England; and with this view, he appointed Adomer de Vallence regent or viceroy of the kingdom, filling all places of trust with Englishmen, or such creatures among the Scots as he found suitable to his purpose. Having made these, and such other arrangements as his policy suggested, he returned home in triumph, firmly persuaded that he had finally reduced the kingdom of Scotland to the condition of a province of England. Edward, however, had scarcely arrived in London, before accounts from the North convinced him of the uncertain nature of his conquest, so long as Wallace remained at large in the country; and as neither threats nor promises could subdue his inflexible fidelity to the liberties of his native land, large rewards were offered for securing his person, dead or alive. Influenced by the great promises held out to him, Ralph de Haliburton, one of the prisoners whom Edward had carried with him into England, undertook the perfidious office, and for that purpose was allowed to return to Scotland. Of his after proceedings, we have, however, but a very imperfect outline; and from all that we can collect, his exertions in his villainous mission appear to have been limited to one or two attempts; in the last of which, from his knowledge of Wallace and his retreats, he contrived to have him beset by a strong body of cavalry, in a situation where he had no way of escape, but by springing his horse over a precipice. This he effected; and his pursuers, drawing back with horror, left him to pursue his retreat on foot, his gallant steed having perished in the fearful enterprise.

After this, it is supposed that Haliburton, alarmed for the consequence of his conduct, and dreading the vengeance of his countrymen, returned with precipitation to England.

## XXII

## WALLACE BETRAYED BY MENTEITH.

THE situation of Scotland, after the departure of Edward, was such as well warranted the representation that had been transmitted to England. Though there had as yet been no open insurrection, still there was that in the bearing of the people, which betokened anything but good will towards the existing state of things. The national sports and customs of the English, which it had been attempted to introduce among them, were shunned and disregarded by the oppressed and scowling population; while those chiefs who had formerly shown the greatest attachment to the cause of independence, were seldom heard of, except when discovered holding their conferences in those sequestered retreats, where they considered themselves secure from all, save the wandering spies employed by the faithless part of their own countrymen.

Wallace now saw that the state of the country required a different remedy from that which had hitherto been applied. Baliol, whom he had acknowledged as his righteous sovereign, though detained a prisoner in England, had, through the menaces of Edward, made over to that monarch his right to the crown and kingdom of Scotland. This act, in the opinion of Wallace, released him from his allegiance to one who had all along acted a part unworthy of his attachment; for, though he admitted his right to resign the crown, yet he could not recognize a right to transfer it to a stranger, to the exclusion of the lawful heir; and as Edward, the son of Baliol, was also the prisoner and tool of the King of England, he naturally fixed his attention on Bruce, as the person best fitted, from his birth and talents, to infuse that confidence in the people which necessarily arises from the presence of a person invested with lawful authority. Having found no difficulty in impressing Sir Simon Frazer, and those other chiefs who adhered to him, with the same sentiments, a negotiation was entered into with Edward Bruce, for inviting his brother from England to assume the crown; and it is also said, that a special herald from Wallace and his confederates found his way to Bruce in disguise, who appointed to meet with our hero on a certain night on the burrow-muir of Glasgow.

In the meantime, 1305, Wallace and his friends were active in organizing the insurrection, which was to burst forth as soon as Bruce appeared among them, and who was at the same time to have been proclaimed king. How far Cumyn was consulted on the occasion, by Wallace and his associates, does not appear. From the very little intercourse which seems to have subsisted between them since the fatal battle of Falkirk, it is highly probable that the accession of our patriot and his party, to the proposal for placing Bruce on the throne, was communicated to Cumyn through the medium of Edward Bruce the fiery temperament of whose mind was not always in unison with those maxims of sound policy necessary for conducting affairs of such moment. Whether Cumyn had ever been sincere in the agreement entered into with the Earl of Carrick, or whether he afterwards repented of the bargain he had made, is a point not easily to be ascertained; but with a duplicity worthy of his conduct on a former occasion, he is said to have despatched the bond between himself and Bruce to Edward;

urging, at the same time, the arrestment of his rival, as necessary to prevent the disturbance that was on the eve of breaking out in Scotland.

It might be considered by our readers an omission, were we to bring our labors to a close, without embodying in our pages a more particular account of this subtle and talented baron, than what has hitherto appeared in the course of the narrative. To obviate this objection, perhaps the following brief outline, in addition to what has already been stated, may suffice.

