brother, Sir Edward Bruce, at the head of a powerful army, broke in upon Galloway, and commanded the inhabitants to rise and join his banner. Where this order was disobeyed, the lands were given up to military execution; and Bruce, who had not forgotten the defeat and death of his two brothers by the men of this wild district, laid waste the country with fire and sword, and permitted every species of plunder,[1] in a spirit of cruel retaliation, but almost justifiable, according to the sentiments of that age.

Governed by caprice, and perpetually changing his councils, the King of England removed Pembroke from the guardianship of Scotland, and in his place appointed John de Bretagne, Earl of Richmond, and nephew of the late king.[2] Full power was intrusted to him over all ranks of persons; the sheriffs of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, were commanded to assemble the whole military force of their respective counties, under the orders of the guardian; the Earl of Dunbar, Robert de Keith, Alexander de Abernethy, and several other powerful barons, as well English as Scottish, were enjoined to march along with the English army, and to rescue Galloway from the ravages of Bruce; while orders were issued to the sheriffs of London, for the transporting to Berwick the provisions and military stores requisite for the maintenance of the troops, together with iron, hempen cord, cross-bows, arrows,

[1] Chron. Lanercost, as quoted by Tyrrel, p. 224. Rymer, Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 14.

[2] Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 10.

and certain large cross-bows called balistæ de turno, employed in the attack and defence of fortified places.[1]

At the head of this army, the Earl of Richmond attacked Bruce, and compelled him to retreat to the north of Scotland.[2] His brother, Edward Bruce, the Earl of Lennox, Sir Gilbert de la Haye, and Sir Robert Boyd, accompanied the king, but Sir James Douglas remained in the south, for the purpose of reducing the forest of Selkirk, and Jedburgh.[3] On reaching the Mounth, the name anciently given to that part of the Grampian chain which extends from the borders of the district called the Merns to Loch Rannach, Bruce was joined by Sir Alexander, along with his brother Simon Fraser, with all their power; and from them he learnt, that Comyn, the Earl of Buchan, with his own nephew, Sir David de Brechin, and Sir John Mowbray, were assembling their vassals, and had determined to attack him. This news was the more unwelcome, as a grievous distemper began at this time to prey upon the king, depriving him of his strength and appetite, and for a time lea-

[1] Fœdera, vol. iii. pp. 14, 16.

[2] The MS. Chronicle of Lanercost asserts, that John of Bretagne, with an army, attacked King Robert about Martinmas, put his forces to flight, and compelled him to retreat to the bogs and mountains. No other English historian, however, records this defeat, and neither Barbour nor Fordun say a word of the matter. Ker plausibly conjectures, that Robert only retreated before an army greatly superior to his own; and Barbour represents the king's expedition into the north, not as the consequence of any defeat, but as the result of a plan for the reduction of the northern parts of Scotland.

[3] Barbour, p. 162.

ving little hopes of his recovery. As the soldiers of Bruce were greatly dispirited at the sickness of the king, Edward, his brother, deemed it prudent to avoid a battle, and intrenched himself in a strong position near Slaines, on the north coast of Aberdeenshire.

After some slight skirmishes between the archers of both armies, which ended in nothing decisive, provisions began to fail, and as the troops of Buchan daily increased, the Scots retired in good order to Strabogy, carrying their king, who was still too weak to mount his horse, in a litter.[1] From this last station, as Bruce began slowly to recover his strength, the Scots returned to Inverury, while the Earl of Buchan, with a body of about a thousand men, advanced to Old Meldrum, and Sir David de Brechin pushed on with a small party, and suddenly attacked and put to flight some of Robert's soldiers, carelessly cantoned in the outskirts of the town.[2] Bruce took this as a military affront, and instantly rising from his litter, called for his horse and arms. His friends remonstrated, but the king mounted on horseback, and although so weak as to be supported by two men on each side, he led on his soldiers in person, and instantly attacking the Earl of Buchan with great fury,[3] entirely routed and dispersed his army, pursuing them as far as Fivy, on the borders of Buchan. Brechin fled to Angus, and

[1] Barbour, pp. 170, 171.

[2] Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1004. Barbour, p. 172. It is said that the town of Inverury received its charter as a royal burgh from the king after this victory. Stat. Acc. vol. vii. p. 331.

[3] Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. ut supra. Barbour, p. 174.

shut himself up in his own castle of Brechin, which was soon after besieged and taken by the Earl of Athol, whose father had been executed in England. Into Buchan, the territory of Comyn, his mortal enemy, he now marched, and took ample revenge for all the injuries he had sustained, wasting it with fire, and delivering it over to unbridled military execution. Barbour informs us, that for fifty years after, men spoke with terror of the *harrying of Buchan*; and it is singular that, at this day, the oaks which are turned up in the mosses, bear upon their trunks the blackened marks of being scathed with fire.[1]

The army of the king now rapidly increased, as his character for success and military talent became daily more conspicuous. His nephew, Sir David de Brechin, having been pardoned and admitted to favour, joined him about this time with his whole force, and pursuing his advantage, he laid siege to the castle of Aberdeen.[2] Edward was now at Windsor, and, alarmed at the progress of Bruce, he dispatched an expedition to raise the siege of Aberdeen, and commanded the different seaports to fit out a fleet, which should co-operate with his land-forces. But these preparations were too late, for the citizens of Aberdeen, who had early distinguished themselves in the war of liberty, and were warmly attached to the cause of Bruce, encouraged by the presence of his army, and assisted

[1] Statistical Account, vol. xi. p. 420.

[2] The battle of Inverury was fought on the 22d May, 1308, and Edward's letter for the relief of Aberdeen is dated the 10th July, 1308. Rotuli Scotiæ, 1—3. Ed. II. m. 14, p. 55.

by some of his most faithful partisans, assaulted and carried the castle by storm, expelled the English, and levelled the fortifications with the ground.

