

On the demission of Wallace, the Scottish barons chose John Comyn of Badenoch, the younger, and John de Soulis, to be Governors of Scotland,<sup>1</sup> and after some time, Bruce, Earl of Carric, and William Lambertton, Bishop of St Andrews, were associated in the command.<sup>2</sup>

It is now necessary to allude to an attempt at a pacification between Edward and the Scots, which was made by Philip of France, and to give a short summary of the negotiations which took place, as they conduct us to the termination of Baliol's career, and throw a strong light on the character of the King of England.

John Baliol, whom the Scots still acknowledged as their rightful monarch, had remained a prisoner in England since 1296. On the conclusion of a truce between the Kings of France and England in 1297,<sup>3</sup> the articles of which afterwards formed the basis of the negotiations at Montreuil,<sup>4</sup> and of the important peace of Paris,<sup>5</sup> Philip demanded the liberation of Baliol, as his ally, from the Tower. He required, also, that the prelates, barons, knights, and other nobles, along with the towns and communities, and all the inhabitants of Scotland, of what rank and condition soever, should be included in the truce, and that not only Baliol, but all the other Scot-

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Hearne, p. 982. Winton, b. vii. c. 15, vol. ii. p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, *Fœdera*, p. 915, new edit. part ii. The first notice of Robert Bruce and Bishop Lambertton, as Guardians of Scotland, is on Nov. 13, 1299.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, p. 878, new edit. part ii. Oct. 9, 1297.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 906, June 19, 1299. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 952, May 20, 1302.

tish prisoners, should be liberated, on the delivery of hostages. These demands were made by special messengers, sent for this purpose by Philip to the King of England;<sup>1</sup> and it is probable that John Comyn the younger, the Earl of Athole, and other Scottish barons, who had left Edward on his embarkation at Hardenburgh in Flanders,<sup>2</sup> and repaired to the Court of France, prevailed upon Philip to be thus urgent in his endeavours to include them and their country in the articles of truce and pacification. Edward, however, had not the slightest intention of allowing the truce to be extended to the Scots. He was highly exasperated against them, and was then busy in collecting and organizing an army for the purpose of entirely reducing their country. He did not, at first, however, give a direct refusal, but observed, that the request touching the king, and the realm, and nobles of Scotland, was so new and foreign to the other articles of truce, that it would require his most solemn deliberation before he could reply.<sup>3</sup> Immediately after this, he marched, as we have seen, at the head of an overwhelming army into Scotland, and, after the battle of Falkirk, found leisure to send his answer to Philip, refusing peremptorily to deliver up Baliol, or to include the Scottish nobles in the truce, on the ground, that at the time when the articles of truce were drawn up, Philip did not consider the Scots as his allies, nor was there any mention of Baliol or his subjects at that time.<sup>4</sup> “If,” said Ed-

<sup>1</sup> Trivet. p. 311. Rymer, *Fœdera*, new edit. part ii. 861.

<sup>2</sup> Walsingham, p. 75. Trivet. p. 311.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, *Fœd.*, new edit. part ii. April, 1298. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 898.

ward, "any alliance ever existed between Baliol and Philip, it had been deliberately and freely renounced." To this Philip replied, "That as far as the King of Scots, and the other Scottish nobles who were Edward's prisoners, were concerned, the renunciation of the French alliance had been made through the influence of force and fear, on which account it ought to be considered of no avail; that it was they alone whom he considered as included in the truce; and if any Scottish nobles had afterwards, of their own free will, submitted to Edward, and sworn homage to him, as had been done by Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, Gilbert, Earl of Angus, and their sons, the King of France would not interfere in that matter."<sup>1</sup>

Edward, however, who, at the time he made this reply, had defeated Wallace at Falkirk, and dispersed the only army which stood between him and his ambition, continued firm, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of Philip. The mediation of the Pope was next employed; and at the earnest request of Boniface, the king consented to deliver Baliol from his imprisonment, and to place him in the hands of the Pope's legate, the Bishop of Vicenza. "I will send him to the Pope," said Edward, "as a false seducer of the people, and a perjured man."<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, Sir Robert Burghersh, the Constable of Dover, conveyed the dethroned king, with his goods and

<sup>1</sup> The important public instrument from which these facts regarding the negotiations between Edward and Philip are taken, has been printed, for the first time, in the new edition of Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. part ii. p. 898. See also Du Chesne, *Hist.* p. 600.

<sup>2</sup> Walsingham, p. 77. Prynne's *Edward I.* pp. 797, 798. *Trivet.* p. 315.

private property, to Whitsand, near Calais. Before embarking, his trunks were searched, and a crown of gold, the Great Seal of Scotland, many vessels of gold and silver, with a considerable sum of money, were found in them. The crown was seized by Edward, and hung up in the shrine of St Thomas the Martyr ; the Great Seal was also retained, but the money was permitted to remain in his coffers. On meeting the papal legate at Whitsand, Burghersh formally delivered to this prelate the person of the ex-king, to be at the sole disposal of the Pope ; but a material condition was added, in the proviso “ that the Pope should not ordain or direct any thing in the kingdom of Scotland concerning the people or inhabitants, or any thing appertaining to the same kingdom, in behalf of John Baliol or his heirs.” Edward’s obsequiousness to the Holy See even went farther, for he conferred on the Pope the power of disposing of Baliol’s English estates. These estates were many and extensive. They were situated in nine different counties, and gave a commanding feudal influence to their possessor. But the king had not the slightest intention of paying any thing more than an empty compliment to Boniface, for he retained the whole of Baliol’s lands and manors in his own hand, and, some years afterwards, bestowed them upon his nephew, John of Bretagne.<sup>1</sup>

The late King of Scotland was conveyed by the messengers of the Pope to his lands and castle of

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, *Fœdera*, new edit. vol. i. part ii. p. 1002. The grant to John of Bretagne was made on Nov. 10, 1306.

Bailleul in France, where he passed the remaining years of his life in quiet obscurity.<sup>1</sup>

The restless activity of Edward's mind, and the unshaken determination with which he pursued the great objects of his ambition, are strikingly marked by his conduct at this time. He was embroiled in serious disputes with his barons; some of the most valuable prerogatives of his crown were being wrested from his hands; he was deeply engaged with his negotiations with France; he was on the eve of his marriage; but nothing could divert him from the meditated war. He held a great council of his nobility at Westminster, concerning the Scottish expedition. At Midsummer he took a journey to St Albans, for the purpose of imploring the assistance of that saint.<sup>2</sup> In September he was married at Canterbury, to the sister of the King of France; and on the seventh day after his marriage, he directed his letters to Edmund Earl of Cornwall, to meet him with horse and arms at York, on the 10th of November.<sup>3</sup> He commanded public prayers to be made for the success of his arms in all the churches of the kingdom, and enjoined the friars predicants to employ themselves in the same pious office.

Aware of these great preparations, the Scottish Regents, whose army was encamped in the Torwood, near Stirling, directed a letter to Edward, informing

<sup>1</sup> Walsingham, p. 77. See Notes and Illustrations, letter M.

