

The noble country of Annandale, as we have already stated, was presented by Baliol to Henry Percy; but its mountains and fastnesses had given refuge to many brave men who obstinately refused to submit themselves to the English king. On the first intelligence that the Steward had displayed open banner against the English, these fugitives, says an ancient historian, came suddenly, like a swarm of hornets, from the rocks and woods, and warred against the common enemy. The chief of these was William de Carruthers, who since the success of Baliol had preferred a life of extremity and hardship, as a fugitive in the woods, to the ignominy of acknowledging the English yoke. He now left his strongholds, and with a considerable force united himself to the Steward.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Bruce, with the men of Kyle, next joined the confederacy; and soon after Randolph, Earl of Moray, who had escaped to France after the defeat at Halidon Hill, returned to his native country, and, with the hereditary valour of his house, began instantly to act against the English. Strengthened by such important accessions, the Steward in a short time reduced the lower division of Clydesdale; compelled the English Governor of Ayr to acknowledge King David Bruce; and expelled the

“Amang the Brandanis all  
The Batayle Dormang they it call.”

“The battle Dormang is evidently,” Macpherson remarks, “a corruption of the Batail nan dornaig.” Dorneag being a round stone: A proof that, in Bute, the Gaelic was then the common language. Winton, vol. ii. p. 186. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 316.

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 316.

adherents of Baliol and Edward from the districts of Renfrew, Carrick, and Cunningham.

The Scottish nobles of the party of David Bruce now assembled, and preferred this young patriot and the Earl of Moray to the office of joint regents under their exiled king. The choice was in every respect judicious. The Steward, although now only in his nineteenth year, had early shown great talents for war; he was the grandson of Robert the First, and had been already declared by Parliament the next heir to the crown: Moray, again, was the son of the great Randolph; so that the names of the new governors were associated with the most heroic period of Scottish history,—a circumstance of no trivial importance at a period when the liberties of the country were threatened with an utter overthrow. About the same time, the spirits of the party were cheered by the arrival of a large vessel loaded with arms, besides wines and merchandize, in the Port of Dumbar-ton;—a circumstance which Edward considered of so much importance, that he directed his writs to the Magistrates of Bristol and Liverpool, commanding them to fit out some ships of war to intercept her on her return.<sup>2</sup>

The first enterprise of the regents was against the Earl of Athole, who proudly lorded it over the hereditary estates of the Steward, and whose immense possessions, both in Scotland and England, rendered him by far the most formidable of their enemies.<sup>2</sup> Moray,

<sup>1</sup> Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 320.    <sup>2</sup> Douglas' Peerage, vol. i. p. 133.

by a rapid march into the north, attacked the Earl before he had time to assemble any considerable force, drove him into the wild district of Lochaber, and compelled him to surrender. Thus, by the overthrow of Beaumont, Talbot, and Athole, the most powerful branch in the confederacy of the disinherited barons was entirely destroyed; and Baliol, once more a fugitive, passed into England, and implored the protection and assistance of Edward.

On being informed of the revolution in Scotland, the English king, although it was now the middle of November, determined upon a winter campaign, and issued writs for the attendance of his military vassals. The expedition, however, proved so unpopular, that no less than fifty-seven of the barons who owed suit and service, absented themselves;<sup>1</sup> and, with an army enfeebled by desertion, Edward made his progress into Lothian, where, without meeting with an enemy, if we except some obscure malefactors who were taken and executed, he ruled over a country which the Scots, following the advice of Bruce, abandoned for the time to his undisturbed dominion.<sup>2</sup> Baliol, as usual, accompanied Edward, and with a portion of his army ravaged Avondale, and laid waste the districts of Carrick and Cunningham. The vassal king then passed to Renfrew, and affected a royal state in his Christmas festivities, distributing lands and castles to his retainers, and committing the chief management of his affairs to William Ballock, a warlike ecclesiastic, whom he created

<sup>1</sup> *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 8. Ed. III. vol. i. p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 277.

chamberlain of Scotland, and governor of the important fortresses of St Andrews and Cupar.<sup>1</sup> Such castles as he had possession of were garrisoned with English soldiers; and John de Strivelin, with a large force, commenced the siege of Lochleven, which was then in the hands of the friends of David Bruce. From its insular situation this proved a matter of difficulty. A fort however was built in the churchyard of Kinross, on a neck of land nearest to the castle, and from this frequent boat attacks were made, in all of which the besiegers were repulsed. At last Alan Vipont, the Scottish governor, seizing the opportunity when Strivelin was absent on a religious pilgrimage to the shrine of St Margaret at Dunfermline, attacked and carried the fort, put part of the English garrison to the sword, and raised the siege. He then returned to the castle with his boats laden with arblasts, bows, and other instruments of war,<sup>2</sup> besides much booty, and many prisoners.

Encouraged by this success, and anxious to engage in a systematic plan of military operations, the Scottish regents summoned a parliament to meet at Dairsay. It was attended by Sir Andrew Moray, the Earl of Athole, the Knight of Liddesdale, lately returned from captivity, the Earl of March, who had embraced the party of David Bruce, and renounced his allegiance to Edward, Alexander de

<sup>1</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Winton, b. 8. c. 29. vol. ii. p. 183. I have rejected the story of the attempt to drown the garrison by damming up the lake, as physically absurd, and unnoticed by Winton. See Macpherson's Notes on Winton, vol. ii. p. 507.

Mowbray, and other Scottish barons. At a moment when unanimity was of infinite importance in the national councils, the ambition and overweening pride of the Earl of Athole embroiled the deliberations, and kindled animosities amongst the leaders. His motives are not easily discovered. It is probable, that as he became convinced that Baliol would never be suffered to reign in Scotland, his own claims to the crown became uppermost in his mind, and that he was induced to renounce the allegiance which he had sworn to Edward, in the hope, that if Baliol were set aside, he might have a chance, amid the confusions of war, to find his way to the throne. He appeared, accordingly at the parliament with a state and train of attendants almost kingly; and, having gained an ascendancy over the young Steward, treated Moray and Douglas with such haughtiness, that the assembly became disturbed by mutual animosities and heart-burnings among the barons, and at length broke up in great confusion.<sup>1</sup> Ambassadors soon after this arrived in England from Philip of France, earnestly recommending a cessation of hostilities between his ancient allies the Scots, and the king of England; but Edward, intent upon his scheme of conquest, although he consented to a short truce, continued his warlike preparations, and, despising all mediation, determined again to invade Scotland, and dictate the terms not of peace, but of absolute submission.

About midsummer, the English king, accompanied

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Goodal, b. 13. cap. 24. vol. ii. p. 317.

by Baliol, joined his army at Newcastle, having along with him the Earl of Juliers, with Henry Count of Montbellegarde, and a large band of foreign mercenaries.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, his fleet, anticipating the movements of the land forces, entered the firth of Forth, and while Edward, with one part of his army, advanced by Carlisle into Scotland, Baliol, having along with him those English barons upon whom he had bestowed estates, and assisted by a numerous body of Welsh soldiers, remarkable for their ferocious manners, proceeded from Berwick. But, notwithstanding the great preparations, the campaign was one of little interest. Having penetrated to Glasgow, the two kings united their forces, and advanced to Perth without meeting an enemy. By an order of the regents, the Scots drove their cattle and removed their goods from the plain country, to wild and inaccessible fastnesses among the mountains, so that the English only wasted a country already deserted by its inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> They did not, however, entirely escape molestation; for the Scottish barons, although too prudent to oppose them in a pitched field, hovered round their line of march, and more than once caught them at a disadvantage, suddenly assaulting them from some concealed glen or ambush, and cutting off large bodies who had separated themselves from the main army. In this way, a body of five hundred archers were attacked and cut to pieces by Moray the regent, and Sir William Douglas.<sup>3</sup> On another occasion, the Earls of March

<sup>1</sup> Leland, Collect. vol. i. p. 555.