From Aberdeen the king held his victorious progress into Angus; and here new success awaited him, in the capture of the castle of Forfar, at this time strongly garrisoned by the English. It was taken by escalade during the night, by a soldier named Philip the Forester of Platane, who put all the English to the sword; and the king, according to his usual policy, instantly commanded the fortifications to be destroyed.[1] The vicinity of Bruce's army now threatened the important station of Perth, and the English king in undissembled alarm wrote to the citizens, extolling their steady attachment to his interest, and commanding them to fortify their town against his enemies.[2] Ever varying in his councils, Edward soon after this dismissed the Earl of Richmond from his office of Governor of Scotland, and appointed in his place, as joint-guardians, Robert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, William de Ross of Hamlake, and Henry de Beaumont.[3] John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, and various other Scottish barons, still attached to the

[1] Barbour, p. 175. This is the same as the forest of Plater. It was not far from Finhaven, and the office of forester proves Philip to have been a man of some consequence, as, by a charter of Robert II., we find a grant of the lands of Fothnevyn (Finhaven) to Alexander de Lindesay, with the office of forester of the forest of Plater, which David de Annand resigned. Alexander de Lindesay was a baron of a noble family. Jamieson's Notes to the Bruce, p. 446.

[2] Rotuli Scotiæ, 1—3. Edward II. m. 14, p. 56.

[3] Ibid. 2. Edward II. m. 14, p. 56.

English interest, were commanded to retain the charge of the various districts already intrusted to their care, and in order to encourage them in their attachment, the king intimated his intention of leading an army into Scotland in the month of August, and directed his chamberlain Cotesbache to lay in provisions for the troops; but the intended expedition never proceeded farther.[1] The orders to Cotesbache, which are contained in the Fœdera, acquaint us with an early source of Scottish wealth. Three thousand salted salmon were to be furnished to the army.

Satisfied for the present with his northern successes, Bruce dispatched his brother Edward into Galloway. This district continued obstinately to resist his authority, and was at present occupied by the English troops under the command of Sir Ingram de Umfraville, a Scottish baron, who, in 1305, had embraced the English interest,[2] and Sir John de St John. Umfraville and St John, assisted by Donegal, or Dougal,[3]

[1] Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 95.

[2] Rotuli Scotiæ, 2. Ed. II. m. 14, p. 56.

[3] It seems probable that Donegal, Dongall, Donald, and Dougal, are all the same name. These Macdowalls were probably descended from the Lords of the Isles, who were Lords of Galloway; and the bitter hatred which they seem to have entertained against Bruce, originated in all probability from the circumstance, that David, the youngest son of Malcolm III., when he possessed Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the whole of Scotland south of the Forth and the Clyde, except the earldom of Dunbar, bestowed the heiress of Ananderdale, in Galloway, upon Robert de Brus, a Norman baron, and the ancestor of the royal family. The kingdom of Galloway contained Ananderdale and Carric, and hence these proud Galwegian princes considered the Bruces

probably the same powerful chieftain, who, in a former year, had defeated Bruce's brothers, collected a force of twelve hundred men, and encountered Edward Bruce at the water of Crie. The English and the Galwegians, however, were unable to withstand the furious attack of the Scots. Their ranks were immediately thrown into confusion, two hundred were left dead on the field, the rest dispersed amongst the mountains, while Umfraville, with his companion St John, with difficulty escaped to Butel, a castle on the sea-coast of Galloway.[1] After this successful commencement, Edward Bruce overran the country, compelled the inhabitants to swear allegiance to his brother, levied heavy contributions, and had already taken and destroyed many of the castles of that wild district, when he received intelligence that John de St John was again in Galloway, at the head of fifteen hundred men. Upon his near approach, Bruce discovered, by his scouts, that it was the design of the English to make a forced march, and attack him by surprise. The courage of this brave soldier, bordering on temerity, now impelled him to an attempt, which more cool and politic valour would have pronounced desperate. He stationed his foot soldiers in a strait valley, strongly fortified by nature,[2] and, early in the

from the first as strangers and intruders, who had wrested from them part of their hereditary dominions. See Macpherson's Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History, sub voce Galloway.

[1] Ker's Bruce, vol. i. p. 345.

[2] "His small folk gait he ilk deil,
Withdraw thaim *till a strait tharby,*
And he raid furth with his fifty."—BARBOUR, p. 183.

morning, under the cover of a thick mist, with fifty knights and gentlemen, well armed and mounted, he made a retrograde movement, and gained the rear of the English, without being perceived by them. Following their line of march about a bow-shot off, his intention seems to have been, to have allowed St John to attack his infantry, and then to have charged them in the rear; but before this could be effected, the mist suddenly cleared away, and Bruce's little party were discovered when retreat was impossible. In this desperate situation, Edward hesitated not to charge the English, which he did with so much fury, that their ranks were shaken, and many of their cavalry unhorsed. Before they could recover so far as to discern the insignificant numbers of their enemy, he made a second, and soon after a third charge, so sharp and well sustained, that the confusion became general and irretrievable; and believing, probably, that the Scottish troop was only the advance of a greater force, the English broke away in a panic, and were entirely routed. Sir Alan de Cathcart, one of Edward Bruce's companions in this spirited enterprise, recounted the particulars to Barbour, the affectionate biographer of Bruce, who characterises it in simple but energetic language as a right fair point of chivalry.[1] This,

" Withdraw tham till a strait tharby." Lord Hailes, and Ker, p. 346, from this expression, conclude that Bruce made his infantry cast up intrenchments. But for this there is no authority. He ordered his men merely to withdraw into a strait, or, in other words, made them take up a position in narrow ground.