<sup>2</sup> Chronicon S<sup>ti</sup> Albani, quoted in Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, Fœd. vol. i. part. ii. p. 913, new edition. Palgrave's Parliamentary Writs, p. 42, Chron. Abstract.

him that they learnt from Philip, King of France, that he had agreed upon a truce, and that they were willing to desist from all hostile aggression, during the period which was stipulated, provided the King of England would follow their example.<sup>1</sup> Edward did not deign to reply to this communication, but having assembled his parliament at York, in the beginning of November, he communicated to them his intentions as to the continuance of the war; and in the face of the approaching severity of the winter, marched with his army to Berwick-on-Tweed, where he had appointed a body of fifteen thousand foot soldiers, with a large reinforcement from the diocese of York,<sup>2</sup> and the whole military strength of his greater barons, to meet him. So intent was he on assembling the bravest knights and most hardy soldiers, to accompany him, that he forbade, by public proclamation, all tournaments and plays of arms, so long as war lasted between him and his enemies; and interdicted every knight, esquire, or soldier, from attending such exhibitions, or going in search of adventures, without his special permission.<sup>3</sup> The object of the king was to march immediately into Scotland, to raise the siege

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. i. p. 915, new edition. The date of the letter is, *Foresta dell' Torre*, 13th Nov. 1299.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. i. pp. 915, 916, new edition.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, *ibid.* p. 916, new edition. This is one of the instruments added by the learned editors of this valuable work. Its terms are, "*Ne quis miles, armiger, vel alius quicumque, sub forisfactura vitæ et membrorum, et omnium que tenet in dicto regno, torneare, bordeare, seu justas facere, aventuras quærere, aut alias ad arma ire presumat, quoquo modo sine nostra licencia speciali.*"

of Stirling, then besieged by the Regents, and to reduce that great division of Scotland beyond the Frith of Forth, which, along with the powerful district of Galloway, still remained independent. But after all his great preparations, his hopes were cruelly disappointed. His barons, with their military vassals, sternly refused to go farther than Berwick. They alleged that the early severity of the winter, the impassable and marshy ground through which they would be compelled to march, with the scarcity of forage and provisions, rendered any military expedition against Scotland impracticable and desperate.<sup>1</sup> The barons, besides this, had other and deeper causes of discontent. The great charter, and the perambulation of the forests, had not been duly observed, according to promise; and without waiting remonstrance, they withdrew to their estates. Edward, in extreme anger, marched forward, with a very small force, and seemed determined to risk a battle; but being informed of the strong position of the Scottish army and of the resolute spirit with which they awaited his advance, the king submitted to the necessity of the case, and retreated to England.<sup>2</sup> The English, who were beleaguered in Stirling, after making a brave and obstinate defence, had begun to suffer the extremities of famine; upon which the king, finding it impossible to raise the siege, commanded them to capitulate;<sup>3</sup> and the castle

<sup>1</sup> Hemingford, vol. i. p. 170. Trivet, p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> Langtoft's Chronicle, p. 308.

<sup>3</sup> Math. Westmin. p. 445. He mistakes the date of the surrender, which was 1299, not 1303.

was delivered to Sir John de Soules, one of the Regents. The Scots garrisoned it, and committed it to the keeping of Sir William Olifant.

In the course of the following year, Edward, indefatigable in the prosecution of his great object, again invaded Scotland, and found that the enemy, profiting by experience, had adopted that protracted warfare, which was their best security, avoiding a battle, and cutting off his supplies.<sup>1</sup> Encamping in Annandale, he besieged and took Lochmaben, and afterwards sat down before the castle of Caerlaverock, strongly situated on the coast of the Solway Frith. After some resistance, this castle was likewise taken and garrisoned,<sup>2</sup> and the king marched into Galloway, where he had an interview with the bishop of that diocese, who, having in vain attempted to mediate a peace, the Earl of Buchan and John Comyn of Badenoch repaired personally to Edward, and had a violent interview with the king. They demanded that John Baliol, their lawful king, should be permitted peaceably to reign over them; and that their estates, which had been unjustly bestowed upon his English nobles, should be restored to their rightful lords. Edward treated these propositions, which he considered as coming from rebels, with an unceremonious refusal;

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. part ii. new edit. p. 920. Walsingham, p. 78, and Chron. I de Eversden apud Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> See a curious and interesting historical poem, in vol. iv. of *Antiquarian Repertory*, p. 469, published from a MS. in the British Museum. The garrison was only sixty strong, yet for some time defied the whole English army.



and after declaring that they would defend themselves to the uttermost, the king and the Scottish barons parted in high wrath.

After this the king marched to Irvin, a seaport town situated on a river of the same name, and remained there encamped foreight days, until provisions were brought up from the ships which lay on the coast. During this time, the Scottish army showed itself on the opposite side of the river; but on being attacked by successive columns, under the Earl of Surrey, the Prince of Wales, and the king himself, they rapidly retreated to their impassable morasses and mountains. Through this rough and difficult ground, the heavy-armed English soldiers could not penetrate; and the Welsh, whose familiarity with rocky passes rendered them well fitted for a warfare of this kind, obstinately refused to act. Baffled in his attempts at pursuit, Edward stationed his head-quarters at Dumfries, and employed himself in taking possession of the different towns and castles of Galloway, and in receiving the submission of the inhabitants of that district.<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of October, we still find him at Dumfries; and having spent five months on an expedition which led to no important success, he was at last compelled, by the approach of winter, to delay till another season all his hopes of the entire subjugation of Scotland. Affecting, therefore, to listen, now when it suited his convenience, to the representations of the plenipotentiaries sent from the King of France, he granted a

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. i. new edition, p. 921. Walsingham, p. 78, makes Irvin, Swinam.

truce to the Scots ; and with the dissimulation which was a strong feature in his character, artfully gave to a measure of necessity the appearance of an act of mercy. Edward, however, cautiously added, that he acceded to the wishes of Philip, out of favour to him as his dear friend and relative, not as the ally of Scotland ; nor would he give his consent to the cessation of arms, until the ambassadors of Philip agreed to consider it in this light : so careful was he lest any too hasty concession should interrupt his meditated vengeance, when a less refractory army and a milder season should allow him to proceed against his enemies.<sup>1</sup>

↵ The king was induced, by another important event, to grant this truce to the Scots. This was no less than an extraordinary interposition upon the part of the Pope, commanding him, as he revered his sacred authority, to desist from all hostilities ; and asserting that the kingdom of Scotland did now belong, and from the most remote antiquity had appertained, to the Holy See. The arguments by which the Roman church supported this singular claim, were, no doubt, suggested by certain Scottish Commissioners, whom Soules the Regent, in a former part of this year, had sent on a mission to Rome, to complain of the grievous injuries inflicted by Edward upon Scotland, and to request his Holiness's interposition in behalf of their afflicted country.<sup>2</sup>

Boniface accordingly, influenced, as is asserted, by

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Hearne, p. 983. Winton, vol. ii. p. 104. Rymer, vol. i. new edition, p. 921.

<sup>2</sup> Fordun a Hearne, p. 983. Winton, vol. ii. p. 105.