<sup>2</sup> Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1025.

<sup>3</sup> Knighton, p. 2567.

and Moray fell upon the Earl of Namur, as he was leading his band of foreign knights to join Edward at Perth. The two parties met on the Borough Muir; for the foreign troops, imagining that the country was wholly in possession of the English, had advanced fearlessly towards Edinburgh. The mercenaries, however, clad in complete steel, and strongly mounted, made a desperate defence; nor was it till the appearance of the Knight of Liddesdale with a reinforcement, that they found themselves compelled to retreat into the town. Confined within the streets and lanes, the conflict now changed into a series of single combats; and it is interesting to remark the warm spirit of chivalry which diffuses itself into the details of our ancient historians, in their descriptions of this event. They dwell with much complacency on a famous stroke made by Sir David de Annand, a Scottish knight, who, enraged by a wound from one of the mercenaries, raised himself in his stirrups, and wielding a ponderous battle-axe with both hands, hewed down his opponent with such force, that the weapon cut sheer through man and horse, and was only arrested by the stone pavement, where the mark of the blow was shown in the time of the historian.<sup>1</sup> The foreign soldiers were at last driven up the High street to the castle.<sup>2</sup> This fortress had been dismantled, but Namur and his knights took their stand on the rock, and having killed their horses, piled their bodies into a mound, behind which they for a while

<sup>1</sup> Extracta ex Chronicis Scotiae, folio, 197. Fordun, vol. ii. p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> Leland, Coll. p. 555.

kept the Scots at bay. They were at last compelled to surrender ; and Moray and Douglas treated their noble prisoner, who was near kinsman to their ally the King of France, with chivalrous generosity.<sup>1</sup> He and his brother knights and soldiers were set at liberty without ransom, and their captors accompanied them with an escort across the English border. This act of courtesy cost Moray very dear. On his return, his little party was attacked by the English, under William de Pressen, warden of Jedburgh Forest,<sup>2</sup> and entirely routed. The regent was taken prisoner and instantly ironed and shut up in the strong castle of Bamburgh ; Douglas, however, had the good fortune to escape a second captivity in England, but his brother James Douglas was slain.<sup>2</sup>

From Perth, Edward and Baliol made a destructive progress through the north of Scotland, and soon after the Earl of Cornwall, brother to the King of England, along with Sir Anthony Lucy, ravaged the western district of the kingdom, not even sparing the religious houses, but rasing the churches to the ground, and burning along with them the unhappy wretches who had there taken sanctuary. After this he marched to Perth, and joined his forces to those of the king, who had returned from his northern expedition.<sup>3</sup>

At this melancholy crisis, when, to use an expression of an ancient historian, none but children in their

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1026.    <sup>2</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 323.



games dared to call David Bruce their king,<sup>1</sup> the Earl of Athole showed his versatile and selfish character. The captivity of Moray the regent had delivered him from a formidable opponent, and the young Steward unfortunately continued to be swayed by his opinion. Athole's ambition now prompted him to aspire to the vacant office of regent, for the purpose, as was shown by the result, of gratifying his rapacity and his revenge. He accordingly informed Edward, that he and his friends were willing to make their final submission, and he dispatched five deputies, who concluded a treaty at Perth, in which the English monarch agreed, that "the Earl of Athole, and all other Scottish barons who came under his peace, should receive a free pardon, and have their estates in Scotland secured."<sup>2</sup> By another article, the large English estates of this powerful baron were restored to him; and to give a colour of public zeal to an agreement essentially selfish, it was stipulated that the franchises of the Scottish church, and the ancient laws of Scotland, should be preserved as they existed in the reign of Alexander the Third.<sup>3</sup> As the price of this pacification, Athole was immediately appointed governor in Scotland under Baliol; and Edward, having repaired the fortifications of Perth, and rebuilt the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, returned to England.

<sup>1</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Knighton, p. 2566. This indemnity was declared not to extend to those who, *by common assent*, should be hereafter excepted from it.

<sup>3</sup> Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 387.

Anxious to distinguish himself in the service of his new master, Athole now began to slay and imprison the friends of Bruce, and to seize and confiscate their estates, with a cruelty and rapacity which filled the hearts of the people with the most eager desire of vengeance.<sup>1</sup> Nor was this long of being gratified. The handful of brave men, who still obstinately supported their independence, chose for their leader Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, in early life the pupil of Wallace, a soldier of veteran experience, and of undoubted integrity. Moray did not long remain inactive, and his first enterprise was eminently successful. It happened, that within Kildrummie, a strong castle in the north, his wife, a noble matron, and sister of Robert Bruce, had taken refuge during the insolent administration of Athole, who, eager to make himself master of so valuable a captive, instantly attacked it. Moray as hastily collected a small army, and burning with a resentment which was kindled by a sense both of public and private wrongs, flew to raise the siege: he was accompanied by the Knight of Liddesdale and the Earl of March. Their troops encountered those of Athole in the Forest of Kilblene, and, after a short resistance, entirely dispersed them: Athole himself, with five knights who attended him, was slain in the wood.<sup>2</sup> He died young in years, but old in political intrigue and am-

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1026.

<sup>2</sup> Winton, b. 8. cap. 31. vol. ii. p. 201. Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1027.

bition, and successively the friend of every party which promised him most personal advantage. Insolent and unsteady, he yet possessed, from his immense estates and noble birth, a great capacity of doing mischief; and not only his last agreement with Edward, but the indiscriminate cruelty, with which he was at that moment hunting down the few remaining friends of liberty, rendered his death, at this crisis, little less than a public benefit. It was followed by the election of Sir Andrew Moray to the regency of the kingdom, in a parliament held at Dunfermline.<sup>1</sup>

It might have been evident to Edward, long before this, that although it was easy for him to overrun Scotland, and destroy the country by the immense military power which he possessed, yet the nation itself was farther than ever from being subdued. The Scots were strong in their love of liberty, and in their detestation of Baliol, whom they now regarded with the bitterest feelings of contempt. It was true, indeed, that many of their highest nobles, swayed by private ambition, did not hesitate to sacrifice their country to the lust of power; yet, amongst the barons and gentry, there was always a remnant left, who were animated by better feelings, and kept up the spirit of resistance against the power of England.

This was remarkably shown in the history of the present period. The death of Athole was followed by the re-appearance of Edward in Scotland, at the head

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Hearne, p. 1028.

of a formidable army, which was strengthened by the accession of the Anglicized Scottish barons and their numerous vassals. Alarmed at the declaration, now openly made by the French king, of his intention to assist his ancient allies,<sup>1</sup> and prompted by the restless desire, so often formed, and so constantly defeated, of completing the subjugation of the country, the English monarch penetrated first to Perth, and afterwards into the more northern parts of the kingdom. His march was, as usual, marked by the utter destruction of the country through which it lay. The counties of Aberdeen, Nairn, and Inverness, with their towns and villages, were wasted by fire and sword, but he in vain endeavoured to bring the regent, Sir Andrew Moray, to a battle.<sup>2</sup> Under the command of this veteran leader, the Scots, intimately acquainted with the country, were ever near their enemy, and yet always invisible to them; and an anecdote of a masterly retreat, made during this northern campaign, has been preserved, which is strikingly characteristic of the cool discipline of Moray. On one occasion, word being brought to Edward that the regent was encamped in the wood of Stronkaltère,<sup>3</sup> he instantly marched against him. The intelligence was found to be true; the English and Scottish outposts came in sight of each other, in a winding

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. iv. pp. 704, 705, 706.

<sup>2</sup> Fordun a Hearne, p. 1028.