[1] Barbour, p. 185.

however, was not the only triumph. Donald of the Isles collected a large force of his Galwegian infantry, and, assisted by Sir Roland of Galloway,[1] and other fierce chiefs of that district, made head against the royalists. Edward Bruce, flushed with his recent victories, encountered them on the banks of the Dee, dispersed their army, with the slaughter of Roland, and many of the chiefs, and in the pursuit took prisoner the Prince of the Isles.[2] This defeat, which happened on the 29th of June 1308, led to the entire expulsion of the English. It is said, that in a single year, this ardent and indefatigable captain besieged and took thirteen castles and inferior strengths in Galloway, and completely reduced the country under the dominion of the king.[3]

During these repeated successes of his brother, Bruce received intelligence, that his indefatigable partisan, Sir James Douglas, having cut off the garrison of Douglas Castle, which he had decoyed into an ambuscade, had slain the governor, Sir John de Webeton, compelled the castle to surrender, and entirely destroyed the fortifications.[4] Douglas soon

[1] "Quendam militem nomine Rolandum." In Rymer, vol. i. new edition, part ii. p. 772, we find mention made of Rolandus Galwalensis Dominus; and in Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. ii. p. 1057, Roland Macdowall, in 1190, is styled "Princeps Gallovidiæ." This Roland may have been the grandson of Roland, Prince of Galloway.

[2] Fordun a Hearne, p. 1005.

[3] Barbour, p. 186.

[4] Barbour, pp. 163, 164. I conjecture that the baron, whom Barbour calls Sir John of Webeton, was Johannes de Wanton, one

after reduced to obedience the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh, and, during his warfare in those parts, had the good fortune to surprise and take prisoners, Thomas Randolph, the king's nephew, and Alexander Stewart of Bonkill, both of whom were still attached to the English interest.[1] Douglas, to whom Stewart was nearly related, treated his noble prisoners with great kindness, and soon after conducted Randolph to the king. "Nephew," said Bruce, "you have for a while forgotten your allegiance, but now you must be reconciled."—"I have been guilty of nothing whereof I need be ashamed," answered Randolph. "You arraign my conduct; it is yourself who ought to be arraigned. Since you have chosen to defy the King of England, why is it that you debate not the matter like a true knight in a pitched field?"—"That," said Bruce, with great calmness, "may come hereafter, and it may be ere long. Meantime, since thou art so rude of speech, it is fitting thy proud words meet their due punishment, till thou knowest better my right and thine own duty." Having thus spoken, he ordered Randolph into close confinement.[2] And the lesson had its effect, for, after a short imprisonment, the young baron joined the party of the king, who created him Earl of Moray. Nor had he any reason to repent of his forgiveness or his generosity. Randolph soon displayed very high talents for war;

of Edward's barons, mentioned in Rymer, vol. i. p. 630, new edition.

[1] Barbour, pp. 187, 188.

[2] Ibid. p. 188.

he became one of the most illustrious of Bruce's co-adjutors in the liberation of his country, and ever after served his royal master with unshaken fidelity.

The king had not forgotten the attack made upon him by the Lord of Lorn, soon after the defeat at Methven, and he was now able to requite that fierce chief for the extremities to which he had then reduced him. Accordingly, after the junction of Douglas with his veteran soldiers, he invaded the territory of Lorn, and arrived at a narrow and dangerous pass, which runs along the bottom of Cruachin Ben, a high and rugged mountain, between Loch Awe and Loch Etive. The common people of Scotland were now, without much exception, on the side of Bruce; and although, in many districts, when kept down by their lords, they dared not join him openly, yet in conveying intelligence of the motions and intentions of his enemies, they were of essential service to the cause. In this manner he seems to have been informed, that an ambuscade had been laid for him, by the men of Lorn, in the pass of Cruachin Ben, through which he intended to march. The Lord of Lorn himself remained with his galleys, in Loch Etive, and waited the result. The nature of the ground was highly favourable for this design of Lorn; but it was entirely defeated by the dispositions of Bruce. Having divided his army into two parts, he ordered Douglas, along with one division, consisting entirely of archers, who were lightly armed, to make a circuit round the mountain, and to take possession of the rugged high ground above the Highlanders. Along with Douglas,

were Sir Andrew Gray, Sir Alexander Fraser, and Sir William Wiseman. This manœuvre was executed with complete success; and Bruce, having entered the pass, was, in its narrow gorge, immediately attacked by the men of Lorn, who, with loud shouts, hurled down stones upon him, and after discharging their missiles, rushed on to a nearer attack. But the king, whose soldiers were light-armed, and prepared for what occurred, met his enemies more than halfway; and, not content with receiving their charge, assaulted them with great fury. Meanwhile Douglas had gained the high ground, and letting fly a shower of arrows, attacked the Highlanders in the rear, and threw them into complete disorder. After a stout resistance, the men of Lorn were defeated with great slaughter; and their chief, the Lord of Lorn, had the mortification, from his galleys, to be an eye-witness of the utter rout of his army.[1]

He immediately fled to his castle of Dunstaffnage; and Bruce, after having ravaged the territory of Lorn, and delivered it to indiscriminate plunder, laid close siege to this palace of the Island Prince, which was strongly situated upon the sea-coast. In a short time the Lord of Lorn surrendered his castle, and swore homage to the king; but his son, John of Lorn, fled to his ships, and continued in the service of England.[2]

[1] Barbour, pp. 191, 192. 23d August, 1308.

[2] Ibid. p. 192. Fordun a Hearne, p. 1005. Fordun says, that Alexander of Argyle fled to England, where he soon after died, and Lord Hailes follows his narrative; but it is contradicted by

Whilst every thing went thus successfully with Bruce in the field, he derived great advantage from the fluctuating and capricious line of policy which was pursued by his opponent. In less than a year Edward appointed six different governors in Scotland;[1] and to none of these persons, however high their talents, was there afforded sufficient time to organize, or carry into effect, any regular plan of military operations. About this time Bruce laid siege to Rutherglen, in Clydesdale—a castle considered of such importance by Edward, that he dispatched Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, with other noble barons and men-at-arms, to raise the siege; but either the expedition never departed, or it was too late in its arrival; for Rutherglen, in the beginning of the next year, appears to have been one of the castles in the hands of the Scots.[2] Indeed, Edward's measures against Bruce seem to have mostly evaporated in orders and preparations, whilst he himself, occupied with the pleasures of the court, and engrossed by his infatuated fondness for his favourite Pierce Gaveston, dreamt little of taking the field. Alarmed at last by the near approach of Bruce and his army to the English border, he consented to accept the mediation of

Barbour, who is an earlier authority than Fordun. John of Argyle was with his men and his ships in the service of Edward the Second on 4th October, 1308. Rotuli Scotiæ, m. 13, p. 58.