Scottish gold, directed an admonitory bull to Edward, and commanded Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, to deliver it to the king, who was then with his army in the wilds of Galloway. This prelate accordingly, with much personal risk, owing to the unlicensed state of the country, and the danger of being seized by the bands of Scottish robbers, who roamed about, as he tells us, thirsting for the blood of the English, travelled with his suit of clerks and learned dignitaries as far as Kirkcudbright, and having passed the dangerous sands of the Solway with his chariots and horses, found the king encamped near the castle of Caerlaverock; and delivered to him the Papal bull.<sup>1</sup> Its arguments, as far as concerned the right of the King of England to the feudal superiority of Scotland, were sufficiently sound and judicious; but, as was to be expected, his Holiness was much at a loss for grounds on which he could rest his own claim. "Your royal highness," he observes, "may have heard, and we doubt not but the truth is locked in the book of your memory, that of old the kingdom of Scotland did and doth still belong in full right to the Church of Rome, and that neither your ancestors, kings of England, nor yourself, enjoyed over it any feudal superiority. Your father Henry, King of England, of glorious memory, when, in the wars between him and Simon de Montfort, he requested the assistance of Alexander III. King of Scotland, did, by his letters patent, acknowledge that he recei-

<sup>1</sup> Prynne, *Hist. Ed.* I. p. 882, where there is a curious letter from the Archbishop, giving an account of his journey.

ved such assistance, not as due to him, but as a special favour. When you yourself requested the presence of the same King Alexander at the solemnity of your coronation, you in like manner, by your letters patent, entreated it as a matter of favour and not of right. Moreover, when the King of Scotland did homage to you for his lands in Tindale and Penrith, he publicly protested that his homage was paid, not for his kingdom of Scotland, but for his lands in England; that as King of Scotland he was independent, and owed no fealty; which homage, so restricted, you did accordingly receive. Again, when Alexander III. died, leaving as heiress to the crown a grand-daughter in her minority, the wardship of this infant was not conferred upon you, which it would have been had you been Lord Superior, but was given to certain nobles of the kingdom chosen for that office." The bull proceeds to notice the projected marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Maiden of Norway, the express acknowledgment of the freedom and independence of Scotland contained in the preliminary negotiations, the confusions which followed the death of the young Queen, the fatal choice of Edward as arbiter in the contest for the Crown, the express declaration of the King of England to the Scottish nobility, who repaired to his court during the controversy, that he received this attendance as a matter of favour, not as having any right to command it; and lastly it asserted, that if, after all this, any innovations had been made upon the ancient rights and liberties of Scotland, with consent of a divided nobility, who wanted their kingly

head; or of that person to whom Edward had committed the charge of the kingdom, these ought not in justice to subsist, as having been violently extorted by force and fear.

After such arguments, his Holiness proceeds to exhort the king in the name of God, to discharge out of prison and restore to their former liberty all bishops, clerks, and other ecclesiastical persons whom he had incarcerated, and to remove all officers whom by force and fear he had appointed to govern the nation under him; and he concludes by directing him, if he still pretended any right to the kingdom of Scotland, or to any part thereof, not to omit the sending of commissioners to him fully instructed, and that within six months after the receipt of these letters, he being ever ready to do him justice as his beloved son, and most inviolably to preserve his right.<sup>1</sup>

In presenting this dignified and imperious mandate, the archbishop, in presence of the English nobles and the Prince of Wales, added his own admonitions on the duty of a reverent obedience to so sacred an authority, observing that Jerusalem would not fail to protect her citizens, and to cherish, like Mount Sion, those who trusted in the Lord. Edward, on hearing this, broke into a paroxysm of ungovernable wrath, and swearing a great oath, cried out—"I will not be

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. part ii. p. 907. Knighton, 2529. The date of this monitory Bull is 5th July, 1299. The letter of the archbishop describing his journey to Edward, then at or near Caerlaverock, and his delivery of the Bull, is dated at Otteford, 8th October, 1300. Prynne, *Edward I.* p. 883.

silent or at rest, either for Mount Sion 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."<sup>1</sup> But the Papal interference was in those days, even to so powerful a monarch as Edward, no matter of slight importance; and, returning to his calmer mind, he requested the archbishop to retire until he had consulted with his nobility. On Winchester's re-admission, the king, in a milder and more dignified mood, thus addressed him:—"My Lord Archbishop, you have delivered me, on the part of my superior, and reverend father, the Pope, a certain admonition touching the state and realm of Scotland. Since, however, it is the custom of England, that in such matters as relate to the state of that kingdom, advice should be had with all whom they may concern, and since the present business not only affects the state of Scotland, but the rights of England; and since many prelates, earls, barons, and great men, are now absent from my army, without whose advice I am unwilling finally to reply to my Holy Father, it is my purpose, as soon as possible, to hold a council with my nobility, and by their joint advice and determination, to transmit an answer to his Holiness by messengers of my own."<sup>2</sup>

It was particularly dangerous for Edward, to break with the Pope at this moment, for the peace with France was uncompleted, and Gascony still remained in the hands of the Holy See, which had not yet

<sup>1</sup> Walsingham, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Prynne, Edward I. p. 883.

decided to whom it should rightly belong. The King of England, therefore, affected to use the most solemn deliberation in the preparation of his answer. He disbanded his army; he summoned a parliament to meet at Lincoln; he wrote to the Chancellors of both Universities, commanding them to send to this parliament some of their most learned and expert civilians, to declare their opinion as to the right of the King of England to be Lord Paramount of Scotland; and he gave directions to the abbots, priors, and deans of the religious houses in England, that they should diligently search for and examine the ancient chronicles and archives of their monastery, and collect and transmit to him by some one of their number, not only all matters illustrative of the rights competent to the King of England in the realm of Scotland, but every thing which in any way related to that kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

On the meeting of the parliament at Lincoln, the king, after having conciliated the good-will of his nobility, by the confirmation of the great charters of liberties, and of the forests, the last of which he had evaded till now, ordered the Pope's bull to be read to the earls and barons assembled in parliament; and, after great debates amongst the lawyers who were present, the nobility of England directed a spirited letter to the Pope, with a hundred and four seals appended to it.<sup>2</sup> In this epistle, after complimenting the Holy Roman Church upon the judgment and

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, *Fœdera*, new edit. vol. i. p. 923.

<sup>2</sup> Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 146.

caution with which she respected and inviolably preserved the rights of every individual, they proceed to remark, that a letter from the Holy See had been shown to them by their lord, King Edward, relating to certain matters touching the state and realm of Scotland, which contained divers wonderful and hitherto unheard of propositions. It was notorious, they remark, in these parts of the world, that from the very first original of the kingdom of England, the kings thereof, as well in the times of the Britons as of the Saxons, enjoyed the superiority and direct dominion of the kingdom of Scotland, and continued either in actual or in virtual possession of the same through successive ages. They further declare, that in temporals, the kingdom of Scotland did never, by any colour of right, belong to the Church of Rome; that it was an ancient fief of the crown and kings of England, and that the kings of Scotland, with their kingdom, had been subject only to the kings of England, and to no other. That with regard to their rights, or other temporalities in that kingdom, the kings of England have never answered, nor ought they to answer, before any ecclesiastical or secular judge, and this on account of the freedom and pre-eminence of their royal dignity, and the custom to this effect, observed through all ages. Wherefore, they conclude,—having diligently considered the letters of his Holiness, it is now, and for the future shall be, the unanimous and unshaken resolution of all and every one of them, that their lord the King, concerning his rights in Scotland, or other temporal rights,



must in nowise answer judicially before the Pope, or submit them to his judgment, or draw them into question by such submission; and that he must not send proxies or commissioners to his Holiness, more especially when it would manifestly tend to the disinheritance of the crown and royal dignity of England, to the notorious subversion of the state of the kingdom, and to the prejudice of their liberties, customs, and laws, delivered to them by their fathers, which, by their oaths, they were bound to observe and defend, and which, by the help of God, they would maintain with their whole force and power. And they added, "that they would not permit the King to do, or even to attempt, such strange and unheard-of things, even if he were willing so far to forget his royal rights. Wherefore they reverently and humbly entreat his Holiness to permit the King to possess his rights in peace, without diminution or disturbance. In witness whereof, for themselves and the whole community of the nation, they to this epistle append their seals."<sup>1</sup>

Having in this bold and spirited manner refused to submit his pretended rights in Scotland to the jurisdiction of the Pope, the monarch, about two months after the meeting of his parliament at Lincoln, directed a private letter to his Holiness,<sup>2</sup> which he ex-

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. ii. p. 875. "Nec etiam permittimus, aut aliquatenus permittemus, sicut nec possumus, nec debemus, præmissa tam insolita, prælibatum dominum nostrum Regem etiam si vellet facere."