<sup>3</sup> The exact position of this ancient wood cannot now be discovered. I conjecture it was in Perthshire, somewhere between Dunkeld and Blair.

road leading through the wood, and after some skirmishing, the Scots fell back to inform Moray of the near approach of the English army. The general was then at mass, and, although the danger was imminent, none dared to interrupt him till the service was concluded. On being told that Edward and his army were at hand in the forest, he observed there was no need of haste; and, when the squires brought him his horse, began quietly to adjust its furniture, and to see that the girths were tight and secure. When this was going on, the English every moment came nearer, and the Scottish knights around Moray showed many signs of impatience. This, it may be imagined, was not lessened when one of the saddle-girths snapped as he buckled it; and the regent, turning to an attendant, bade him bring a coffer from his baggage, from which he took a skin of leather, and sitting down leisurely on the bank, cut off a broad stripe, with which he mended the fracture. He then returned the box to its place, mounted his horse, arrayed his men in close column, and commenced his retreat in such order, that the English did not think it safe to attack him; and having at last gained a narrow defile, he disappeared from their view without losing a man. "I have heard," says Winton, "from knights who were then present, that in all their life they never thought time to go so slow, as when their old commander sat mending his horse furniture in the wood of Stronkaltère."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Winton, vol. ii. pp. 204, 205.

The widow of Athole was, soon after this, shut up by the army of Moray in the Castle of Lochendorb : she was the daughter of Henry Beaumont, who, forgetful of the conditions under which he had obtained his freedom at Dundarg, had accompanied Edward into Scotland, and she now earnestly implored the king and her father, to have compassion on her infant and herself, and to raise the siege. It was an age in which the ordinary events of the day assumed a chivalrous and romantic character. A noble matron, in sorrow for the slaughter of her husband, beleaguered in a wild mountain fortress, and sending for succour to the King of England and his barons, is an incident exactly similar to that which we look for in *Amadis* or *Palmerin*. Edward obeyed the call, and hastened to her rescue. On his approach, the regent again retired into the woods and morasses ; and the king, having freed the Countess from her threatened captivity, wasted with fire and sword the rich province of Moray. Unable, however, to dislodge the *Scottish* commander from his strengths, he was at last compelled to leave the country, with the conviction that every forest or mountain-hold which he passed, afforded a shelter for his mortal enemies, who would reappear the instant he retreated. He endeavoured, however, more effectually to overawe and keep down the spirit of resistance, by having a powerful fleet in the firth of Forth, and on the eastern and western coasts of the kingdom ;<sup>1</sup> and before he retired, he repaired and garri-

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 318, 322.

soned anew the most important fortresses in the kingdom. He then left a reinforcement of troops with his army at Perth, intrusted the command to his brother, the Earl of Cornwall, and returned to England.

On his departure, Sir Andrew Moray instantly appeared from his fastnesses. Sir William Douglas the Knight of Liddesdale, Sir William Keith, and other patriot barons, assembled their vassals; and the castles of Dunotter, Kinclevin, and Laurieston, were wrested from the English, after which, according to Bruce's old practice, they were broken up and dismantled.<sup>1</sup> Soon after, the regent made himself master of the tower of Falkland and the castles of St Andrews, Leuchars, and Bothwell, which he entirely rased and destroyed.<sup>2</sup>

A grievous famine, occasioned by the continued ravages of war, and the cessation of all regular agricultural labour, had for some time desolated Scotland; and the regent, anxious to obtain subsistence for his army in the enemy's country, made various predatory expeditions into England.<sup>3</sup> On his return, he reduced

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1030. Leland Coll. vol. i. p. 556. Winton, vol. ii. p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1031. It is stated by this historian, that after this Moray commenced the siege of Stirling; but that the English monarch, advertised of these disasters, again flew to his army in Scotland, while his wary antagonist, as was his custom, retired before a superior force, and awaited the return of Edward to his own dominions. This event, however, belongs, I suspect, to a later year.

<sup>3</sup> Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 324. Rotuli Scot. ii. Edward III. vol. i. p. 507.

the whole of the Lothians, and laid siege to the castle of Edinburgh. The lords marchers of England hastened with a strong body of troops to relieve it. They were encountered by William Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale, near Crichton castle, and, after much hard fighting, were compelled to retire across the Tweed. But Douglas was grievously wounded, and his little army so crippled with the loss which he sustained, that Moray deemed it expedient to abandon the siege.<sup>1</sup>

During the whole of this obstinate war, the French King had never ceased to take a deep interest in the affairs of his ancient allies. Before David had been compelled to take refuge in his kingdom, he had sent him a seasonable present of a thousand pounds.<sup>2</sup> By his earnest remonstrances he had succeeded in procuring many truces in favour of the Scots; and, as the breach between France and England gradually grew wider, the French ships had occasionally assisted the Scottish privateers in infesting the English coast, and had supplied them with stores, arms, and warlike engines.<sup>3</sup> Against these maritime attacks, it was the policy of Edward to arm the vessels of the petty sea-kings, who were lords of the numerous islands with which the western sea is stud-

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 932. Leland's Coll. vol. i. p. 556.

<sup>2</sup> Chamberlain, Accounts Compot. Camerar. Scotiæ, p. 253. Et de 56 lb. 13 sh. 4d. recept. de Dno Com. Moraviæ de illis mille libris, concess. Dno nostro regi per regem Franciæ ante adventum suam in Franciam. Ibid. p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 513.



ded; and for this purpose he had entered into a strict alliance with John of the Isles,<sup>1</sup> one of the most powerful of these island chiefs. But his efforts in the Scottish war began at length to languish; occupied with his schemes of continental ambition, he found himself unable to continue hostilities with his usual energy; and, after four successive campaigns in Scotland, which he had conducted in person, at the head of armies, infinitely more numerous than any which could be brought against them, he had the mortification to discover, that the final conquest of that country was as remote as ever. He now endeavoured to gain time, by amusing the Scots with the hopes of a general peace; but the barons who led the opposition against England were well informed of the approaching rupture with France, and, aware that the opportunity was favourable for the entire expulsion of the English, they rejected all overtures for a pacification, and pushed on the war with vigour.

The event showed the wisdom of such conduct; for the English monarch had advanced too far in his quarrel with Philip to withdraw, or even postpone, his pretensions, and to the great joy of the Scots, war between the two countries was declared, by Edward making his public claim to the crown of France on the 7th of October 1337.<sup>2</sup>

The Earls of Arundel, Salisbury, and Norfolk,

<sup>1</sup> Rymer Fœdera, vol. iv. p. 711. Rotuli Scotiæ, 11 Edward III. p. 516.