[1] Rymer, Fœdera, vol. iii. pp. 94, 160, 161. This last deed ought to have been dated 16th August, 1308, instead of 1309.

[2] Rotuli Scotiæ, m. 12, p. 60. See Notes and Illustrations, letter Z.

Philip, King of France, who, with the consent of Edward, dispatched Oliver de Roches to treat with Bruce, and Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews, upon measures preparatory to a reconciliation. This able and intriguing prelate, on renewing his homage to the English king, had been liberated from his imprisonment, and permitted to return to Scotland; but his fellow prisoner, Wisheart, the Bishop of Glasgow, considered too dangerous a person, and too devoted to his country, was still kept in close confinement. Des Roches' negotiation was soon followed by the arrival of the king's brother, Lewis, Count of Evreux, and Guy, Bishop of Soissons, as ambassadors, earnestly persuading to peace; commissioners from both countries were in consequence appointed, and a truce was concluded, which, if we may believe Edward, was ill observed by the Scots.[1] A trifling discovery of an intercepted letter clearly showed that the King of France secretly favoured the Scottish king. The Sieur de Varrennes, Philip's ambassador at the English court, openly sent a letter to Bruce under the title of the Earl of Carric, but he intrusted to the same bearer secret dispatches, which were addressed to the King of Scots. Edward dissembled his indignation, and weakly contented himself with a complaint against the duplicity of the ambassador.[2]

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 147, 30th July, 1309. Tyrrel asserts, vol. iii. p. 235, that the Scots broke the truce at the instigation of the King of France, but does not give his authority.

[2] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 150. The King of France himself, in writing to Edward, speaks of "the King of Scots and his subjects." Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 215.

Nearly a whole year after this appears to have been spent in a vacillating and contradictory policy with regard to Scotland, which was calculated to give every advantage to so able a monarch as Bruce. Orders for the muster of his army, which were disobeyed by some of his most powerful barons—commissions to his generals to proceed against his enemies, which were countermanded, or never acted upon—promises to take the field in person, which were broken almost as soon as made—directions, at one time, to his lieutenant in Scotland, to prosecute the war with the greatest vigour, and these in a few days succeeded by a command to conclude, and even, if required, to purchase a truce,[1]—such is the picture of the imbecility of the English king, as presented by the public records of the time. To this every thing in Scotland offered a most striking contrast. Towards the end of the year 1309, on the 24th February, the clergy of Scotland held a general council at Dundee, and declared, that Robert, Lord of Annandale, the competitor, ought, by the ancient laws and customs of that country, to have been preferred to Baliol in the competition for the crown; and that, for this reason, they unanimously recognised Robert Bruce, then reigning, as their lawful sovereign; and they engaged to defend his right, and the liberties and independence of Scotland, against all opponents, and declared all who should contravene the same to be guilty of treason against the king, and to be held as traitors against

[1] Hemingford, vol. i. p. 246. Rotuli Scotiæ, 3. Edw. II. m. 8, dorso, p. 71.

the nation.[1] It seems probable that these resolutions of the clergy were connected with the deliberations of a parliament which assembled at the same time, and in which an instrument of similar import was drawn up and signed by the two remaining estates, although no record of such proceedings remains. These solemn transactions gave strength to the title of Bruce, and increased a popularity which was already very great. The spirit of the king had infused itself into the nobility, and pervaded the lowest ranks of the people—that feeling of superiority, which a great military commander invariably communicates to his soldiers, evinced itself in constant and destructive aggressions upon the English marches; and upon the recall of the Earl of Hertford and Lord Robert Clifford from the interior of Scotland, these proud nobles were necessitated to advance a sum of money before their enemies would consent to a truce.[2] On the resumption of hostilities, Bruce advanced upon Perth, and threatened it with a siege. It had been strongly fortified at a great expense by the English, and was intrusted to John Fitz-Marmaduke and a powerful garrison. Edward was at last roused into personal activity. He ordered a fleet to sail to the Tay—he issued writs for levies of troops for its instant relief[3]—and he commanded his whole military

[1] Instrument in the General Register House, Edinburgh.

[2] Hemingford, ut supra. Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. 3. Edw. II. m. 4, p. 80. The truce was to last till Christmas, and was afterwards prolonged till Midsummer. Tyrrel, p. 235.

[3] Rotuli Scotiæ, 3. Edw. II. m. 2, 15th June, 1310.

vassals to rendezvous at Berwick on the 8th of September, to proceed immediately against his enemies. Disgusted with the presence of his favourite Gaveston, many of the great barons refused to repair in person to the royal standard; yet a powerful army assembled, and the Earls of Gloucester and Warrene, Lord Henry Percy, Lord James Clifford, and many other nobles and barons, were in the field.[1] With this great force, Edward, in the end of autumn, invaded Scotland; and Bruce, profiting by the lessons of former years, and recollecting the disastrous defeats of Falkirk and Dunbar, avoided a battle. It happened that Scotland was this year visited by a famine unprecedentedly severe, and the king, after driving away the herds and flocks into the narrow straits and valleys, retired, on the approach of the English, to the woods, and waited, with the patient experience of a veteran, for the distress which the scarcity of forage and provisions must necessarily occasion. The English king marched on from Roxburgh, through the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh, to Biggar, looking in vain for an enemy to conquer. From this he penetrated to Renfrew,[2] and, with a weak and injudicious vengeance, burnt and laid waste the country, so that the heavy-armed cavalry, which formed the strength of his army, soon began to be in grievous distress; and, without a single occurrence of moment, he was compelled

[1] Hemingford, vol. i. p. 247.