<sup>2</sup> Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 147. Rymer, vol. i. part ii. new edition, p. 932.

pressly declares is not a memorial to a judge, but altogether of a different description, and solely intended to quiet and satisfy the conscience of his Holy Father, and in which, at great length, and by arguments which are too trifling to require confutation, he explained to him the grounds upon which he rested his claim of superiority, and the reasons for his violent invasion of Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

More intent than ever upon the reduction of this country, Edward summoned his barons and vassalage to meet him in arms at Berwick on the day of St John the Baptist, and directed letters to the different seaports of England and Ireland, for the assembling of a fleet of seventy ships to rendezvous at the same place.<sup>2</sup> He determined to separate his force into two divisions, and to intrust the command of one to his son, the Prince of Wales. A pilgrimage to the shrine of St Thomas a Becket, and other holy places, was undertaken by the king previous to his putting himself at the head of his army; and this being concluded, he passed the borders, and besieged and took the castle of Bonkill in the Merse. The Scots contented themselves with laying waste the country; and aware of the hazard of risking a battle, they attacked the straggling parties of the English, and distressed their cavalry, by carrying off the forage.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Hearne, p. 984.

<sup>2</sup> Ryley, p. 483. The summons is dated 12th March, 1301. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 928, dated 14th February, 1301.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. Abing. quoted in Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 148. Trivet, pp. 331, 332. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 196. Langtoft, vol. ii. pp. 315, 316.

campaign, which had been mighty in its preparations, passed in unaccountable inactivity. An early winter set in with extreme severity, and many of the large war-horses of the English knights perished from cold and hunger; but Edward, who knew that the Scots only waited for his absence, to rise into rebellion, determined to pass the winter at Linlithgow. Here, accordingly, he established the head-quarters of his army, sent orders to England for supplies to be forwarded to his troops, employed his warlike leisure in building a castle, and kept his Christmas with his son and his nobles.<sup>1</sup>

The treaty of peace between Edward and Philip of France was still uncompleted; and as Philip continued a warm advocate for Baliol and the Scots, Edward, moved by his remonstrances, gave authority to his envoys at the French court to conclude a truce with Scotland, under certain conditions.<sup>2</sup> The envoys, however, were sharply reprov'd by the king and his nobles, for giving the title of King of Scots to Baliol, and permitting, as the basis of the truce, the alliance between France and his enemies.<sup>3</sup> Edward

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Hearne, p. 984. Palgrave's Parl. Writs, Chron. Abstract, vol. i. p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, Fœdera, new edition, vol. i. pp. 936, 937. Langtoft, p. 316.

<sup>3</sup> In Prynne, Edward I., p. 876, we find that Edward protested against this truce at Devizes, 30th April, 1302. How are we to reconcile this protestation with the power granted to the English envoys, by an instrument signed at Donypace, 14th Oct. 1301, Rymer, p. 936? and with the express ratification of the truce in Rymer, Fœd. vol. i. new edition, p. 938, signed at Linlithgow,

was well aware, that if he admitted this, any conclusion of peace with Philip would preclude him from continuing the war which he had so much at heart; and on ratifying the truce, he subjoined his protestation, that although he agreed to a cessation, he did not recognise John Baliol as the King of Scotland, nor the Scots as the allies of the King of France. Having concluded this truce at Linlithgow, Edward proceeded to Roxburgh, and from this, by Morpeth and Durham, returned to London.<sup>1</sup>

The perseverance and courage of the Scots were ill supported by their faithless allies. Boniface soon deserted them, and with extreme effrontery, forgetting his former declarations, addressed a letter of admonition to Wisheart, the Bishop of Glasgow, commanding him to desist from all opposition to Edward. Wisheart had been delivered from an English prison some time before, and, on taking a solemn oath of fealty, had been received into favour; but unable to quench his love of liberty, or perhaps of intrigue, he had recommenced his opposition to the English, and the Pope addresses him as the “prime mover and instigator of all the tumult and dissension which has arisen between his dearest son in Christ, Edward, King of England, and the Scots.”<sup>2</sup> At the same time his Holiness, with the like inconsistency, addressed a

26th Jan. 1302? The truce was to continue till St Andrew's day, the 30th Nov. 1302.

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 936. Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i. new edition, p. 942.

bull to the body of the Scottish bishops, commanding them to be at peace with Edward, and threatening them, in case of disobedience, with a severer remedy.<sup>1</sup>

Deserted by Boniface, the Scots still looked to Philip for support, and aware that the negotiations for peace between France and England were in the course of being concluded, they sent the Earl of Buchan, James, the Steward of Scotland, John Soulis, one of the Regents,<sup>2</sup> and Ingelram de Umfraville, to watch over their interests at the French court. But Philip, having been defeated in Flanders, became anxious at all risks to conclude a peace with England, and to concentrate his efforts for the reduction of the revolted Flemings.<sup>3</sup> Edward, who had hitherto supported the Flemings, entertained the same wish to direct his undivided strength against the Scots, and a mutual sacrifice of allies was the consequence. The English King paved the way for this, by excluding the Earl of Flanders from the number of his allies, in the former truce ratified at Linlithgow; and Philip, in return, not only left out the Scots in the new truce concluded at Amiens, but entirely excluded them in the subsequent and final treaty of peace, not long afterwards concluded at Paris.<sup>4</sup> Previous, however, to the conclusion of this treaty, so fatal to the Scots, the army of Edward experienced a signal defeat near Edinburgh.

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. i. new edition, p. 942.

<sup>2</sup> Maitland, vol. i. p. 461. Rymer, vol. i. p. 955.

<sup>3</sup> Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 152.

<sup>4</sup> Rymer, *Fœd.* new edit. vol. i. pp. 946—952.

John de Segrave had been appointed Governor of Scotland, and Edward, much incensed at the continued and determined animosity of the Scots, who, on the expiry of the truce, had recommenced the war with great vigour, directed letters to Ralph Fitz-William, and twenty-six of his principal barons. By these he informed them, that he had received intelligence from Segrave of the success of his enemies, who, after ravaging the country, and reducing, burning, and seizing his towns and castles, threatened, unless put down with a strong hand, to invade and lay waste England. "For which reason," adds the king, "we request, by the fealty and love which bind you to us, that you will instantly repair to John de Segrave, with your whole assembled power of horse and foot." He then informs them of his resolution to be with his army in Scotland sooner than he at first intended, and that, in the meantime, he had dispatched thither Ralph de Manton, his clerk of the wardrobe, who would pay them their allowances, and act as his treasurer as long as they continued on the expedition.<sup>1</sup>

Segrave marched from Berwick towards Edinburgh, about the beginning of Lent, with an army of twenty thousand men,<sup>2</sup> chiefly consisting of cavalry, commanded by some of Edward's best and oldest leaders. Amongst these were Segrave's brothers, very gallant knights,<sup>3</sup> and Robert de Neville, a noble baron, who

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. i. new edit. part ii. p. 947. This document is published for the first time in the new edition of Rymer.