<sup>2</sup> Rapin's Acta Regia, vol. i. p. 239. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. iv. p. 818.

with Edward Baliol, were now left in command of the army in Scotland; and, on the failure of the negotiations for peace, Salisbury laid siege to the castle of Dunbar, a place of great strength and importance, as the key to Scotland on the south-east border.<sup>1</sup> The Earl of March, to whom this fortress belonged, happened to be then absent. His wife was a daughter of the famous Randolph Earl of Moray, and with the heroic spirit of her family, this lady undertook the defence of the castle. For five months, in the absence of her lord, Black Agnes of Dunbar, as she was called by the vulgar from her dark complexion, maintained an intrepid stand against the assault of the English army, and with many fierce witticisms derided them from the walls. When the stones from the engines of the besiegers struck upon the battlements, she directed one of her maidens to wipe off the dust with a white napkin, a species of female defiance which greatly annoyed the English soldiers. Perpetually on the ramparts, or at the gate, she exposed her person in every situation of danger, directing the men-at-arms and the archers, and extorting even the praise of her enemies by her determined and warlike bearing. It happened that an arrow from one of the Scottish archers struck an English knight, who stood beside the Earl of Salisbury, through his surcoat, and piercing the habergeon, or chained mail-coat, which was below it, made

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 208.

its way through three plies of the acton which he wore next his body, and killed him on the spot,—“There,” cried Salisbury, “comes one of my lady’s tire-pins: Agnes’s love shafts go straight to the heart.” At length, the English, foiled in every assault, and finding that the strength of the walls defied the efforts of their battering engines, judged it necessary to convert the siege into a blockade. This had nearly succeeded. A strong fleet, amongst which were two large Genoese ships, entirely obstructed all communication by sea, and the garrison began to suffer dreadfully from want of provisions, when Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie sailed with a light vessel, at the dead of night, from the Bass. Favoured by the darkness, he passed unobserved through the line of the enemy’s fleet, and ran his ship, laden with provisions, and with forty stout soldiers on board, close under the wall of the castle next the sea. This last success deprived Arundel and Salisbury of their only hope of making themselves masters of this important fortress; and mortified by repeated failure, they withdrew the army, and retired with the disgrace of having been foiled for five months, and at last entirely defeated, by a woman.<sup>1</sup>

Edward now began to experience the distress which the expense of a double war, and the necessity of maintaining an army both in France and Scotland, necessarily entailed upon him. Animated by the

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1032. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 325. MS. Extracta ex Chronicis Scotiae, folio, p. 201.

fiercest resentment, the Scots, under the guidance of such able soldiers as the regent, the Knight of Liddesdale, and Ramsay of Dalhousie, were now strong enough to keep the open country, which they cleared of their enemies, compelling the English to confine themselves within the walls of their castles. Edinburgh, Perth, Stirling, Cupar, and Roxburgh, were still in their hands, and the king commanded very large supplies of provisions to be levied upon his English subjects, and transported into Scotland; but this occasioned grievous discontent, and in some cases the commissaries were attacked and plundered.<sup>1</sup> Nor even when the supplies were procured, was it an easy matter to carry them to their destination; for the Scots watched their opportunity, and became admirably expert in cutting off convoys, and assaulting foraging parties; so that the war, without any action of great consequence, became occupied by perpetual skirmishes, concluding with various success, but chiefly on the side of the Scots. Sir William Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale, whose bravery procured him the title of the Flower of Chivalry, expelled the English from Teviotdale; overpowered and took prisoner Sir John Stirling at the head of five hundred men-at-arms; intercepted a rich convoy near Melrose as it proceeded to the castle of Hermitage, which he soon after reduced; attacked and defeated Sir Roland de Vaux; and totally routed Sir Laurence Abernethy,

<sup>1</sup> Rotuli Scotiæ, 12 Ed. III. Oct. 12th, vol. i. p. 546. See also pp. 438, 451.

after a conflict repeatedly renewed, and very desperately contested.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, in the chivalrous spirit of the age, these desperate encounters were sometimes abandoned for the more pacific entertainments of jousts between the English and Scottish knights, the result of which, however, proved scarcely less fatal than in the conflicts of actual war. Some of these throw a strong light on the manners of the times. Henry de Lancaster, Earl of Derby, with great courtesy, sent a herald to request the Knight of Liddesdale to run with him three courses; but in the first Douglas was deeply wounded, by a splinter of his own lance, in the hand, and compelled to give up the contest. The English earl now entreated Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie to hold a solemn jousting for three days at Berwick, twenty against twenty; a proposition which was instantly accepted, but it turned out a sanguinary pastime. Two English knights were slain; and Sir William Ramsay was struck through the bars of his aventaille by a spear, which penetrated so deep, that it was deemed certain he would expire the moment it was extracted. He was confessed therefore in his armour; and as the knights crowded round, "So help me, Heaven," said Derby, who stood hard by, "I would desire to see no fairer sight than this brave baron thus shrieved with his helmet on; happy man should I be, could I ensure myself such an ending." Upon this, Sir Alexander Ramsay placed his foot upon his kinsman's helmet,

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 329.

and by main force pulled out the broken truncheon, when the wounded knight started on his feet, and declared he should soon ail nothing. He died, however, immediately in the lists.<sup>1</sup> "What stout hearts these men have!" was Derby's observation; and with this laconic remark the jousting concluded. On another occasion, Sir Patrick de Graham, a Scottish knight of high reputation, having arrived from France, Lord Richard Talbot begged to have a joust with him, and was borne out of his saddle and wounded, though not dangerously, through his habergeon. Graham was then invited to supper; and in the midst of the feast, a stout English knight, turning to him, courteously asked him to run him three courses. "Sir knight," replied Graham, "if you would joust with me, I advise you to rise early and confess, after which you will soon be delivered." This was said in mirth, but it proved true; for in the first course, which took place next morning, Graham struck the English knight through the harness with a mortal wound, so that he died on the spot.<sup>2</sup>

Such were the fierce pastimes of those days of danger and blood. On resuming the war, the tide of success still continued with the Scots, and Sir Alexander Ramsay rivalled and almost surpassed the fame of the Knight of Liddesdale. At the head of a strong band of soldiers, he infested the rocky and wooded banks of the Esk; and concealing himself, his followers, and his booty, in the caves of Hawthornden, sal-

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Goodal, vol. i. p. 329. Winton, vol. ii. p. 220, 223.

<sup>2</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 224.

lied from their dark recesses, and carried his depredations to the English borders, cruelly ravaging the land, and leading away from the smoking hamlets and villages many bands of captives. In these expeditions his fame became so great, that there was not a noble youth in the land who considered his military education complete, unless he had served in the school of this brave captain.<sup>1</sup> On one occasion he was pursued and intercepted by the lords marchers in a plain near Werk castle; but Ramsay attacked, and totally routed the marchers, took Lord Robert Manners prisoner, and put many to the sword.<sup>2</sup>

About this time Scotland lost one of its ablest supporters. Sir Andrew Moray the regent, sinking under the weight of age, and worn out by the constant fatigues of war, retired to his castle at Avoch, in Ross, where he soon after died, upon which the High Steward was chosen sole governor of Scotland. Moray, in very early life, had been chosen by Wallace as his partner in command, and his future military career was not unworthy of that great leader. His character, as it is given by Winton, possesses the high merit of having been taken from the lips of those who had served under him, and knew him best. He was, says he, a lord of great bounty, of sober and chaste life, wise and upright in council, liberal and generous, devout and charitable, stout, hardy, and of great courage.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 333. Leland, Coll. vol. i. p. 557.

<sup>3</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 217.

He was endowed with that cool, and somewhat stern and inflexible character of mind, which peculiarly fitted him to control the fierce temper of the feudal nobility, at a period when the task was especially difficult ; and it may be added, that, when the bravest, despairing for their country, had saved their estates by the sacrifice of its independence, Moray scorned to follow such examples, and appears never to have sworn fealty to any king of England. He was buried in the little chapel of Rosmartin ; but his body was afterwards raised and carried to Dunfermline, where it now mingles with the heroic dust of Bruce and Randolph.<sup>1</sup>

The first act of the Steward was to dispatch the Knight of Liddesdale upon a mission to the court of France, to communicate with King Philip, and to procure assistance. He then assembled his army, and with his knights and barons commenced the siege of Perth, upon the fortifications of which the English, considering it a station of the first importance, had expended vast sums of money. Meanwhile Baliol, universally hated by his countrymen, became an object of suspicion to the English, and leaving Perth, in obedience to the orders of Edward, retired, a pensioned dependent, into England. Ughtred, a baron who had risen to high command in the Scottish war, undertook its defence, and for ten weeks the town resisted every effort of the besiegers ; so that the army of the Steward began to lose heart,

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1032.



and to meditate a retreat, when there suddenly appeared in the Tay five French ships of war.