John Cumyn, or as he is called by the Gaël, Ian Ruadh Mhac Ian Ruadh Chiumein (Red John, the son of Red John Gunning), was Lord of Badenoch, Lochaber, and other extensive districts, and the head of the most potent clan that ever existed in Scotland. His power was more formidable than any of his fellow-competitors for the crown. Upwards of sixty belted knights and their vassals were bound to follow his banner; and the influence of the family was such, that during the minority of Alexander III, after driving from Scotland a strong faction, formed and supported by the interest of England, the Cumyns and their adherents negotiated a treaty with Llewellyn, a prince of Wales. In this instrument, John, the father of the subject of the present notice, appears as Justiciary of Galloway. This document is preserved in Rymer's *Foedera*, vol. I. p. 653. Those, however, who may not have access to that work, may have their curiosity gratified, by referring to Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. I. p. 424.

It is uncertain at what time John Cumyn succeeded to his father. He appears, however, in 1289, as joint agent along with James the Steward, in the letter of the community of Scotland, directed to Edward I, from Brigham. According to Henry, he was married to a cousin of the King of England; and this, from all authorities, seems to have been the case, for he espoused Joan, the sister of Aymer de Valence, whose father, William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was uterine brother to Henry III. With this powerful connection, he no doubt expected a different decision in the submission respecting the throne of Scotland. This disappointment, in all probability, made him afterwards more ready to join the insurrection under Wallace; and if it had not been for the odium which he afterwards drew upon himself by his conduct at the battle of Falkirk, he might have figured in the annals of his country with a fair and honourable reputation. While regent of Scotland, his behaviour was not only unexceptionable, but often praiseworthy. This however may have been partly owing to the strict surveillance which Wallace still exercised in the affairs of the country, or partly from a wish to conciliate his countrymen, in the event of a favourable opportunity occurring for his obtaining the crown, an object of ambition of which it is pretty evident he never lost sight.

The treachery towards Bruce, which has been charged against him by all authorities except Lord Hailes, also tended to deepen the stain on his character. This charge, whether true or false, we have no means of ascertaining. A number of the objections stated by his Lordship against it are, however, of considerable weight. That a bond existed between them of the tenor already described, there is little doubt; and that the terms of this bond became afterwards matter of dispute, there is some reason to believe, as the fulfilment of it would have been dangerous to both. For had Bruce been placed on the throne by the assistance of Cumyn, and the latter had received the estates of Bruce, according to agreement, he would have been a subject far too powerful for the crown; and vice versa in the case of Bruce. The quarrel, therefore, which subsequently took place in the chapel of Dumfries, and which ended in the death of Cumyn (the particulars of which are known to every reader), might have arisen in an altercation respecting the difficulties involved in the completion of the bond, without either party

having been guilty of a breach of faith. It was no doubt the policy of Bruce and his confederates, that the stain of treachery should be affixed on the name of Cumyn, as it afforded the only plausible excuse for committing a murder in a place of such reputed sanctity. Indeed the circumstance of the latter having requested an interview within the precincts of a church, showed nothing like a premeditated intention to quarrel; but since the deed was committed, it seemed necessary to the future safety and views of Bruce and his faction, that with the influence the character of the Cumyns should be diminished. That they assisted in this last object themselves, is but too apparent; otherwise it would be difficult to account for that odium which afterwards became attached to them. For while the Scots, in the Low country, cried out against the "fause Cumyn's Kyn," their vassals in Badenoch and Lochaber re-echoed the charge, till the very name became cognominal with deceit; so much so, that the following proverb is at this day remembered in those parts of the Highlands to which their influence extended:

"Fhad's a bhios crann an cóille,

Bi'dh fóill an Cuimeineach."

"While there are trees in a wood, there will be deceit in a Cumyn."

We will not however assert, that the enmity of the Gaël arose from the conduct of the Cumyns in the Low country; for if we may credit tradition still current in the West Highlands, this once powerful and oppressive family gave sufficient cause, in their own territorial bounds, for the antipathy of their neighbours and vassals. The atrocities which they committed in their castles of Inverlochy, Badenoch, and other strongholds which they polluted with their crimes, at last roused the slumbering vengeance of the people; and tradition, in her vague manner, dates the downfall of this potent clan, from the time of "Cumyn's flight from Onnich". At what period this occurred, cannot now be exactly ascertained; but with the particulars of the story we shall close this imperfect notice:

The Cumyns, it seems, in the plenitude of their power, paid little attention, when it suited their wishes, to the abrogation of the infamous law of Evenus, and the "mercheta mulierum" was generally spurned, when the charms of the bride happened to please the eye of the chief. It would seem that three marriages were about to take place at Onnich, a little town on the borders of Lochaber. The women were beautiful, and the men spirited and brave. The half-merk had been tendered at the gates of Inverlochy, by the bridegrooms and their friends, and the refusal of it by the chief gave them reason to apprehend the fate that was intended for them. The case excited deep interest. The day of marriage approached, and brought along with it the Lord of Badenoch and his two sons, with their usual retinue. The half-merk was again tendered, and refused. The men drew their swords, determined to guard the purity of their fair ones. A conflict ensued; friends gathered to the assistance of the injured; the two sons of Cumyn were killed; while he, with the remains of his myrmidons, betook himself to flight. The country arose and made after him, till the affair swelled to a general insurrection. All his train were sacrificed to the fury of the pursuers, many, no doubt, having more serious grievances to revenge. The flight continued till their obnoxious chief reached a hill near the present site of Fort Augustus; where, overcome with fatigue, he was seen to sit down apparently to rest himself. On coming up to him, however, they found that the wretched man had already paid the forfeit of his crimes. He was carried down and buried on the spot where the fort now stands, which is still known to old Highlanders by

the name of "Cill Chiumein", or the burial-place of Cumyn; and the hill on which he died retains to this day the appellation of "Suidh Chiumein" or Cumyn's Seat. Very few of the clan are now to be found in these districts.

To return to our narrative: Wallace, who, as he conceived, among other friends, had secured the cooperation of Sir John Menteith to the measures then in agitation, for the purpose, it is supposed, of giving as early notice as possible of the arrival of Bruce, had retained near his person a young man related to Menteith, who was to have been despatched with the news to Dumbarton, as soon as their future monarch should arrive, when that important fortress was to have declared in his favour.

Confiding in the arrangements thus made, Wallace, as the time appointed by Bruce drew near, collected his followers round Glasgow, and disposed of them in such a manner, as to be able to bring them together on the shortest notice. For the better concealment of his design, he retired to a small lonely house at Robroyston, about three miles north-west of Glasgow. Here he waited with impatience for the night on which Bruce had appointed to meet him, little dreaming of the danger to which his intended sovereign was exposed, through the conduct of Cumyn, nor of the treachery that was hatching against himself.

The means which were employed to accomplish the destruction of Bruce, would have been of very little avail towards securing the objects intended, so long as his brother and our hero who had now identified himself with the interest of the Brucian party remained to head the insurrection that was expected to break out; and as all the magnificent promises of Edward had been unable to subdue the stern virtue of the patriot, his emissaries now bethought themselves of assailing the fidelity of those friends in whom he seemed chiefly to confide. Unfortunately for the cause of liberty, their allurements were but too successful; and the honor of his early friend, Sir John Menteith, gave way to the arts of the tempter.

On the night of the 5th of August, 1305, Sir William, and his faithful friend, Kerlé, accompanied by the youth before-mentioned, had betaken themselves to their lonely retreat at Robroyston; to which place their steps had been watched by a spy, who, as soon as he had observed them enter, returned to his employers.

At the dead hour of midnight, while the two friends lay fast asleep, the youth, whose turn it was to watch, cautiously removed the bugle from the neck of Wallace, and conveyed it, along with his arms, through an aperture in the wall; then slowly opening the door, two men-at-arms silently entered, and, seizing upon Kerlé, hurried him from the apartment, and instantly put him to death. Wallace, awakened by the noise, started to his feet, and, missing his weapons, became sensible of his danger, but grasping a large piece of oak, which had been used for a seat, he struck two of his assailants dead on the spot, and drove the rest headlong before him. Seeing the fury to which he was roused, and the difficulty they would have in taking him alive, Menteith now advanced to the aperture, and represented to him the folly of resistance, as the English, he said, having heard of his place of resort, and of the plans he had in contemplation, were collected in too large a force to be withstood; that if he would accompany him a prisoner to Dumbarton, he would undertake for the safety of his person; that all the English wished, was to secure the peace of the country, and to be free from his molestation; adding, that if he consented to go with him, he should live in his own house in the castle, and he, Menteith, alone should be his keeper; that even now, he would willingly sacrifice his life in his defense; but that his attendants were too few, and too ill-appointed, to have any chance of success in contending with the English. He concluded by assuring

Wallace, that he had followed in order to use his influence with his enemies in his behalf, and that they had listened to him on condition of an immediate surrender; but that if he did not instantly comply, the house would soon be in flames about him. These, and other arguments, were urged with all the seeming sincerity of friendship; and our patriot, confiding in early recollections, and the private understanding that subsisted between them, allowed himself to be conducted to Dumbarton Castle.