<sup>2</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Hemingford, p. 197. "Cum Johanne de Segrave et fratribus suis, erant enim milites strenuissimi."

had been engaged with Edward in his Welsh wars.<sup>1</sup> In approaching Roslin, Segrave had separated his army into three divisions; and not meeting with an enemy, each division encamped on its own ground, without having established any communication with the others. The first division was led by Segrave himself, the second probably by Ralph de Manton, who, in virtue of his office as paymaster, was called Ralph the Cofferer, the third by Neville. Early in the morning of the 24th February, Segrave and his soldiers were slumbering in their tents, in careless security, when a boy rushed in, and called out that the enemy were upon them. The news proved true. Sir John Comyn the Governor, and Sir Simon Fraser, hearing of the advance of the English, had collected a small army of eight thousand horse, and marching in the night from Biggar to Roslin, surprised the enemy in their encampment. Segrave's division was entirely routed, he himself, after a severe wound, was made prisoner, along with sixteen knights, and thirty esquires, his brother and son were seized in bed, and the Scots had begun to collect the booty, and calculate on the ransom, when the second division of the English army appeared. A cruel but necessary order was given to slay the prisoners; and this having been done, the Scots immediately attacked the enemy, who, after an obstinate defence, were put to flight with great slaughter. The capture of Ralph the Cofferer, a rich booty, and many prisoners, were the fruits

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. i. new edit. p. 608. Trivet, p. 336.

of this second attack, which had scarcely concluded, when the third division, led by Sir Robert Neville, was seen in the distance. Worn out by their night-march, and fatigued by two successive attacks, the little army of the Scots thought of an immediate retreat. But this, probably, the proximity of Neville's division rendered impossible; and after again resorting to the same horrid policy of putting to death their prisoners, an obstinate conflict began, which terminated in the death of Neville, and the total defeat of his division.<sup>1</sup> There occurred in this battle a striking but cruel trait of national animosity. Ralph the Cofferer had been taken prisoner by Sir Simon Fraser, and this paymaster of Edward, though a priest, like many of the ecclesiastics and bishops of those fierce times, preferred the coat of mail to the surplice. On the order being given to slay the prisoners, Sir Ralph begged his life might be spared, and promised a large ransom. "This laced hauberk is no priestly habit," observed Fraser; "where is thine albe, or thy hood? Often have you robbed us of our lawful wages, and done us grievous harm. It is now our turn to sum up the account, and exact its payment." Saying this, he first struck off the hands of the unhappy priest, and then severed his head with one blow from his body.<sup>2</sup>

The remains of the English army fled to Edward, in England, and the Scots, after reposing from their

<sup>1</sup> See Notes and Illustrations, letter N.

<sup>2</sup> Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 319.



fatigues, collected and divided their booty, which was exceeding rich both in armour and in prisoners, and returned home with honour.<sup>1</sup>

This persevering bravery of the Scots in defence of their country, was unfortunately united to a credulity which made them the dupes of the insidious policy of Philip. Although left out of the treaty concluded at Amiens, the French monarch had the address to persuade the Scottish deputies then at Paris, that having concluded his own affairs with Edward, he would devote his whole efforts to mediate a peace between his allies and their enemies ; and he entreated them, in the meantime, to remain with him at the French court, until they could carry back to Scotland intelligence of his having completed the negotiation with Edward on behalf of themselves and their countrymen. The object of Philip, in all this, was to prevent the return of the deputies, amongst whom were some of the most warlike and influential of the Scottish nobles, previous to the expedition which Edward was about to lead against their country. Unsuspecting of any treachery, they consented to remain, and in the meantime they directed a letter to the Governor and nobility of Scotland, in which they exhorted them to be of good courage, and to persevere in their defence of the liberties of their country. " You would greatly rejoice," they say in this letter, " if you were aware what a weight of honour this last conflict with the English has conferred upon you

<sup>1</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 117.

throughout the world.—Wherefore, we beseech you earnestly, that you continue to be of good courage. And if the King of England consents to a truce, as we firmly expect he will, do you likewise agree to the same, according to the form which the ambassadors of the King of France shall propose by one of our number, who will be sent to you. But if the King of England, like Pharaoh, shall grow hardened, and continue the war, we beseech you, by the mercy of Christ, that you quit yourselves like men, so that by the assistance of God, and your own courage, you may gain the victory.”<sup>1</sup>

To gain the victory, however, over the determined perseverance and overwhelming military strength of the English king, was no easy task. The distress of Scotland, from its exposure to the continued ravages of war, had reached a pitch which the people of the land could endure no longer. They became heart-broken for a time, under a load of misery and suffering, from which they could see no relief but in absolute submission; the Governor Comyn, the late Guardian Wallace, and the few patriot nobles who were still in the field, found it impossible to keep an army together, and all men felt assured that the entire subjugation of the country was an event which no human power could possibly prevent or delay. If Edward, at this crisis, again resumed the war, it was evident that nothing could oppose him. We may judge then of the desolating feelings of this devoted land, when

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. i. new edit. p. 955, June 8, 1303.

word was brought that the King of England had once more collected the whole armed force of his dominions, and, leading his army in person, had passed the Border. The recent defeat at Roslin had chafed and inflamed his passions to the utmost, and he declared that it was his determined purpose either to reduce the country to entire subjection, or to raze it utterly with fire and sword, and turn it to a desert, fit only for the beasts of the field. In recording the history of this last miserable campaign, the historian has to tell a tale of heart-broken submission, and pitiless ravage; he has little to do but to follow in dejection the chariot wheels of the conqueror, and to hear them crushing under their iron weight all that was free, and brave, in a devoted country.

Edward separated his army into two divisions. He gave the command of one to his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, who directed his march westward into Scotland,<sup>1</sup> whilst the king himself, at the head of the second division, proceeded eastward by Morpeth and Roxburgh, and reached the capital without challenge or interruption in the beginning of June, 1303. The whole course of the king, as well as that of the prince, was marked by smoke and devastation by the plunder of towns and villages, the robbery of granges and garners, the flames of woods, and the destruction of the small tracts of cultivated lands which yet remained. Wherever he turned his arms, the inhabitants submitted to a power which it was impossible for

<sup>1</sup> Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 323.

them to resist, and the Governor Comyn, Sir Simon Fraser, and the late Guardian William Wallace, were driven into the wilds and fastnesses, where they still continued the war by irregular predatory expeditions against the convoys of the English.

From Edinburgh Edward continued his victorious progress by Linlithgow and Clackmannan to Perth, and afterwards by Dundee and Brechin proceeded to Aberdeen. From this city, pursuing his march northward, he reached Banff, and from thence he pushed on to Kinloss in Moray. Leaving this, he struck into the heart of Moray, and for some time established his quarters at Lochendorb, a fortress strongly situated upon an island in a lake.<sup>1</sup> Here Edward received the oaths and homage of the northern parts of the kingdom,<sup>2</sup> and, it is probable, added to the fortifications of the castle. It is curious to find that, after a lapse of near five hundred years, the memory of this great king is still preserved in the tradition of the neighbourhood; and that the peasant, when he points out to the traveller the still massy and noble remains of Lochendorb, mentions the name of Edward I. as connected in some mysterious way with their history.