[2] Ker is in an error in asserting that there is no evidence of Edward's having penetrated to Renfrew. The proof is in the Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 103.

to order a retreat, and return to Berwick, where he spent the winter. Upon the retreat of the English, Bruce and his soldiers, leaving their fastnesses, broke down upon Lothian ;[1] and Edward, hearing of the reappearance of his enemies, with a great part of his forces again entered Scotland ; but this second expedition concluded in the same unsatisfactory manner ; and a third army, equally formidable in its numbers and equipment, which was intrusted to his favourite, the Earl of Cornwall, penetrated across the Frith of Forth, advanced to Perth, and for some time anxiously endeavoured to find out an enemy ;[2] but the Scots pursued their usual policy, and Gaveston returned with the barren glory of having marched over a country where there was no one to oppose him.[3] A fourth expedition, conducted by the Earls of Gloucester and Surrey, penetrated into Scotland by a different route, marched into the forest of Selkirk, and again reduced that province under a shortlived obedience to England.[4]

On the return of Edward to London, Robert collected an army, and gratified his soldiers, who had so long smarted under the intolerable oppression of England, by an invasion of that country on the side of the Solway, in which he burnt and plundered the

[1] Chron. Lanercost, quoted in Tyrrel, p. 239.

[2] Ibid. ut supra.

[3] Hemingford, vol. i. p. 248.

[4] Chron. de Lanercost, apud Tyrrel, p. 239. Lord Hailes, vol. ii. 4to, p. 31, has omitted these three last-mentioned expeditions.

district round Gillisland, ravaged Tynedale, and, after eight days' havoc, returned with a great booty into Scotland. Edward, in a letter to the Pope, complained in bitter terms of the merciless spirit evinced by the Scottish army during this invasion;[1] but we must recollect that this cruel species of warfare was characteristic of the age; and in Robert, whose personal injuries were so deep and grievous, who had seen the captivity of his queen and only child, and the death and torture of his dearest relatives and friends, we are not to be surprised, if, in those dark days, revenge became a pleasure, and retaliation a duty. Not satisfied with this, and aware that the English king was exclusively engaged in contentions with his barons, Bruce and his army, in the beginning of September, again entered England by the district of Redesdale, carried fire and sword through that country as far as Corbridge, then broke with the fierceness and rapacity of foxes[2] into Tynedale, ravaged the Bishopric of Durham, and, after levying contributions for fifteen days, and enriching themselves with spoils and captives, marched back without opposition into Scotland.[3] The miseries suffered from these invasions, and the defenceless state of the frontier, induced the people of Northumberland and the lord marchers to pur-

[1] Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 284. The expedition, according to the Chronicle of Lanercost, took place in the middle of August. Chronicon Lanercost. in Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 248.

[2] It is Edward's own comparison in his epistle to the Pope. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 283. "Ad instar vulpium."

[3] Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 283. Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1006.

chase a short truce from the Scottish king; a circumstance strongly indicative of the increasing imbecility of the English government.[1]

On his return, Bruce determined to besiege Perth, and sat down before it; but, owing to the strength of the fortifications, it defied for six weeks all the efforts of his army. It had been intrusted to the command of William Olifant, an Anglicised Scot, to whom Edward, in alarm for so important a post, had promised to send speedy succour;[2] but a stratagem of the king's, excellently planned, and daringly executed, gave Perth into the hands of the Scots before such assistance could arrive. The care of Edward the First had made Perth a place of great strength. It was fortified by a strong and high wall, defended at intervals by stone towers, and surrounded by a broad, deep moat, full of water. Bruce, having carefully observed the place where the fosse was shallowest, provided scaling ladders, struck his tents, and raised the siege. He then marched to a considerable distance, and having lulled the garrison into security by an absence of eight days, he suddenly returned during the night, and reached the walls undiscovered by the enemy. The king in person led his soldiers across the moat, bearing a ladder in his hand, and armed at all points. The water reached his throat, but he felt his way with his spear, waded through in safety, and was the second person who fixed his ladder and mounted the wall. A little incident, related

[1] Chron. Lanercost. Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 248.

[2] Rotuli Scotiæ, 5. Edward II. m. 4, p. 105. 9th Oct. 1311.

by Barbour, evinces the spirit which the example communicated to his companions, and the comparative poverty of the Scottish towns in those times. A French knight was present in the Scottish army, and observing the intrepidity with which Bruce led his soldiers, he exclaimed, "What shall we say of our French lords, who live at ease, in the midst of feasting, wassail, and jollity, when so brave a knight is here putting his life in hazard to win a miserable hamlet!"[1] So saying, he threw himself into the water with the gay valour of his nation, and having passed the ditch, scaled the walls along with the king and his soldiers. So complete was the surprise, that the town was almost instantly taken. Every Scotsman who had joined the English interest was put to the sword, but the English garrison were all spared,[2] and the king contented himself with the plunder of the town, and the total demolition of its fortifications.

In the midst of these continued and brilliant successes of Bruce, the measures of the English king offered a striking contrast to the energetic administration of his father. They were entirely on the defensive. He gave orders, indeed, for the assembling of an army, and made promises and preparations for an invasion of Scotland. But the orders were recalled, and Edward, engrossed with the disputes with his

[1] Barbour, vol. i. p. 177.