On the morrow, however, no Menteith appeared to exert his influence, in order to prevent the unfortunate hero from being carried from the fortress; and strongly fettered, and guarded by a powerful escort, under the command of Robert de Clifford and Aymer de Vallence, he was hurried to the South, by the line of road least exposed to the chance of a rescue.

## XXIII.

## TRIAL, EXECUTION, AND CHARACTER OF WALLACE.

As the capture of Wallace was an event wholly unexpected by the English, the news of it, which spread with the rapidity of lightning, produced, in every part of the kingdom, a deep and universal sensation. Labour of every kind was abandoned, and people of all ranks flocked to those points of the road where it was expected the illustrious captive would pass. At Carlisle the escort halted for a night; and the tower in which he was secured, long afterwards retained his name. As the cortege approached London, the crowds became more numerous; and, on entering the capital, his conductors found their progress retarded by the multitudes that were collected; while every elevation or projection, however perilous, from which he could be seen, was occupied with, or clung to, by anxious spectators, eager to behold a man who had filled England with terror, and the fame of whose achievements had resounded through every country in Europe. After much exertion, the cavalcade at length reached the house of William Delect, a citizen in Fenchurch Street, where their prisoner was lodged for the night. From the circumstance of his having been taken to a private house, rather than to a place of greater security, it has been imagined by some, that Edward intended to make a last effort to gain Wallace over to his interest. This conjecture, however, is not sufficiently supported by subsequent proceedings, to entitle it to any degree of credit; and we are more inclined to believe, that the difficulty which the party encountered in making their way through the dense multitudes who had blocked up the streets and lanes leading to the Tower, may, with greater probability, be assigned as the cause for taking him to the house of Delect.

The thirst for revenge existed too keenly in the ruthless mind of Edward, to admit of much delay in the sacrifice of his victim. Though a consideration for the opinion of the more enlightened of his subjects, and the manner in which his conduct might be viewed at foreign courts, obliged him to have recourse at least to the formality of a trial the indecent haste with which it was brought on, made the mockery of judicial procedure but too apparent. The day after his arrival, he was conducted on horseback, from the house which his brief residence had made the scene of universal attraction, to take his trial in Westminster Hall. His progress from Fenchurch Street, according to Stowe, appears to have been a sort of procession, Lord John de Segrave, the fugitive of Roslin, acting as Grand Marshal of England, and armed cap-à-pie, rode on one side, while Geoffrey de Hartlepool, Recorder of London, equipped in a similar manner, rode on the other. The Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen followed, attended by a number of official characters on horseback and on foot, arranged according to their respective grades.

On reaching the spot where the solemn farce was to be performed, he was placed on the south bench of the great hall; and, in consequence of an absurd report, which had been circulated in England, of his having said that he deserved to wear a crown in that place, a crown of laurel was put upon his head. The noble appearance of the man, joined

to his calm and unruffled demeanour, entirely disarmed this silly attempt at ridicule of its intended effect.

Sir Peter Malory, the King's Justice, then rose, and read the indictment, wherein the prisoner was charged with treason against the King of England, burning of towns, and slaying of the subjects of his Majesty. To the first of these counts Wallace answered, that, as he had never been the subject of the King of England, he owed him no allegiance, and consequently could be no traitor. As to the other offences, he frankly admitted, that, in the discharge of his duty to his country, he had done all that was stated. On this admission, the following atrocious sentence was pronounced:

For treason, he was to be first dragged to the place of execution. For murder and robbery, he was to be then hung a certain time by the neck; and, because he had burned abbeys and religious houses, he was to be taken down alive from the gibbet, his entrails torn out, and burnt before him, his body to be quartered, and the parts afterwards to be disposed of as the clemency of Majesty might suggest.

When the necessary preparations were made for carrying this sentence into execution, the late champion of Scottish independence was brought forth from the place where he had been kept in confinement, heavily ironed, and chained to a bench of oak. He was then placed on a hurdle, and, surrounded by a strong guard of soldiers, ignominiously dragged to the Elms, in Smithfield. That self-possession and undaunted demeanour which he evinced during the trial, appeared equally conspicuous on the scaffold. Looking round with undisturbed composure on the assembled multitude, he addressed himself to a person near him, and asked for a priest to whom he might make confession.

This request, on being made known to Edward, he is said to have sternly refused; and the rancorous old man forbid any clergyman to retard the execution for such a purpose. On hearing this undignified command of his sovereign, Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, the same individual who so faithfully discharged his duty at Carlaverock, stepped boldly forward, and, after earnestly remonstrating with Edward, declared his determination to officiate himself. When the ceremony usual on such occasions was finished, Wallace rose from his knees, and the Archbishop having taken leave of him, instantly departed for Westminster, thus declining to witness the sequel of an act so revolting to humanity, and which he no doubt considered as fixing a deep stain on the character of his country.