From this remote strength, the king, penetrating into Aberdeenshire, reached the strong and important castle of Kildrummie in Garvyach,<sup>3</sup> from whence he retraced his route back to Dundee. Thence, probably

<sup>1</sup> See Notes and Illustrations, letter O.

<sup>2</sup> Fordun a Hearne, p. 989.

<sup>3</sup> He was at Kildrummie on the 8th of October 1303, and at Dundee on the 20th of the same month. Prynne, 1015, 1017.— See Notes and Illustrations, letter P.

by Perth, he marched to Stirling and Cambuskenneth, visited Kinross, and finally proceeded to take up his winter quarters at Dunfermline early in the month of December, where he was joined by his queen.<sup>1</sup> In this progress, the castle of Brechin shut its gates against him. It was commanded by Sir Thomas Maule, a Scottish knight of signal intrepidity, and such was the impregnable nature of the walls, that the battering engines of the king could not for many days make the least impression. So confident was Maule of this, that he stood on the ramparts, and in derision of the English soldiers below, wiped off with a towel the dust and rubbish raised by the stones thrown from the English engines.<sup>2</sup> At last this brave man was struck down by one of the missiles he affected to despise, and the wound proved mortal. When he lay dying on the ground, some of his soldiers asked him if now they might surrender the castle. Though life was ebbing, the spirit of the soldier indignantly revived at this proposal, and pronouncing maledictions on their cowardice, he expired.<sup>3</sup> The castle immediately opened its gates to the English, after having stood a siege of twenty days. Edward was employed at Dunfermline in receiving the submission of those Scottish barons and great men who had not made their peace during his late progress through the kingdom. When at this place, his soldiers, by orders of

<sup>1</sup> Langtoft, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> "Stetit ille Thomas cum manutergio et extrusit Cæsuram de Muro in subsannationem et derisum totius exercitus Anglicani." M. West. Flores Historiarum, p. 446.

<sup>3</sup> Liber Garderobæ Edw. I. fol. 15,

the king, with savage barbarity destroyed a Benedictine monastery of such noble dimensions, that an English historian informs us, three kings, with their united retinues, might have lodged within its walls. On account of its ample size the Scottish nobles had often held their parliaments within its great hall. This was a sufficient crime in the eyes of the king. The church of the monastery, with a few cells for the monks, were spared ; the rest was razed to the ground. Comyn the Governor, along with Sir Simon Fraser, and a few barons, still kept up a show of resistance ; and Wallace, who, since his abdication of the supreme power in the state, had continued his determined opposition to Edward, lurked with a small band in the woods and mountains. The castle of Stirling, also, still held out, and as it was certain that the king would besiege it, Comyn, with the faint hope of defending the passage of the Forth, collected as many soldiers as he could muster, and encamped on the ground where Wallace had gained his signal victory over Cressingham and Surrey. But the days of victory were past. Edward, the moment he heard of this, forded the river in person at the head of his cavalry, and routed and dispersed the last remnant of an army on which the hopes of Scotland depended. The king had intended to pass the river by the bridge, but on coming forward he found it had been broken down and burnt by the Scots. Had their leaders profited by the lesson taught them by Wallace, they would have kept up the bridge, and attacked Edward when defiling over it ; but their rashness in destroying it com-

elled the king to find a ford, and enabled him to pass the river in safety.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after this expiring effort, the Governor, with all his adherents, submitted to Edward. The Earls of Pembroke and Ulster, with Sir Henry Percy, met Comyn at Strathorde in Fife,<sup>2</sup> on the 9th of February, and a solemn negotiation took place, in which the late regent and his followers, after stipulating for the preservation of their lives, liberties, and lands, delivered themselves up to Edward, and agreed to the infliction of any pecuniary fine which he should think right. The castles and strengths of Scotland were to remain in the hands of Edward, and the government of the country to be modelled and administered at his pleasure. From this negotiation those were specially excepted, for whom, as more obstinate in their rebellion, the King of England reserved a more signal punishment. In this honourable roll we find Wish-eart, Bishop of Glasgow, James, the Steward of Scotland, Sir John Soulis, the late associate of Comyn in the government of the kingdom, David de Graham, Alexander de Lindesay, Simon Fraser, Thomas Bois, and William Wallace.<sup>3</sup> To all these persons, except Wallace, certain terms, more or less rigorous, were held out, on accepting which, Edward guaranteed to them their lives and their liberty; and we know that sooner or later they did accept the conditions. But

<sup>1</sup> Notes and Illustrations, letter Q.

<sup>2</sup> Strathurd, or Strathord, on the Ord water in Fife, perhaps now Struthers.

<sup>3</sup> Prynne, Hist. Edward I. pp. 1120, 1121.

of this great man a rigorous exclusion was made. "As for William Wallace," says the deed, "it is covenanted, that if he thinks proper to surrender himself, it must be unconditionally to the will and mercy of our lord the king." Such a surrender, it is well known, gave Edward the unquestionable right of ordering his victim to instant execution.

An English parliament was soon after appointed to meet at St Andrews, to which the king summoned the Scottish barons who had again come under his allegiance. This summons was obeyed by all except Sir Simon Fraser and Wallace, and these two brave men, along with the garrison of Stirling, which still defied the efforts of the English, were declared outlaws by the vote, not only of the English barons, but with the extorted consent of their broken and dispirited countrymen.<sup>1</sup>

At length Fraser, despairing of being able again to rouse the spirit of the nation, consented to accept the hard conditions of fine and banishment offered him by the conqueror, and Wallace found himself standing alone against Edward, excepted from all amnesty, and inexorably marked for death.<sup>2</sup> Surrounded by his enemies, he came from the fastnesses where he had taken refuge to the forest of Dunfermline, and by the mediation of his friends, proposed on certain conditions to surrender himself. These terms, however, partook more of the bold and haughty character of the mind which had never bowed to Edward, than of the spirit

<sup>1</sup> Trivet, p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> See Notes and Illustrations, letter R.



of a suppliant suing for his pardon. When reported to Edward he broke out into ungovernable rage, cursed him by the fiend as a traitor, pronounced his malediction on all who sustained or supported him, and set a reward of three hundred merks upon his head. On hearing this, Wallace betook himself again to the wilds and mountains, and subsisted on plunder.<sup>1</sup>

The castle of Stirling was now the only fortress which had not opened its gates to Edward. It had been intrusted by its governor, John de Soulis, who was still in France, to the care of Sir William Olifant, a brave and gallant knight, who, on seeing the great preparations made by Edward against his com-

<sup>1</sup> It is singular that this last circumstance should have escaped Lord Hailes and our other historians. It is expressly and minutely stated by Langtoft. Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 324.