This squadron was commanded by Hugh Hautpile, a daring and skilful naval officer, and had on board a strong party of men-at-arms, under the leading of Arnold Audineham, afterwards a marshal of France,<sup>1</sup> the Lord of Garencleres, who had formerly been engaged in the Scottish wars, and two brave esquires, Giles de la Huse and John de Bracy. Along with them came the Knight of Liddesdale; and immediately, all idea of relinquishing the siege being abandoned, hostilities recommenced, by the French ships seizing the English victualling vessels, and effectually cutting off every supply from the garrison.

At this time William Bullock, Baliol's chancellor, who commanded in the strong castle of Cupar, which had baffled the attack of the late regent, betrayed his master, and joined the army before Perth. This military ecclesiastic was one of those extraordinary individuals, whom the troubled times of war and civil disorder so frequently call out from the quiet track, to which more ordinary life would have confined them. His talents for state affairs and for political intrigue were very great; yet it is said that his ability in these matters was exceeded by his uncommon genius for war; and we shall not wonder that, in such times, the combination of these qualities made him to be dreaded and courted by all parties.

<sup>1</sup> Froissart par Buchon, vol. i. p. 211. Compt. Camerarii Scotiae, p. 255, 277. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 330.

In addition to this, he was ambitious, selfish, and fond of money, passions which could not be gratified if he continued to prop a falling cause. Accordingly, the arrival of the French auxiliaries, the desertion of Scotland by Baliol, with the bribe of an ample grant of lands,<sup>1</sup> induced him to renounce the English alliance, and deliver up the strong castle of Cupar, where he commanded. He then joined the army besieging Perth, and his great military experience was soon shown, by the success of the operations which he directed. Although the Knight of Liddesdale was grievously wounded by a javelin, thrown from one of the springalds, and the two captains of the Scottish archers slain, yet Bullock insisted in continuing and pressing on the siege;<sup>2</sup> and the Earl of Ross, with a body of miners, contrived to make a subterranean excavation under the walls, by which he drew off the water from the fosse surrounding the town, and rendered an assault more practicable. The minuteness of one of our ancient chronicles has preserved a striking circumstance which occurred during the siege. In the midst of the military operations the sun became suddenly eclipsed, and, as darkness gradually spread over all things, the soldiers of both armies forgot their duties, and sinking under the influence of superstitious terror, gazed fearfully on

<sup>1</sup> It must have been ample, for Bullock renounced a considerable property conferred on him by Edward. See *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 28th July, 13 Ed. III.

<sup>2</sup> *Fordun a Goodal*, vol. ii. p. 330. *Winton*, vol. ii. p. 234.

the sky.<sup>1</sup> Bullock, however, unintimidated by what was then considered an omen of wrath, gave orders for the tents to be struck and pitched nearer the walls, previous to his attempt to storm ; but the English governor had now lost resolution, and seeing his provisions exhausted, his hope of supplies reaching him by sea cut off, and his fosse dry and ready to be filled by the faggots of the besiegers, capitulated upon honourable terms. The soldiers of the garrison and the governor Ughtred were instantly shipped off for England, where his conduct became the subject of parliamentary inquiry.<sup>2</sup> Thus master of Perth, the Steward, according to the wise policy of Bruce, cast down the fortifications,<sup>3</sup> and proceeded to the siege of Stirling.

It is difficult to imagine a more lamentable picture than that presented by the utter desolation of Scotland at this period. The famine, which had been felt for some years, now raged in the land. Many of the Scots had quitted their country in despair, and taken refuge in Flanders ; others, of the poorer sort, were driven into the woods, and, in the extremities of hunger, feeding like swine upon the raw nuts and acorns which they gathered, were seized with diseases which carried them off in great agony.<sup>4</sup> The continued miseries of war reduced the country round Perth to the state of a desert, where there was

<sup>1</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Fædera, vol. v. p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 236.

<sup>4</sup> Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 324. Winton, vol. ii. p. 217.

neither house for man, nor harbour for cattle, and the wild deer coming down from the mountains, resumed possession of the desolate region, and ranged in herds within a short distance of the town. It is even said, that some unhappy wretches were driven to such extremities of want and misery, as to prey upon human flesh; and that a horrid being, vulgarly called *Cristicleik*, from the iron hook with which he seized his victims, took up his abode in the mountains, and, assisted by a ferocious female, with whom he lived, lay in ambush for the travellers who passed near his den, and methodically exercised the trade of a cannibal.<sup>1</sup> The story is perhaps too dreadful for belief, yet Winton, who relates it, is in no respect given to the marvellous; and a similar event is recorded as late as the reign of James the Second.

In the midst of this complicated national distress, the Steward continued to prosecute the siege of Stirling with the utmost vigour and ability; and Rokesbury the governor, after a long and gallant defence, was at last compelled by famine to give up the castle, which, being found too strong in its mason work and bastions to be easily dismantled, was intrusted to the keeping of Maurice of Moray, a baron of great power and vassalage.<sup>2</sup> In this siege, the Scots had to lament

<sup>1</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 236. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Hailes seems to have antedated the siege of Stirling, when he places it in the year 1339. We find, from the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 14 Ed. III. m. 15, that Stirling was in possession of the English as late as 1340; and that in June 1341, the Scots were employed in the second siege of Stirling. What was the exact date of the first

the loss of Sir William Keith, a brave and experienced soldier, who had done good service in these wars. As he mounted the ladder in complete armour, he was struck down by a stone thrown from the ramparts, and, falling heavily and awkwardly, was thrust through by his own spear.<sup>1</sup> It is related by Froissart, that the Scots made use of cannon at the siege of Stirling; but the fact is not corroborated by the contemporary Scottish historians.

Scotland had of late years suffered grievously from famine, and had owed its support, more to provisions surreptitiously imported from England, contrary to the repeated proclamations of the king, than to the fruits of her own industry.<sup>2</sup> But the exertions of the High Steward and his fellow soldiers, Douglas and Ramsay, had now expelled the English armies from nearly the whole country; the castles of Edinburgh, Jedburgh, Lochmaben, and Roxburgh, with some inferior strengths in their vicinity, were all that remained in the hands of Edward; and the regent seized a short interval of peace to make a progress through the country, for the re-establishment of order, and the distribution of justice.<sup>3</sup> The good effects of this were soon observable in the gradual revival of regular industry: to use the strong language of Bower, the kingdom began to breathe anew, hus-

siege is uncertain, but it seems to have been interrupted by an armistice.—Fordun a Hearne, p. 1031, asserts, that Sir William Keith was slain at the siege of Stirling in 1337; but the date is an error.

<sup>1</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 541.

<sup>3</sup> Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 331, 332.

bandmen once more were seen at the plough, and priests at the altar; but the breathing time which was allowed, proved too short to give permanency to these changes. War suddenly recommenced with great fury; and the castle of Edinburgh, commanded by Limosin, an English knight, fell into the hands of the enemy. The Scots owed the possession of this fortress to a stratagem of Bullock, the late governor of Cupar, which was executed with great address and boldness by the Knight of Liddesdale.