The spectacle which was now exhibited to the gaze of the inhabitants of the metropolis of England, was such as perhaps has never before been presented to the populace of any land. The LAST FREEMAN of an ANCIENT PEOPLE, not less renowned for their bravery, than for their love of independence, stood a calm and unshrinking victim, ready to be immolated at the shrine of despotism. That powerful arm which had long contended for liberty was now to be unstrung beneath the knife of the executioner; and that heart, replete with every ennobling virtue, which never quailed in the sternest hour of danger, was doomed to quiver in the purifying flames of martyrdom.

During the pause which preceded the unhallowed operations, Wallace turned to Lord Clifford, and requested that a Psalter, which had been taken from his person, might be returned. His desire being complied with, he asked a priest to hold it open before him. This book had been his constant companion from his early years, and was perhaps the gift of his mother or his uncle, the parson of Dunipace.

After hanging for a certain time, the sufferer was taken down, while yet in an evident state of sensibility. He was then disembowelled; and the heart, wrung from its place, was committed to the flames in his presence. During this dreadful process, his eyes still continued to linger on the Psalter, till, overpowered by his sufferings, he expired among their hands with all that passive heroism which may be supposed to belong to so elevated a character. The body was afterwards dismembered; the head fixed on London-bridge, the right arm on the bridge of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the left at Berwick, the right leg at Perth, and the left at Aberdeen.

Thus fell this great and exemplary patriot, a martyr to the rights and independence of his country, than whom, if we consider his extraordinary personal and mental endowments, joined to his inextinguishable and disinterested love of liberty, a greater hero is not to be found in the annals of any people. Born to a slender inheritance, and unconnected by birth with the opulent families of his country, he derived no advantage from those circumstances which often assisted other distinguished characters in attaining that place in the temple of fame to which their ambition was directed.

To his own genius he was indebted for a system of tactics eminently calculated for the contest he had in view; and with his own arm he gave the first impulse to the cause of freedom, which afterwards, on the field of Bannockburn, was crowned with such glorious and decisive success under a kindred spirit on whom the inspiring mantle of our patriot descended, as he winged his flight to the regions of immortality.

In person, Wallace was admirably fitted to grace that elevated station among mankind, for which his genius and talents so eminently qualified him. His visage was long, well proportioned, and exquisitely beautiful; his eyes were bright and piercing; the hair of his head and beard auburn, and inclined to curl: that on his brows and eye-lashes was of a lighter shade; his lips were round and full. Under the chin, on the left side, was a scar, the only one visible, although many were to be found on his person; his stature was lofty and majestic, rising the head and shoulders above the tallest men in the country. Yet his form, though gigantic, possessed the most perfect symmetry; and with a degree of strength almost incredible, there was combined such an agility of body and fleetness in running, that no one, except when mounted on horseback, could outstrip, or escape from him, when he happened to pursue. All-powerful as a swordsman, and unrivalled as an archer, his blows were fatal, and his shafts unerring: as an equestrian, he was a model of dexterity and grace; while the hardships he experienced in his youth, made him view with indifference the severest privations incident to a military life. In common intercourse, his accents were mild, and his manners grave and urbane. In the field, when addressing his soldiers, his discourse was brief and animating, and the sound of his voice thrilled through their hearts like the spirit-stirring notes of the clarion. Great and varied, however, as were the accomplishments nature had lavished on his person, the graces with which she had enriched his mind threw a radiance over all the rest of her gifts. Untaught himself in the military art, he became the instructor of his countrymen, and his first efforts were worthy of the greatest captain of the age.

If we may judge from his regard to the sanctity of an oath, his ideas of morality appear to have been much at variance with the corrupt practice of the age. Uncontaminated by the pernicious example of the great men of the country, he rather chose to bear hunger and every other privation the unsheltered outlaw might, be exposed to, than purchase the advantage so much prized by others, at the expense of taking an oath he had no intention of holding sacred: still, this inflexible rectitude of soul could not shame the aristocracy from their convenient perjuries; for the bands by which he strove to unite them together, became like ropes of sand in the hour of trial.

Notwithstanding, however, all the difficulties that were thrown in his way, the vigour of his own character, and the wisdom of his measures, enabled him to achieve the deliverance of his native land. To the charges of ambition and usurpation that were brought against him, he gave the noblest refutation, by resigning the bauble of power into the hands of those little spirits, who would otherwise have betrayed the cause of national independence, or involved their country in all the horrors of civil war. Thus, his virtuous self-denial preserved the people whom his valour had set free.