“ Turn we now other weyes, unto our owen geste,  
 And speke of the Waleys that lies in the foreste ;  
 In the forest he lendes of Dounfermelyn,  
 He praied all his frendes, and other of his kyn, <sup>3</sup>  
 After that Yole, thei wilde beseke Edward,  
 That he might yelde till him, in a forward  
 That were honorable to kepe wod or beste,  
 And with his scrite full stable, and seled at the least,  
 To him and all his to haf in heritage ;  
 And none otherwise, als terme tyme and stage  
 Bot als a propre thing that were conquest till him.  
 Whan thei brouht that tething Edward was fulle grim,  
 And bilauht him the fende, als his traytoure in Lond,  
 And ever-ilkon his frende that him susteyn'd or fond.  
 Three hundreth marke he hette unto his warisoun,  
 That with him so mette, or bring his hede to toun.  
 Now flies William Waleis, of pres nouht he spedis,  
 In mores and mareis with robberie him fedis.”

paratively feeble garrison, sent a message to the king, informing him that it was impossible for him to surrender the castle without forfeiting his oaths and honour as a knight, pledged to his master, Sir John Soulis; but that if a cessation of hostilities were granted for a short time, he would instantly repair to France, enquire the will of his master, and return again to deliver up the castle, if permitted to do so.<sup>1</sup> This was a proposal perfectly in the spirit of the age, and Edward, who loved chivalry, and was himself proud of his knightly qualities, would at another time probably have agreed to it; but he was now, to use the expressive words of Langtoft, "full grim," and roused to a pitch of excessive fury against the obstinate rebellion of the Scots. "I will agree to no such terms," said he; "if he will not surrender the castle, let him keep it against us at his peril." And Olifant accordingly, with the assistance of Sir William Dupplin, and other brave knights, who had shut themselves up therein, proceeded to fortify the walls, to direct his engines of defence, and to prepare the castle for the last extremities of a siege. Thirteen warlike engines were brought by the besiegers to bear upon the walls.<sup>2</sup> The missiles which they threw consisted of leaden balls of great size, with huge stones, and javelins, and the leaden roof of the cathedral of St Andrews was torn away to supply materials for these deadly ma-

<sup>1</sup> Prynne, Edward I. p. 1051.

<sup>2</sup> "Threttene great engynes, of all the reame the best,  
Brouht thei to Strivelyne, the kastle down to kest."

Langtoft, p. 325.

chines ;<sup>1</sup> but for a long time the constant efforts of the assailants produced no breach in the walls, whilst the sorties of the besieged, and the admirable dexterity with which their engines were directed and served, made great havoc in the English army. During all this, Edward, although his advanced age might have afforded him an excuse for caution, exposed his person with an almost youthful rashness. Mounted on horseback, he rode beneath the walls to make his observations, and was more than once struck by the stones and javelins thrown from the engines on the ramparts. One day, when riding so near that he could distinguish the soldiers who worked the balistæ, a javelin struck him on the breast, and lodged itself in the steel plates of his armour. The king with his own hand plucked out the dart, which had not pierced the skin, and shaking it in the air, called out aloud, that he would hang the villain who had hit him.<sup>2</sup> On another occasion, when riding within the range of the engines, a stone of great size and weight fell so near, with such noise and force, that the king's horse backed and fell with his master ; upon which some of the soldiers, seeing his danger, ran in, and forced Edward down the hill towards the tents.<sup>3</sup> Whilst these engines within the castle did so much execution, those of Edward, being of small dimensions in comparison with the height of the walls, had little effect, and when faggots and branches were thrown into the

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Hearne, p. 990.

<sup>2</sup> Walsingham, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Math. Westminster.

fosse, to facilitate the assault, a sally from the castle succeeded in setting the whole in flames, and carried confusion and slaughter into the English lines.

The siege had now continued from the twenty-second of April to the twentieth of May, without much impression having been made. But determination was a marked feature in the powerful character of the king. He wrote to the sheriffs of York, Lincoln, and London, commanding them to purchase and send instantly to him, at Stirling, all the balistæ, quarrells, and bows and arrows, which they could collect within their counties ; and he dispatched a letter to the governor of the Tower, requiring him to send down, with all haste, the balistæ and small quarrells which were under his charge in that fortress.<sup>1</sup> Anxious for the assistance and presence of all his best soldiers, he published, at Stirling, an inhibition, proclaiming that no knight, esquire, or other person whatsoever, should frequent jousts or tournaments, or go in search of adventures and deeds of arms, without his special license ;<sup>2</sup> and aware that the Scottish garrison must soon be in want of provisions, he cut off all communication with the surrounding country, and gave orders for the employment of a new and dreadful instrument of destruction, the Greek fire, with which he had probably become acquainted in the East. The mode in which this destructive combustible was used, seems to have been by shooting from the bows, or the balistæ, large arrows, to whose heads were fast-

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, new edition, vol. i. p. 963.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 964.

ened balls of ignited cotton, which stuck in the roofs and walls of the buildings they struck, and set them on fire.<sup>1</sup> In addition to this, he commanded his engineers to construct two immense machines, which, unlike those employed at first, overtopped the walls, and were capable of throwing stones and leaden balls of three hundred pounds weight. The first of these was a complicated machine, which, although much pains was bestowed on its construction, did no great execution; but the second, which the soldiers called the wolf, was more simple in its form, and, from its size and strength, most murderous in its effects. By means of these, a large breach was made in the two inner walls of the castle; and the outer ditch having been filled up with heaps of stones and fagots thrown into it, Edward ordered a general assault. The brave little garrison, which for three months had successfully resisted the whole strength of the English army, were now greatly reduced by famine and the siege. Their provisions were exhausted. Thirteen women, the wives and sisters of the knights and barons who defended the place, were shut up, along with the garrison, and their distress and misery became extreme. In these circumstances, their walls cast down, the engines carrying the soldiers wheeled up to the breach, and the scaling ladders fixed on the parapet, a deputation was sent to Edward, with an offer to capitulate, on security of life and limb. This proposal the king met with contempt and

<sup>1</sup> Liber Garderobæ Edw. I. fol. 52. I owe these curious particulars to the well known research of Mr Macgregor Stirling.

scorn, but he agreed to treat on the terms of an unconditional surrender, and appointed four of his barons, the Earls of Gloucester and Ulster, with Sir Eustace le Poor, and Sir John de Mowbray, to receive the last resolution of the besieged.

Sir John and Sir Eustace accordingly proceeded to the castle gate, and summoned the governor; upon which Sir William Olifant, his kinsman Sir William de Dupplin, and their squire Thomas Lillay, met the English knights, and proceeded with them to an interview with the two Earls. At this meeting they consented, for themselves and their companions, to surrender unconditionally to the King of England; and they earnestly requested that he would permit them to make this surrender in his own presence, and himself witness their contrition.<sup>1</sup>

To this Edward agreed, and forthwith appointed Sir John Lovel to fill the place of governor. A melancholy pageant of feudal submission now succeeded. Sir William Olifant, and, along with him, twenty-five of the knights and gentlemen, his companions in the siege, presented themselves before the king, who re-

<sup>1</sup> It is asserted, both by Fordun a Hearne, p. 991, and by Winton, vol. ii. p. 119, that the castle was delivered up to the English on a written agreement signed by Edward, that the garrison should be quit and free of all harm—which agreement Edward perfidiously broke. The only ground mentioned in Rymer, new edition, p. 996, which gives some countenance to this accusation, is the fact, that Olifant and Dupplin agreed to surrender *according to the terms which had been offered by the Earl of Lincoln*, and the record somewhat suspiciously conceals what these terms were. They may have amounted to a promise that the garrison should be quit of all harm.