The castle was strongly fortified both by art and nature; and, as its garrison scoured and commanded the country round, they gave great annoyance to the Scots. Douglas, who lurked in the neighbourhood with two hundred soldiers, procured Walter Curry, a merchantman of Dundee,<sup>1</sup> to run his ship into the Forth, under pretence of being an English victualling vessel, and to make an offer to supply the garrison with wine and corn. The device succeeded; and the porter, without suspicion, opened the outer gate and lowered the drawbridge to the waggons and hampers of the pretended merchant and his drivers, who, throwing off the grey frocks which covered their armour, stabbed the warder in an instant, and sounded a horn, which called up Douglas and his men from their ambush at the foot of the hill. All this could not be so rapidly executed, but that the cry of

<sup>1</sup> Curry seems to have been assisted by another person, named William Fairley. Chamberlain Accounts.—*Comptum Camerarii Scotiæ*, p. 278. They received a grant of 100 lbs. reward from a parliament held at Scone.—*Ibid.*

treason alarmed the governor; and the soldiers arming in haste, and crowding to the gates, began a desperate conflict. The waggons, however, had been so dexterously placed, that it became impossible to let down the portcullis; and Douglas rushing in with his men, soon decided the affair. Of the garrison, only the governor, Limosin, and six esquires, escaped;<sup>1</sup> the rest were put to the sword, and the command of the castle was intrusted to a natural brother of the Knight of Liddesdale.

There are two particulars regarding this spirited enterprise, which are curious and worthy of remark. Curry was a Scotsman, yet it seems he found no difficulty in introducing himself as an English merchant, from which there arises a strong presumption, that the languages spoken in both countries were nearly the same; and both he and his followers, before they engaged in the enterprise, took the precaution of shaving their beards, a proof that the Norman fashion of wearing no beard, had not been adopted in Scotland in the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Soon after this success, the regent and the estates of Scotland, considering the kingdom to be now almost cleared of their enemies, sent a solemn embassy to France, requesting that their youthful sovereign would return to his dominions. David accordingly, who had now for nine years been an exile in a foreign land, embarked with his queen; and, although

<sup>1</sup> Froissart, vol. i. p. 359. *Edition de Buchon.*

<sup>2</sup> Winton, vol. ii. pp. 240, 243. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 332.

the English ships had already greatly annoyed the Scots, and still infested the seas, he had the good fortune to escape all interruption, and to land in safety at Innerbervie on the 4th of June, where he was received with the utmost joy and delight by all classes of his subjects.<sup>1</sup> He was now in his eighteenth year, a youth violent in his passions and resentments, and of considerable personal intrepidity; but his education at the French court had smitten him with an immoderate love of pleasure: he possessed few of the great qualities necessary for the government of a kingdom so perilously circumstanced as Scotland, and appears to have been totally unacquainted with the characters of the fierce and independent nobility over whom he ruled. Indeed, the circumstances in which he found the country upon his arrival, were such as, to manage successfully, required a union of prudence and firmness, which could scarcely be expected in a youthful sovereign. In the minority which had taken place since the death of Bruce, and in the absence of the name and power of a king, a race of fierce and independent barons had grown up, who ruled at will over their own vast estates, and despised the authority of the laws. Between the king and the Steward of Scotland, who now laid down his office of regent, there does not appear to have been any very cordial feelings; and it is probable that David never forgot the conspiracy of Athole in 1334, by which this fickle and ambitious baron, and the Steward, then a very

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 334. Winton, vol. ii. p. 250.



young man, acknowledged Baliol, and made their peace with Edward. Athole indeed was slain, and the subsequent conduct of the Steward had been consistent and patriotic; but the king could not fail to regard him with that natural jealousy, which a monarch, without children, is apt to feel towards the person whom the parliament had declared his successor, and who had already, on one occasion, shown so little regard for his allegiance.

As for the other powerful barons, the Knight of Liddesdale, his kinsman Lord William Douglas, the Earl of Moray, Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, and Bullock, who soon after became chamberlain, they appear indeed to have been unanimous in their opposition to England, and so far could be trusted; but a long experience of military power, without the habit of acknowledging a superior, made them impatient of the control of a superior, and rendered it almost impossible for a sovereign so to parcel out and confer his favours amongst them, as not to excite jealousy, and sow the seed of very fatal dissensions. All this, in a short time, became apparent; and a thoughtless measure, which the youthful monarch adopted very soon after his arrival, evinced his ignorance and want of judgment in a very fatal manner. Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie had eminently distinguished himself in the Scottish wars, and was universally beloved in the country for his brave and patriotic qualities. Scarcely had the young king arrived in his dominions, when word was brought him, that Roxburgh Castle, a fortress of great strength and import-

ance, had been taken in a night escalade by this baron, upon whom, in the first ardour of his gratitude, David instantly conferred the government of the place, and along with it the sheriffship of Teviotdale.<sup>1</sup> This act of generosity originated in ignorance, but it bore the appearance of injustice, and it proved a fatal present; for the Knight of Liddesdale then held the office of sheriff, and a fierce and deadly enmity arose in the breast of Douglas against Ramsay, his old companion in arms. His way of revenging himself, affords a melancholy proof of the lawless independence of these feudal nobles, as well as of the treachery of Douglas's disposition. He first pretended to be reconciled to Ramsay; and, having silenced all suspicion by treating him with his usual friendship, he led a band of armed soldiers to Hawick, where he knew that the new sheriff held his court in the open church. It is said that Ramsay was warned of his intention, but, trusting to the reconciliation which had taken place, generously discredited the story. On Douglas entering the church, Ramsay invited him to take his place beside him; on which that fierce baron drew his sword, seized his victim, who was wounded in attempting a vain resistance, and throwing him bleeding across a horse, carried him off to his castle of Hermitage, where he thrust him into a dungeon. It happened that there was a granary above his prison, and some particles of corn fell through the chinks and crevices of the floor, upon which he

<sup>1</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 252.

supported a miserable existence for seventeen days, and at last died of hunger.<sup>1</sup>

It is a melancholy reflection, that a fate so horrid befell one of the bravest and most popular leaders of the Scottish nation; and that the deed did not only pass unrevenged, but that its perpetrator received a speedy pardon, and was rewarded by the very office which had led to the murder. Douglas became governor of Roxburgh castle, sheriff of Teviotdale, and protector of the middle marches. He owed his pardon and preferment to the intercession of the High Steward of Scotland. In attempting to form an estimate of the manners of the age, it ought not to be forgotten, that this cruel and aggravated murder was perpetrated by a person, who, for his knightly qualities, was styled the "Flower of Chivalry." It was an invariable effect of the principle of vassalage in the feudal system, that the slaughter of any of the greater barons rendered it an imperative duty, in every one who followed his banner, to revenge his death upon all who were in the most remote degree connected with it; so that we are not to wonder that the assassination of Ramsay was followed by interminable feuds, dissensions, and conspiracies, not only amongst the higher

<sup>1</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 254. More than four hundred years after this, a countryman, in excavating round the foundation of Hermitage Castle, laid open a stone vault, in which, amid a heap of chaff and dust, lay several human bones, along with a large and powerful bridle-bit and an ancient sword. These were conjectured, and with great probability, to have belonged to the unfortunate victim of Douglas.

nobility, but amongst the lesser barons. It was probably one of these plots, of which it is impossible now to detect the ramifications, that accelerated the fate of Bullock, the able and intriguing ecclesiastic renegade, who had deserted Baliol to join the king. Having become suspected by his master, he was suddenly stript of his honours, deprived of the high offices in which he had amassed immense wealth, and cast amongst the meanest criminals, into a dungeon of the castle of Lochendorb, in Moray, where he was starved to death. The probable truth seems to be, that Bullock, a man of high talents, but in ambition and the love of intrigue not unlike Wolsey, had been tampering with the English, and that his fate, though cruel, was not unmerited.<sup>1</sup>

The period immediately following the arrival of David in his dominions till we reach the battle of Durham, is undistinguished by any events of importance. The Scots, with various success, invaded and ravaged the border counties of England; but a revolt of the Island chief, John of Argyle, and other northern barons,<sup>2</sup> recalled the king's attention to the unsettled state of his affairs at home, and made him willing to accede to a two years' truce with England. This interval was employed by Edward in an attempt to seduce the Knight of Liddesdale from his allegiance; and there seems reason to think that a conspiracy, at the head of which was this brave, but fierce and fickle,

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1035. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> Knighton, p. 2581.

soldier, and which had for its object the restoration of Baliol to the crown, was organizing throughout Scotland, and that Bullock, whose fate we have just recounted, was connected with the plot.<sup>1</sup> It is certain, at least, that Douglas had repeated private meetings with Baliol and the commissioners of the English king, that he had agreed to embrace the friendship of the King of England, and to receive a reward for his services.<sup>2</sup> These treacherous designs however came to nothing. It may be that the stipulated reward was not duly paid; or, perhaps, the fate of Bullock was a timely warning to Douglas; and anxious to wipe away all suspicion of treachery, the Knight of Liddesdale, regardless of the truce, broke across the Borders at the head of a numerous army, burnt Carlisle and Penrith, and after a skirmish with the English, in which the Bishop of Carlisle was unhorsed, retreated precipitately into Scotland.