In the biographical notices that have been submitted, the reader will perceive the formidable array of talent and power with which Wallace had to contend. To an aristocracy, at that time perhaps unrivalled in Europe, and headed by a monarch as distinguished for ambition, sternness of purpose, and warlike propensities, as he was notorious for the absence of those virtues which constitute the redeeming traits in the character of a soldier the magnanimous patriot had at first little to oppose, save the innate energies of his own invincible heart, and the resources of a genius which Heaven seems peculiarly to have fitted for the task. That Scotland, distracted by faction, and deprived of all foreign aid, should, under the guidance of one who ranked among the humblest of her nobles, have again advanced herself to the dignity of an independent state, in defiance of the power of England, backed by the resources of Ireland and Wales, was considered by her adversaries as too humiliating to their national character to admit of their relinquishing the contest. The renewal of every invasion was, however, met by an increasing stubbornness of opposition; and the chivalrous conqueror in Palestine the "high souled" Plantagenet, at last condescended to steal away the enemy he could neither bribe nor subdue, and thus purchase the brief and delusive semblance of a victory, at the price of everlasting dishonour.

The mind of Wallace was imbued with the most exalted ideas of independence; and the stern and inflexible spirit with which he guarded his own and his country's honour, could only be equalled by the scrupulous delicacy he exercised towards the feelings of others. Loving freedom for her own sake, he considered her sanctuary, wherever placed, as too sacred to be violated. Among the many proofs of this elevation of mind, the following may be mentioned: On the surrender of de Longueville, the high-spirited Frenchman was anxious to know the name and the character of his conqueror. On the name of Wallace being announced to him, he fell on his knees, and thanked God that so worthy an enemy had been his victor; and, according to the custom of the age, he tendered his service, along with his sword. "Service from you, Sir Thomas", said the gallant Scot, with an accent of kind familiarity, "I cannot accept; your friendship is what I desire". On another occasion, in the heat of an engagement, having, as he conceived, given orders to Sir John Graham in a manner too peremptory after the victory had been secured, he came up to his brave friend, and surprised him with a humble apology for anything like harshness he might have displayed in his manner of expressing himself. Graham, however, was quite unconscious of hearing anything that he had reason to take amiss; and expressed a hope that he would always act towards him and others in the same manner, when the interest of their country was at stake.

In the division of spoil, the portion that fell to the share of Wallace he set apart as a fund from which those were rewarded who had distinguished themselves by their valour or good conduct, while contending for the liberty of their country thus stimulating their efforts in their own cause, by the sacrifice of his personal advantage.

The delicacy, also, which he evinced, in excluding his relations from any participation in those grants and emoluments with which he rewarded the services of others, showed him exempt from any selfish or mercenary feeling, and decidedly averse

to the aggrandizement of his family at the national expense. In those times, when driven to the woods and natural fastnesses of the country, where his little party were exposed, from the scarcity of provisions, to the greatest distress, the expedients he had recourse to for their relief, and the self-denial he exercised in order to husband the slender supplies for their use, impressed his followers with sentiments of admiration and gratitude.

The system which he introduced, during the short period of his regency, of disciplining and subdividing the nation, evinced the clear and comprehensive views he entertained of the true interests of the country; and had his successors in power followed up the same measure, it would doubtless have been productive of incalculable benefit to the kingdom; as, independent of the great force the Legislature might thus have been enabled to bring into the field in cases of emergency, it would have undermined, and eventually overthrown, the feudal superiority of the barons, and those petty confederations among clans, which have been for so many ages the bane and curse of Scotland. His views, however, for the immediate and permanent prosperity of the country, took even a more extensive range than what is embraced by the above wise and salutary measure. Aware of the benefit which Scotland had formerly derived from her commercial intercourse with the Continent, we find his attention, within a month after the battle of Stirling, seriously turned towards the re-establishment of this important object; and while the nation was mustering at Roslin for the invasion of England, her leader was actively engaged in despatching intimation to the different Hanse-towns, that the ports of Scotland were again open to the trade of all friendly powers.

The plan which he pursued in his invasions, was the most efficient for exhausting the enemy's country, enriching his own, and encouraging his countrymen to flock to his standard. Though often severe in his retaliations, yet, towards women and children, he always exercised the greatest humanity.