ceived them in princely state, surrounded by his nobles and warriors. In order to save their lives, these brave men were compelled to appear in a garb and posture, against which every kind and generous feeling revolts. Their persons were stript to their shirts and drawers; their heads and feet were bare; their hair hung matted and dishevelled on their shoulders; and thus, with clasped hands and bended knee, they implored the clemency of the king. Upon this, Edward, of his royal mercy, exempted them from the ignominy of being chained; but Olifant was sent to the Tower, and the rest were imprisoned in different castles throughout England.<sup>1</sup> The garrison was found to consist of no more than a hundred and forty soldiers; an incredibly small number, if we consider that for three months they had resisted the efforts of the army of England, led by the king in person.<sup>2</sup>

Having thus secured his conquest, by the reduction of the last castle which had resisted his authority; and having appointed English castellains to the other strengths in Scotland, Edward left the temporary government of that country to John de Segrave, and, accompanied by the chief of the Scottish nobility, proceeded by Selkirk and Jedburgh to Yetholm, upon the borders, and from thence to Lincoln, where he kept his Christmas with great solemnity and rejoicing.<sup>3</sup>

The only man in Scotland who had steadily refused

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, new edition, p. 966.

<sup>2</sup> Hemingford, vol. i. p. 206. See Notes and Illustrations, letter S.

<sup>3</sup> Math. West, p. 450. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 206.

submission was Wallace ; and the king, with that inveterate enmity and unshaken perseverance which marked his conduct to his enemies, now used every possible means to hunt him down, and become master of his person. He had already set a large sum upon his head, he gave strict orders to his captains and governors in Scotland to be constantly on the alert, and he now carefully sought out those Scotsmen who were enemies to Wallace, and bribed them to discover and betray him.<sup>1</sup> For this purpose he commanded Sir John de Mowbray, a Scottish knight then at his court, and who seems at this time suddenly to have risen into great trust and favour with Edward, to carry with him into Scotland Ralph de Haliburton, one of the prisoners lately taken at Stirling. Haliburton was ordered to co-operate with the other Scotsmen who were then engaged in the attempt to seize Wallace, and Mowbray was to watch how this base person conducted himself.<sup>2</sup> What were the particular measures adopted by Haliburton, or with whom he co-operated, it is now impossible to determine ; but it is certain that, soon after this, Wallace was betrayed and taken by Sir John Menteith, a Scottish baron of high rank. Perhaps we are to trace this infamous transaction to a family feud. At the battle of Falkirk, Wallace, who, on account of his bold and overbearing conduct, had never been popular with the

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> Ryley, Placita, p. 279. Leland, Coll. vol. i. p. 541, shows that Wallace employed in his service a knight named Henry Haliburton.



Scottish nobility, opposed the pretensions of Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, when this baron contended for the chief command. In that disastrous defeat, Sir John Stewart, with the flower of his followers, was surrounded and slain, and it is said that Sir John Menteith, his uncle, never forgave Wallace for making good his own retreat, without attempting a rescue.<sup>1</sup> By whatever motive he was actuated, Menteith succeeded in discovering his retreat, through the treacherous information of a servant who waited on him,<sup>2</sup> and having invaded the house by night, he seized him in bed, and instantly delivered him to Edward.

His fate, as was to be expected, was soon decided ; but the circumstances of refined cruelty and torment which attended his execution, reflect an indelible stain upon the character of Edward, and, were they not stated by the English historians themselves, could scarcely be believed. Having been carried to London, he was brought with great pomp to Westminster Hall, and there arraigned of treason. A crown of laurel was in mockery placed on his head, because Wallace had been heard to boast that he deserved to wear a crown in that hall. Sir Peter Mallorie, the king's justice, then impeached him as a traitor to the King of England,<sup>3</sup> as having burnt the villages and abbeys, stormed the castles, and miserably slain and

<sup>1</sup> Fordun a Hearne, p. 981. Duncan Stewart, Hist. of Royal Family of Scotland, pp. 149—209.

<sup>2</sup> Langtoft, Chron. p. 329.

<sup>3</sup> Stow, Chron. p. 209.

tortured the liege subjects of his master the king. Wallace indignantly and truly repelled the charge of treason, as he never had sworn fealty to Edward ; but to the other articles of accusation he pleaded no defence ; they were notorious, and he was condemned to death. The sentence was executed on the twenty-third of August. Discrowned and chained, he was now dragged at the tails of horses through the streets, to the foot of a high gallows, placed at the elms in Smithfield.<sup>1</sup> After being hanged, but not to death, he was cut down yet breathing, his bowels taken out, and burnt before his face.<sup>2</sup> His head was then struck off, and his body divided into four quarters. His head was placed on a pole on London Bridge, his right arm above the bridge at Newcastle, his left arm was sent to Berwick, his right foot and limb to Perth, and his left quarter to Aberdeen.<sup>3</sup> “ These,” says an old English historian, “ were the trophies of their favourite hero, which the Scots had now to contemplate, instead of his banners and gonfanons, which they had once proudly followed.” But he might have added, that they were trophies far more glorious than the richest banner that had ever been borne before him ; and if Wallace already had been, for his daring and romantic character, the idol of the people, if they had long regarded him as the only man who had asserted, throughout every change of circumstances, the inde-

<sup>1</sup> Winton, vol. ii. p. 502.

<sup>2</sup> Math. Westminster, p. 451.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Chronicle of Lanercost, in Jamieson's Prelim. Remarks on Wallace, p. 12. Notes and Illustrations, letter T.

pendence of his country, now that the mutilated limbs of this martyr to liberty were brought amongst them, it may well be conceived how deep and inextinguishable were their feelings of pity and revenge. Tyranny is proverbially short-sighted, and Edward, assuredly, could have adopted no more certain way of canonizing the memory of his enemy, and increasing the unforgiving animosity of a free people. The course of events which soon followed this cruel sentence, demonstrates the truth of these remarks. For fifteen years had Edward been employed in the reduction of Scotland,—Wallace was put to death,—the rest of the nobility had sworn fealty,—the fortresses of the land were in the hands of English governors, who acted under an English Guardian,—a parliament was held at London, where the Scottish nation was represented by ten commissioners, and these persons, in concert with twenty English commissioners, created an entirely new machine of government for Scotland. Edward, indeed, affected to disclaim all violent or capricious innovations; and it was pretended, that the new regulations which were introduced, were dictated by the advice of the Scottish nobles, and with a respect to the ancient laws of the land; but he took especial care that all that really marked an independent kingdom should be destroyed, and that, whilst the name of authority was given to the Scottish commissioners who were to sit in Parliament, the reality of power belonged solely to himself. Scotland, therefore, might be said to be entirely reduced, and Edward flattered himself that he was now in quiet to

enjoy that sovereignty which had been purchased by a war of fifteen years, and at an incredible expense of blood and treasure. In less than six months from the execution of Wallace,<sup>1</sup> this new system of government was entirely overthrown, and Scotland was once more free.

<sup>1</sup> Wallace was executed, 23d August, 1305. The new regulations for the government of Scotland were introduced on the 15th October, 1305. Bruce was crowned, 25th March, 1306. Lord Hailes represents the capture of Wallace by Sir John Menteith as only a *popular tradition*, leaving it to be inferred by his reader that there is no historical authority for the fact. See Notes and Illustrations, letter U, for an examination of the historian's opinion upon this subject.