[2] Chron. Lanercost, quoted in Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 257. Such is the account in the above MS. Chronicle; but Fordun a Hearne, p. 1006, affirms, that both Scots and English were put to the sword. The town was taken on the 8th January, 1311-12.

barons, took no decided part against the enemy. He wrote, however, to the different English governors of the few remaining castles in Scotland, who had represented in piteous terms their incapacity of standing out against the attacks of the Scots, without a reinforcement of men, money, and provisions ;[1] he directed flattering letters to John of Argyle, the island prince, praising him for the annoyance which his fleet had occasioned to Bruce, and exhorting him to continue his services during the winter ; and he entreated the Pope to retain Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, as a false traitor, and an enemy to his liege lord of England, in an honourable imprisonment at Rome,[2] fearful of the influence in favour of Bruce, which the return of this able prelate to Scotland might occasion. These feeble efforts were followed up by a pusillanimous attempt to conclude a truce ; but the King of Scotland, eager to pursue his career of success, refused to accede[3] to the proposal, and a third time invaded England, with a greater force and a more desolating fury than before. The towns of Hexham and Corbridge were burned down ; and his army, by a forced march, surprised the rich and opulent city of Durham during the night,[4] slew all who resisted him, and reduced a great part of it to ashes. The castle

[1] Rotuli Scotiæ, 5. Edward II. m. 4, dorso.

[2] Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 245.

[3] Lord Hailes, vol. ii. p. 36, in mentioning this truce, mistakes Everwick for Berwick, 26th January, 1311-12. Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 301.

[4] Hemingford, vol. i. p. 262. Chron. Lanercost, apud Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 257.

and the precincts of its noble abbey withstood the efforts of the Scots, but the rest of the city was entirely sacked; and so rich was the spoil, that the inhabitants of the Bishopric, dreading the repetition of such a visit, offered two thousand pounds to purchase a truce. The terms upon which Robert agreed to this, strongly evince the change which had taken place in the relative position of the two countries. It was stipulated by the Scots, that they should have free ingress and egress through the county of Durham, whenever they chose to invade England; and with such terror did this proviso affect the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, that the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, contributed each a sum of two thousand pounds, to be included in the same truce.[1] During this invasion, Bruce established his head-quarters at Chester, while Sir James Douglas, with his veteran soldiers, who were well practised in such expeditions, pushed on, and having sacked Hartlepool, and the country round it, returned with many burgesses and their wives, whom he had made prisoners, to the main army.[2] Thus enriched, and with a great store of prisoners and plunder, the king returned to Scotland, and on his road thither assaulted Carlisle; but he found the garrison on the alert, and a desperate conflict took

[1] Chron. Lanercost, apud Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 257.

[2] Hemingford, vol. i. p. 262. "Bruce was here only making a reprisal on his own English property. He had at Hartlepool, market and fair, assize of bread and victual, also a seaport where he takes keel-dues." Hutchison's History of Durham, pp. 234, 246.

place, in which the Scots were beat back with great loss; Douglas himself, and many of his men, being wounded.[1] This want of success did not prevent him from endeavouring to surprise Berwick by a forced march, and a night attack, which had nearly succeeded. The hooks of the rope ladders were already fixed on the wall, and the soldiers had begun silently to mount, when the barking of a dog alarmed the garrison, and the assailants were compelled to retire with loss.[2]

On his return to Scotland, King Robert was repaid for this partial discomfiture, by the recovery of many important castles. Dalswynton, in Galloway, the chief residence of his enemies the Comyns, and soon after the castles of Butel and of Dumfries, which last had been committed to the care of Henry de Beaumont, were taken by assault, and, according to the constant practice of Bruce, immediately razed, and rendered untenable by any military force.[3] Edward now trembled for his strong castle of Karlaverock, which had cost his father so long a siege; and he wrote with great anxiety to its constable, Eustace de Maxwell, exhorting him to adopt every means in his power for its defence. In the winter of the same

[1] Hemingford, vol. i. p. 262.

[2] Chron. Lanercost. apud Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 257. Lord Hailes, vol. ii. p. 36, and Ker, vol i. p. 404, have fallen into an error in describing Bruce as having only "threatened to besiege Berwick." Nor have either of these historians taken notice of his attempt upon Carlisle. Berwick was assaulted in December, 1312. M. Malmesbury, vita Ed. II. p. 145.

[3] Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1006.

year, this weak monarch was guilty of very mean conduct. The English garrison of Dundee had been so hard pressed by the Scots, that William de Montfichet, the warden, entered into a treaty to surrender the place, and give up a number of Scottish prisoners, within a stipulated time. Edward was then at York, and having heard of this agreement, he sent peremptory orders to the warden to violate the truce, and, under the penalty of death to himself, and confiscation of his estates, to preserve the town by this flagrant act. Montfichet was, moreover, enjoined to warn the Scots, that if any of the English prisoners, or hostages, in their hands, should be put to death, orders would be given for the immediate execution of all the Scottish prisoners in the hands of the English. In addition to this, the king addressed flattering letters to the several officers of the garrison of Dundee, and even to the mayor, bailiffs, and community, thanking them for their good offices, and exhorting them to persevere in the defence of the town. It is mortifying to find Sir David de Brechin, the king's nephew, who had signalized himself against his uncle in his days of distress, and, when afterwards made prisoner, had been pardoned and received into favour, again in the ranks of the enemy, and acting the part of an Anglicised Scot. He was now commanded to co-operate, as joint-warden with Montfichet, and earnest orders were dispatched for reinforcements of ships, provisions, and soldiers, to be sent from Newcastle and Berwick.[1] The heroic spirit of Bruce had

[1] Rotuli Scotiæ, 5. Ed. II. m. 2, p. 108. 2d March, 1311-12.

now transfused itself into the peasantry of the country; and the king began to reap the fruits of this popular spirit, in the capture of the peel, or castle, of Linlithgow, by a common countryman named Binny. Binny, who was known to the garrison, and had been employed in leading hay into the fort, communicated his design to a party of Scottish soldiers, whom he stationed in ambush near the gate. In his large wain he contrived to conceal eight armed men, covered with a load of hay, a servant drove the oxen, and Binny himself walked carelessly at his side. When the portcullis was raised, and the wain stood in the middle of the gateway, interposing a complete barrier to its descent, the driver cut the ropes which harnessed the oxen; upon which signal the armed men suddenly leapt from the cart, the soldiers in ambush rushed in, and so complete was the surprise, that with little resistance, the garrison were put to the sword, and the place taken. Bruce amply rewarded the brave countryman, and ordered the castle and its strong outworks, constructed by Edward I., to be immediately demolished.[1]