During his Guardianship, the country was beginning to feel the return of her former prosperity. With the spoil of the enemy he had diffused plenty over the land; the poor were protected; thieves were promptly and severely punished; cheats and liars were discouraged; and good men met the reward of their virtues. The vigilance with which he watched over the public weal was unremitting, and never for a moment gave place to any object of personal consideration. Even those duties which are often considered paramount to every other, were with him secondary to the interest of his country; for, on the death of his mother, his presence being required elsewhere, he entrusted the performance of her obsequies to his friend, John Blair, and a confidential servant; which duty they discharged with becoming solemnity in the cathedral of Dunfermline. To this cemetery, it is conjectured, the fragments of his own body were secretly collated by his companions, after the barbarous and impolitic exposure had taken place.

At his execution, that self-command and nobleness of soul, which formed such luminous traits in his character, never for a moment forsook him. Without deigning to breathe a murmur, either at the injustice of the tyrant who condemned, or the unhappy man who betrayed him, he submitted to his fate with that becoming dignity which extorted even from his enemies expressions of unqualified admiration.

A revulsion, the natural consequence of the inhuman cruelty of Edward, and the undaunted demeanour of his victim took place in the minds of the people of England immediately after his execution; and the story of an English monk who pretended to

have seen a vision of angels conducting Wallace out of purgatory with much honour, was quickly circulated, and received with pleasure, all over Britain.

The following lines, translated from the original Latin by Hume of Godscroft, are understood to have been composed some time after the execution of our illustrious patriot, by his afflicted friend and chaplain, John Blair; and with this elegant and pathetic tribute of genius at the shrine of departed greatness, we shall close the present chapter:

"Envious death, who ruins all,  
 Hath wrought the sad lamented fall  
 Of Wallace and no more remains  
 Of him than what an urn contains!  
 Ashes for our hero we have -  
 He, for his armour, a cold grave.  
 He left the earth - too low a state!  
 And by his acts o'ercame his fate.  
 His soul Death had not power to kill,  
 His noble deeds the world do fill  
 With lasting trophies of his name.  
 O! hadst thou virtue loved, or fame,  
 Thou could'st not have insulted so  
 Over a brave, betrayed, dead foe,  
 Edward, nor seen those limbs expos'd  
 To public shame - fit to be clos'd  
 As relics in an holy shrine.  
 But now the infamy is thine.  
 His end crowns him with glorious hays,  
 And stains the brightest of thy praise."

## CONCLUSION

THE wisdom of the ancient Egyptians has been much celebrated, but in no respect does it appear more conspicuous than in the uses to which they applied the historical records of their country. By their laws, the hand which kept a faithful transcript of passing events, and registered with strict impartiality the transactions and characters of their kings, was removed from the knowledge and influence of those whose deeds were thus related. On the accession of every new monarch, it was part of the ceremonial to read in his presence the records of his predecessor's reign. By this means he was apprised of the faults he ought to avoid, and admonished of the virtues it was incumbent on him to emulate; while the reflection arising from the certainty that after death his name also would be consigned over to posterity - either to receive the meed of grateful remembrance, or the impress of merited reprobation, according to his actions - operated on the royal mind as a useful and salutary restraint.

Other nations aspired to imitate the Egyptians; but national imitation is too often like that among individuals. The faults and blemishes of the original are more readily caught than its beauties and perfections. Thus, while the grossness of Egypt's mythology was most servilely copied, one practice which gave dignity and utility to her history was entirely overlooked, and the pen of the historian, in place of being wielded by the impartial, fearless, and untrammelled friend of public virtue, was more frequently found in the hand of the needy parasite; employed in the base and degrading occupation of varnishing the enormities of the ermined tyrant, whose ambitious progress to distinction had been marked by the subversion of the rights, and the carnage of his fellow-men. This prostitution of the historic muse is not unknown among modern authors, and may be often attributed to an unworthy desire of administering to the feelings of a favourite party, or a wish to conciliate the national prejudices of their readers. Though compelled, by the general increase of knowledge, to give a more faithful narrative of facts than the writers of antiquity, when it may suit any of the purposes that have been mentioned, the subject of their biography is seldom dismissed without being made to undergo a sort of purgation in the general estimate of his character, and which is often found to be at antipodes to the actions with which it stands connected. Perhaps the annals of England cannot afford a more striking instance of this perversion of all that is valuable in historical literature, than in the portraits which some historians have drawn of Edward I.

Without attempting to delineate the character of this ambitious disturber of the peace of Britain, the writer will merely notice a few of the leading circumstances of his history, and leave the reader to discover by what curious process of literary chemistry those crudities have been made to harmonize, in order to produce so fair a display of political sagacity and kingly greatness.