After this recommencement of hostilities, the mortal antipathy between the two countries broke out with greater violence than before; and the young king, believing Edward to be entirely occupied with his war on the Continent, and anxious to produce a

<sup>1</sup> This may be inferred, I think, from the circumstance, that Bullock was seized by David de Berkelay, and Berkelay himself was, not long after, waylaid and assassinated by John de Saint Michael, *at the instigation* of the Knight of Liddesdale. Fordun a Hearne, p. 1035 and 1040. See also Hume's Douglas and Angus, vol. i. p. 142, 143.

<sup>2</sup> Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 637, 640. April 10th, 1343. Fœdera, vol. v. p. 379.

diversion in favour of his ally, Philip of France, gave orders for assembling an army, and resolved to invade England in person.<sup>1</sup> The muster for this invasion, which took place at Perth, was greater than any which had happened for a long period; troops were drawn from the Islands of Scotland, as well as the mainland; but the Highland chiefs brought their deadly feuds along with them, and these soon broke out into bloodshed. The Earl of Ross assassinated Ranald of the Isles in the monastery of Elcho, and dreading the royal vengeance, led his men back to their mountains; a circumstance which, in those days of superstition, was interpreted by the rest of the army as a bad omen for the success of the expedition. In one respect it was worse than ominous. Not only Ross's men left the army, but the soldiers of the Isles, deprived of their head and leader, dispersed in confusion; many of the inferior Highland lords, anxious for the preservation of their lands against the ravages which inevitably followed a deadly feud, privately deserted the royal banner, and returned home, so that the king found his forces greatly reduced in number. Inheriting, however, the bravery of his father, but, as the event showed, little of his admirable judgment and military skill, he pressed forward from Perth, and, after rapidly traversing the intervening country, on reaching the Border, sat down before the castle of Liddel, then commanded by Walter Selby. Selby was that fierce robber chief, whose

<sup>1</sup> Walsingham, p. 165 and 516.

services we have seen successfully employed by King Robert Bruce, to waylay and plunder the Roman Cardinals in their ill-fated attempt to carry the bulls of excommunication into Scotland. Since that time, he had lent himself to every party which could purchase his sword at the highest rate, and had lately espoused the quarrel of Edward Baliol, from whom he received a grant of lands in Roxburghshire.<sup>1</sup> David brought his military engines to bear upon the walls, which, after six days' resistance, were demolished.<sup>2</sup> He then stormed the castle, put the garrison to the sword, and ordered Selby to instant execution.

After this success, the veteran experience of the Knight of Liddesdale advised a retreat. Douglas was, no doubt, aware of the great strength of the northern English barons, and the overwhelming force which soon would be mustered against them; but his salutary counsel was rejected by the youthful ardour of the king, and the jealousy of the Scottish nobles. "You have filled," said they, "your own coffers with English gold, and secured your own lands by our valour; and now you would restrain us from our share in the plunder, although the country is bare of fighting men, and none but cowardly clerks and mean mechanics stand between us and a march to London."<sup>3</sup>

This, however, was a grievous mistake; for, although Edward, with the noble army which had been victors at Cressy, lay now before Calais, yet Ralph

<sup>1</sup> Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 820.    <sup>2</sup> Robert of Avesbury, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 340.

Nevil of Raby, the Lord Henry Percy, Edward Baliol the ex-king of Scotland, the Earl of Angus, and the Border Lords Musgrave, Scrope, and Hastings, with many other barons, instantly summoned their strength to repel the invasion, and a body of ten thousand men, who were ready to embark for Calais, received counter-orders, and soon joined the muster. Besides this, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, with the Prelates of Durham, Carlisle, and Lincoln, assumed their temporal arms, and with such of their church troops and vassals as had not accompanied the king, assembled to defend the country, so that an army of thirty thousand men, including a large body of men-at-arms, and twenty thousand English archers,<sup>1</sup> were speedily on their march against the Scots.

David, meanwhile, advanced to Hexham, and for fourteen days plundered and laid waste the country, leaving his route to be traced through the bishoprick of Durham by the flames of villages and hamlets. It seems to have excited unwonted resentment and horror, that he did not spare even the sacred territory of St Cuthbert, although, if we may believe a monkish historian, the venerable saint visited the slumbers of the king, and implored him to desist from the profanation. Satiated at length with plunder, the Scottish army encamped at a place called Beaurepair, now Bear Park, within a short distance of Durham. By this time, the English army had taken up their ground in the park of Bishop Auckland, not six miles distant

<sup>1</sup> Winton, vol. ii. pp. 260, 261. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 341.



from Beaurepair. The Scots position was ill chosen. It was a plain or common, much intersected with ditches and hedges, which separated the divisions, and hindered them from supporting each other; and the country round was of that varied and undulated kind, that, unless the scouts were very active, an enemy might approach within a few miles without being discovered. This was, in truth, the very event which happened, and it gave melancholy proof that there were no longer such leaders as Bruce, or the Good Sir James, in the Scottish army. At break of day, the Knight of Liddesdale pushed on before the rest of the Scots. He led a strong squadron of heavy-armed cavalry, and, advancing for the purpose of forage through the grounds near Sunderland, suddenly found himself in presence of the whole English army. The proximity of the enemy rendered a retreat as hazardous as a conflict; yet Douglas attempted to retire; but his squadron was overtaken, and driven back, with the loss of five hundred men, upon the main body of the Scots. David instantly drew up his army in three divisions. He himself led the centre; the right wing was intrusted to the Earl of Moray, while the Knight of Liddesdale, and the Steward, with the Earl of Dunbar, commanded the left. These dispositions were made in great haste and alarm, and scarcely completed, when the English archers had advanced almost within bowshot.<sup>1</sup> Sir John de Graham, an experienced soldier, at this moment rode up to the king, and ear-

<sup>1</sup> Winton, vol. ii. pp. 261, 262.

nestly besought him to command the cavalry to charge the archers in flank. It was the same manœuvre which had been so successful at Bannockburn, but from ignorance or youthful obstinacy, David was deaf to his advice. "Give me," cried Graham, in an agony of impatience, as the fatal phalanx of the archers advanced nearer and nearer; "give me but a hundred horse, and I engage to disperse them all."<sup>1</sup> Yet even this was unaccountably denied him, and the brave baron, seconded by none but his own followers, threw himself upon the bowmen; but it was too late; time had been given them to fix their arrows, and the deadly shower was sped. Graham's horse was shot under him, and he himself with difficulty escaped back to the army.

It was now nine in the morning, and the whole English force had come up. A crucifix was carried in the front of the line, and around it waved innumerable banners and pennons, gorgeously embroidered, and belonging chiefly to the church. The close battle now began, and under circumstances very discouraging to the Scots. The discharge of the archers had already greatly galled and distressed them, and the division commanded by the Earl of Moray was now fiercely attacked by the English men-at-arms. His array was broken and separated by the ditches and hedges which intersected the ground where he was stationed. These grievously impeded his movements, so that the

<sup>1</sup> Winton, b. 8, c. 40, vol. ii. p. 262. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 342.