Edward had committed the charge of the castle of Roxburgh, a post of the utmost importance, to a Bur-

[1] Lord Hailes, following Barbour, p. 196, and Ker, following Lord Hailes, place the capture of Linlithgow in the year 1311. It appears, however, by the Rotuli Scotiæ, that the peel, or castle, of Linlithgow, was in possession of the English in February, 1312-13. Lord Hailes has communicated a romantic air to the enterprise, by omitting the ambuscade, and representing this important strength as having been taken by eight men.

gundian knight, Gillemin de Fiennes. On Fasten's Even, immediately before Lent, when the soldiers and officers of the garrison were indulging in wine and wassail, Sir James Douglas, with about sixty soldiers, favoured by a dark night, and concealed by black frocks thrown over their armour, cautiously approached the castle, creeping on their hands and feet through the trees which studded the park. They at last approached in this way so near, that one of the sentries observed them moving; and, deceived by the darkness, remarked to his fellow, that yonder oxen were late left out. Relieved by this fortunate mistake, Douglas and his men continued their painful progress, and at length succeeded in reaching the foot of the walls, and fixing their ladders of rope, without being discovered. They could not, however, mount so quietly, but that the nearest sentinel on the outer wall perceived the noise, and ran to meet them. All was like to be lost; but the first Scots soldier had now mounted on the parapet, and he instantly stabbed the sentry, and threw him over, before he had time to give the alarm. Another sentinel shared the fate of the first, and so intent were the garrison upon their midnight sports, that the terrible cry of "Douglas! Douglas!" shouted into the great hall, was the first thing which broke off the revels. In a moment the scene was changed from mirth and joy into a dreadful carnage; but resistance soon became hopeless, and Douglas gave quarter. De Fiennes retreated to the great tower, and gallantly defended himself, till a deep

wound in the face compelled him to surrender.[1] He retired to England, and died of his wounds soon after. Bruce immediately sent his brother Edward, who levelled the works, and reduced the rest of Teviotdale, with the exception of Jedburgh, which was still garrisoned by the English.

At this time, Randolph, Earl of Moray, had strictly beleaguered the castle of Edinburgh, which for twenty years had been in the possession of England, and was now commanded by Sir Piers de Luband, a Gascon knight, and a relative of Gaveston, the English king's favourite.[2] The garrison suspected the fidelity of this foreigner, and, having cast him into a dungeon, chose a constable of their own nation, who determined to defend the place to the last extremity. Already had the Scots spent six weeks in the siege, when an English soldier, of the name of Frank, presented himself to Randolph, and informed him, he could point out a place where he had himself often scaled the wall, and by which, he undertook to lead his men into the castle. This man, in his youth, when stationed in the castle, had become enamoured of a girl in the neighbourhood, and for the purpose of meeting her, had discovered a way down and up the steep and perilous cliff, with which custom had rendered him familiar; and Randolph, with thirty determined men, fully armed, placed themselves under his direction, and resolved to scale the castle at midnight.[3] The

[1] Barbour, pp. 202, 203.

[2] Monachi Malmesburiensis Vita Edwardi II. p. 144.

[3] Barbour, p. 205.

surprise, however, was not nearly so complete as at Roxburgh, and the affair far more severely contested. Besides, Randolph had only half the number of men with Douglas, the access was far more difficult, and the night was so dark, that the task of climbing the rock became extremely dangerous. They persevered nevertheless, and, on getting about half way up, found a jutting crag, on which they sat down to take breath. The wall was now immediately above them; and it happened that the check-watches, at this time, were making their round, and challenging the sentinels, whilst Randolph and his soldiers could hear all that passed. At this critical moment, whether from accident, or that one of the watch had really perceived something moving on the rock, a soldier cast a stone down towards the spot where Randolph sat, and called out,—"Away! I see you well." But the Scots lay still as death, and the watch moved on. Randolph and his men waited till they had gone to some distance. They then got up, and clambering to the bottom of the wall, at a place where it was only twelve feet in height, fixed the iron crochet of their rope-ladder on the crib-stone.[1] Frank was the first who mounted, then followed Sir Andrew Gray, next came Randolph himself, who was followed by the rest of the party. Before, however, all had got up, the sentinels, who had heard whispering and the clank of arms, attacked Randolph, and shouted "Treason!" They were soon, however, repulsed or slain; and the Scots,

[1] Barbour, pp. 207, 208.

by this time on the parapet, leapt up, and rushed on to the keep, or principal strength. The whole garrison was now in arms, and a very desperate conflict ensued, in which the English greatly outnumbered their assailants. But panic and surprise deprived them of their accustomed bravery; and, although the governor himself made a gallant defence, he was overpowered and slain, and his garrison immediately surrendered at discretion. Randolph liberated Sir Piers Luband from his dungeon, and the Gascon knight immediately entered the service of Bruce. The castle itself shared the fate of every fortress which fell into the hands of the Scottish king. It was instantly demolished, and rendered incapable of military occupation. If we consider the small number of men which he led, and the perilous circumstances in which the assault was made, we shall probably be inclined to agree with the faithful old historian, who characterises this exploit of Randolph as one of the hardiest and most chivalrous which distinguished a chivalrous age.[1]

These great successes so rapidly succeeding each other, and an invasion of Cumberland, which soon after followed, made the English king tremble for the safety of Berwick, and induced him to remove the unfortunate Countess of Buchan from her imprisonment there, to a place of more remote confinement.

[1] Barbour, pp. 207, 212. In Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 259, it is said, on the authority of Scala Chronicon, that the foreigners to whom the Scottish castles were committed, would hazard nothing in their defence,—an assertion utterly untrue, and arising out of national mortification.