The littleness which appears to have been inherent in the mind of Edward was laid open to the Londoners in 1263, by his breaking into the treasury of the Knights Templars, and carrying off 1000£ deposited there by the citizens. This robbery was looked upon by the people as an act so thoroughly base, that they instantly flew to arms, and assaulted the houses of those among the nobility who were supposed accessory to the theft.

Edward was at this time in his 26th year; of course youthful indiscretion cannot be advanced as an excuse for the crime.

His aggression upon Scotland has been indulgently placed to the account of those enlightened and statesman-like views which he entertained of the true interests and general welfare of Britain, and the advantages he discovered would result from the resources of the two countries being consolidated under one head. This "reason of state," has been held up in extenuation of the nefarious means which he resorted to for the accomplishment of his purpose. But by the extracts which we are about to make from the pages of an author every way inclined to treat the faults of Edward with lenity, the reader will perceive, that though the enlightened views "which he took of the solid interests of his kingdom," may have found a place in the imagination of the historian, they do not appear to have occurred to the monarch. The extinction of everything like rational liberty, and the establishment of an extensive and uncontrollable autocracy, seem to have been the undisguised objects of his ambition. In proof of which, we have only to refer to his demeanour towards his barons, and the unwarrantable appropriation of the effects of his subjects, mentioned in the extracts alluded to. His conduct in respect to Scotland being thus stripped of the only palliation that can be offered, it stands forward on the page of history in all its native deformity, unrelieved by one solitary extenuating circumstance, while the following transaction gives it, if possible, a darker and more disgusting complexion.

In 1267, Henry and Prince Edward, being driven to the greatest extremity by the Earl of Gloucester and other Barons, whom their oppressions and unlawful exactions had forced to take up arms, when every hope failed them, and even the Tower of London was besieged by a numerous army of enraged assailants, they were very opportunely relieved from their perilous situation by the assistance of 30,000 Scots, whom Alexander sent to their relief: and with these auxiliaries they were enabled to withstand, and afterwards to subdue, their exasperated and refractory subjects. The debt of gratitude which was thus incurred, Edward had not an opportunity of discharging, till after the death of Alexander, when the Scots, with a generous confidence, which their own conduct naturally inspired, applied to him to act as umpire in settling the succession to the crown. How honourably he acquitted himself in the discharge of the duties of the trust thus reposed in him, and how generous was the return he made for their good offices, the reader requires not to be told. Two nations, who had for nearly a century regarded each other with feelings of mutual good-will, and had lived in a state of friendly intercourse highly beneficial to both, were suddenly transformed into the most inveterate enemies; and an implacable spirit of animosity engendered between them, which it required the slow revolution of ages to soften and obliterate. The guilty ambition of this short-sighted tyrant entailed upon the British states a quarrel the most bloody, the most expensive, and the most insane that perhaps ever existed between two nations. By the ridiculous pretensions of the one, the improvement of both countries was retarded, and their frontier populations demoralized into cut-throats or plunderers, who wandered in search of their prey over a land barren as the desert, which might otherwise have been teeming with the fruits of honest and profitable industry.

Edward's ideas of honesty we have already seen in the affair of the Templars, and his feelings of gratitude in his conduct towards the Scots. His sense of justice may be gathered from his proceedings against the Jews. The silver pennies of the realm having been clipped, the offence was traced to some of that unfortunate people, and in one day 280 of both sexes were executed in London, besides a great many more in different parts of the kingdom, where it seems simultaneous measures had been taken against

them. That this crime was confined entirely to the Jews, is not likely. The implements by which it could be committed were certainly not beyond the reach of English intellect; nor could the latter be supposed, in every instance, superior to the temptation which the gains presented. That the guilt of all who suffered was ascertain, is impossible; and a wholesale butchery of this kind, authorized by law, as it could not answer the ends of justice, can only be considered as gratuitously administering to the worst of human passions.

The estimation in which Edward held those arts which are calculated to instruct, refine, and elevate the human mind, may be learned from his treatment of the Minstrels of Wales. The remorseless and sanguinary policy which suggested that unhallowed act, could only have found place in the breast where every virtuous and honourable feeling has disappeared before the withering influence of a selfish and detestable ambition. In an age when the Minstrel's profession was a passport to the presence and protection of the great, and the persons of those who exercised the calling were held sacred even among tribes the least removed from barbarism, the mind must have reached a fearful state of depravity, that could break through those barriers with which the gratitude and veneration of mankind had surrounded the children of genius, and thus immolate at the shrine of an heartless despotism, the innocent and meritorious depositories of a nation's lore.

THE END