English cavalry charged through the gaps in the line, and made a dreadful havoc. At last Moray fell, and his division was entirely routed. The English then attacked the main centre of the Scots, where David commanded in person : and as it also was drawn up in the same broken and enclosed ground, the various leaders and their vassals were separated, and fought at a serious disadvantage.<sup>1</sup> Their flank, too, was exposed to the discharge of a body of ten thousand English bowmen ; and, as the distance diminished, the arrows flying with a truer aim and more fatal strength, told fearfully against the Scots. Yet the battle raged for three hours with great slaughter ;<sup>2</sup> and the young king, although he had evinced little military judgment in the disposition of his army, fought with obstinate and determined valour. He was defended by a circle of his nobility, who fell fast around him. The Constable David de la Haye, Keith the Marshal, Charters the High Chancellor, and Peebles the Lord Chamberlain, with the Earls of Moray and Strathern, and thirty barons belonging to the principal families in Scotland, were slain. The king himself was grievously wounded by two arrows, one of which pierced deep, and could not be extracted without great agony. Yet he long continued to resist and encourage the few that were left around him. An English knight named Copland, at last broke in upon him, and after a hard struggle, in which two of

<sup>1</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

his teeth were knocked out by the king's dagger,<sup>1</sup> succeeded in overpowering and disarming him.

On the capture of the king, the High Steward and the Earl of March, whose division had not suffered so severely, judging, probably, that any attempt to restore the day would be hopeless, drew off their troops, and escaped from the field without much loss;<sup>2</sup> for the English were fortunately too much occupied in plunder and making prisoners, to engage in a pursuit which might have been very fatal. Amongst the prisoners, besides the king, were the Knight of Liddesdale, the Earls of Fife, Menteith, Sutherland, and Wigton, and fifty other barons and knights. It is not too high a computation, if we estimate the loss of the Scots in this fatal battle at fifteen thousand men.<sup>3</sup> That of the English was exceedingly small, if we consider how long the conflict lasted. Froissart has asserted, that the English Queen Philippa was in the field, and harangued the troops, mounted on a white charger. The story is ridiculous, and is contradicted by all the contemporary historians, both English and Scottish.

A defeat so calamitous had not been sustained by Scotland since the days of Edward the First. Their best officers were slain or taken, and their king a captive. David, with the rest of the prisoners, were, after

<sup>1</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 264. Fordun, vol. ii. p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> Fordun a Hearne, p. 1038. See observations on Hailes' account of the battle of Durham, Appendix, **D. E**

<sup>3</sup> Knighton, p. 2591. Leland, p. 561.

a short time, conveyed to London, and led in great state and solemnity to the Tower, amid a guard of twenty thousand men-at-arms. The captive prince was mounted on a tall black courser, so that he could be seen by the whole people; and the Mayor and aldermen, with the various crafts of the city, preceded by their own officers, and clothed in their appropriate dresses, attended on the occasion, and increased the effect of the pageant.<sup>1</sup> On being lodged in the Tower, however, all expense and splendour were at an end; and Edward, with a paltry and ungenerous policy, compelled his royal prisoner to sustain the expense of his own establishment,<sup>2</sup> and imposed the same heavy tax upon his brother captives.<sup>3</sup>

Thus was David, after his tedious exile in France, and having enjoyed his kingly power but for six years, compelled to suffer the bitter penalty of his rashness, and condemned to a long captivity in England. The conduct of the Steward, in preferring the dictates of prudence, perhaps of ambition, to the generous feelings which would have led him to have sacrificed his life in an attempt to rescue the king, cannot be easily exculpated or defended. He and the Earl of March, with the third division of the army which was under their command, made good their retreat; and their escape was ultimately fortunate for the country. But it excited a feeling of lasting personal resentment in the bosom of the king: it was

<sup>1</sup> Knighton, p. 2592.

<sup>2</sup> Rotuli Scot. 21 Ed. III. vol. i. pp. 690, 696.

<sup>3</sup> Rotuli Scotiae, vol. i. pp. 705, 706.

probably the cause of that determined opposition which he ever afterwards manifested to the Steward; and it is this natural and unforgiving hostility, embittered by the conviction that he owed his eleven years' captivity to the desertion at Durham, which can alone throw any light upon those extraordinary intrigues for substituting an English prince upon the throne, in which David, at a future period, most weakly permitted himself to be involved. Meanwhile, the consequences of the battle of Durham were brilliant to England, but not lasting or important.

Roxburgh Castle, the key of the kingdom on the Borders, surrendered to Henry Percy and Ralph Neville, and the English overran the districts of Tweeddale, the Merse, Ettrick, Annandale, and Galloway.<sup>1</sup> Availing themselves of the panic and confusion which ensued upon the captivity of the king, they pushed forward into Lothian, and boasted that the marches of the kingdom were from Coldbrandspeth to Soutray, and from thence to Carllops and Crosscryne.<sup>2</sup>

Baliol, who had acted a principal part in these invasions, now believed that the entire subjugation of Scotland, so long delayed, was at length to be accomplished, and the sceptre to be for ever wrested from the line of Bruce. He took up his residence at the castle of Carlaverock, on the shores of the Solway;<sup>3</sup> and having collected a strong force of the savage freebooters

<sup>1</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 265. Scala Chron. quoted in Leland's Collection, vol. i. p. 562.

<sup>2</sup> Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 346.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Knighton, p. 2592.

of Galloway, was joined by Percy and Neville, with a large body of men-at-arms and mounted archers. At the head of this army he overran the Lothians, scoured the country as far as Glasgow, wasted Cunningham and Niddesdale, and rendered himself universally odious by the ferocity which marked his progress.

At this time, Lionel, Duke of Ulster, the son of Edward the Third, became engaged in a mysterious transaction relative to the affairs in Scotland, upon which, unfortunately, no contemporary documents throw any satisfactory light. By an agreement, entered into between this English prince and the Lords Henry Percy and Ralph Neville, these barons undertook to assist Baliol with a certain force of men-at-arms. Only the name of the treaty remains ; but, if a conjecture may be hazarded on so dark a subject, it seems probable that the ambition of Lionel began already to aspire to the crown of Scotland. Baliol was childless ; and the English Prince may have proffered him his assistance, under some implied condition that he should adopt him as his successor. We know for certain, that on Baliol being for ever expelled from Scotland, Lionel engaged in the same political intrigue with David the Second.<sup>1</sup> But, al-

<sup>1</sup> Ayloffe's Ancient Charters, p. 299. "Indentura tractatus inter Leonellum filium Edwardi tertii primogenitum, Comitem de Ulster, ex una parte, et Monsieur Henry Percy et Ranf. Neville, ex altera parte, per quam ipsi Henricus et Radulphus conveniunt se servituros in Scotia pro auxilio prestando Edwardo de Baliol Regi Scotiæ, cum 360 soldariis." 12 Ed. III.

though the precise nature of this transaction is not easily discoverable, it soon became apparent that the English king had no serious design of assisting Baliol in his recovery of the crown. At this conjuncture, the nobles who had escaped from Durham conferred the guardianship of the kingdom upon the High Steward;<sup>1</sup> and whatever imputations his conduct at Durham might have cast upon his personal ambition, it is certain that, as the enemy of the insidious designs of England, and the strenuous assertor of the liberty of his country, the grandson of Bruce did not show himself unworthy of his high descent. During a season of unequalled panic and confusion he maintained the authority of the laws. The command of the castles, and the government of the counties, were intrusted to men of tried fidelity; and to procure a breathing time, negotiations were set on foot for a truce.

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Hearne, p. 1039.