The conferences for a cessation of hostilities were again renewed, at the request of the French king; and Edward, with weak ostentation, talked of granting a truce to his enemies in compliance with the wishes of Philip,[1] which, when it came to the point, his enemies would not grant to him. Soon after this the King of Scotland conducted, in person, a naval expedition against Man. To this island his bitter enemies, the Macdonalls, had retreated, after their expulsion from Galloway, their ancient principality; and the then governor of Man appears to have been that same fierce chief, who had surprised Thomas and Alexander Bruce at Loch Ryan. Bruce landed his troops, encountered and routed the governor, stormed the castle of Russin, and completely subdued the island.[2] He then dispatched some galleys to levy contributions in Ulster, and returned to Scotland, where he found that his gallant and impetuous brother, Sir Edward Bruce, had made himself master of the town and castle of Dundee, for the preservation of which so many exertions had been made in a former year. After this success, Sir Edward laid siege to the castle of Stirling, nearly the last fortress of importance which now stood between Scotland and freedom. Its governor, Philip de Mowbray, after a long and successful defence, began to dread the failure

[1] Rymer, Fœd. vol. iii. p. 411.

[2] Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1007. 11th June, 1313. In the Chron. of Man he is called Dingaway Dowill. In the Annals of Ireland he is called the Lord Donegan Odowill.

of provisions in the garrison, and made overtures for a treaty, in which he agreed to surrender the castle by the ensuing midsummer, if not relieved by an English army. This was evidently a truce involving conditions which ought on no account to have been accepted. Its necessary effect, if agreed to, was to check the ardour of the Scots in that career of success which was now rapidly leading to the complete deliverance of their country ; it gave the King of England a whole year to assemble the entire force of his dominions ; and such were the chivalrous feelings of that age, as to agreements of this nature, that it compelled the King of Scotland to hazard the fortunes of his kingdom upon the issue of a battle, which he knew must be fought on his side with a great disparity of force. We need not wonder, then, at Bruce being highly incensed on hearing that, without consulting him, his brother had agreed to Mowbray's proposals. He disdained, however, to imitate the conduct of Edward, who, in a former year, and in circumstances precisely similar, had ordered the treaty of Dundee to be broken ;[1] and keeping his knightly faith, he resolved, at all hazards, to meet the English on the appointed day.[2]

Edward, having obtained a partial reconciliation with his haughty and discontented barons, made immense preparations for the succour of the fortress of Stirling. He summoned the whole military force of his kingdoms to meet him at Berwick on the 11th of

[1] Rotuli Scotiæ, 5. Ed. II. m. 2, p. 108.

[2] Barbour, pp. 216, 217.

June.[1] To this rendezvous ninety-three barons, comprehending the whole body of the great vassals of the crown, were commanded to repair with horse and arms, and their entire feudal service, whilst the different counties in England and Wales were ordered to raise a body of twenty-seven thousand foot soldiers; and although Hume, mistaking, or rather entirely overlooking, the evidence of the records, has imagined that the numbers of this army have been exaggerated by Barbour, it is certain that the accumulated strength which the king commanded exceeded a hundred thousand men, including a body of forty thousand cavalry, of which three thousand were, both horse and man, in complete armour, and a force of fifty thousand archers. He now appointed the Earl of Pembroke, a nobleman experienced, under his father, in the wars of Scotland, to be governor of that country, and dispatched him thither to make preparations for his own arrival. He ordered a fleet of twenty-three commissioned vessels to be assembled for the invasion of Scotland;[2] in addition to these, he directed letters to the mayor and authorities of the various seaport towns, enjoining them to fit out an additional fleet of thirty ships; and of

[1] Rymer, Fœdera, vol. iii. pp. 463, 464. The writs, summoning the great feudal force of his kingdom, namely, the cavalry, are directed to ninety-three barons. See Notes and Illustrations, letters AA.

[2] Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. pp. 116, 119. 7. Ed. II. m. 8. 18th March, 1313-14. The writs are directed to twenty-three captains of vessels, of which the names are given. We have "the James, the Mary, the Blyth, the St Peter," &c.

this united armament, he appointed John Sturmy and Peter Bard to have the supreme command.[1] He directed letters to Eth O'Connor, Prince of Connaught, and twenty-five other Irish native chiefs, requiring them to place themselves, with all the military force which they could collect, under the orders of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, and to join the army at the muster; he made the same demand upon the English barons, who possessed estates in Ireland. He requested the bishop of Constance to send him a body of sixty mounted cross-bowmen. He took care that ample store of all kinds of provisions for the troops, and forage for the cavalry, should be collected from all quarters; he placed his victualling department under strict and regular organization; he appointed John of Argyle, who, probably, had no inconsiderable fleet of his own, to co-operate with the English armament, with the title of High Admiral of the western fleet of England;[2] and he took care that the army should be amply provided with all kinds of useful artisans, such as smiths, carpenters, masons, armourers, with innumerable waggons and cars for the transport of the tents and pavilions, and all the baggage which so large a military array necessarily included. The various writs, and multifarious orders, connected with the summoning and organization of the army of England, which fought at Bannockburn, are still preserved, and may be seen in their minutest details; and they prove that it far exceeded,

[1] Rotuli Scotiæ, p. 115, 7. Ed. II. m. 9. 12th March, 1313.
[2] Ibid. p. 121, m. 7, p. 129. 25th March, 1313-14.

not only in numbers, but in equipment, any army which was ever led by any former monarch against Scotland.[1]

With this great force, Edward prepared to take the field, and having first made a devout pilgrimage with his queen and the Prince of Wales to St Albans, and with the accustomed offerings requested the prayers of the church, he held his way through Lincolnshire to York and Newcastle, and met his army at Berwick. He here found, that the Earls of Warrene, Lancaster, Arundel, and Warwick, refused to attend him in person, alleging that he had broken his kingly word given to the lord ordainers, but they sent their feudal services, and the rest of the nobility mustered, without any absentees, and with great splendour; so that Edward, having reviewed his troops, began his march for Scotland in high spirits, and with confident anticipations of victory. Meanwhile Bruce, aware of the mighty force which was advancing against him, had not been idle. He appointed a rendezvous of his whole army in the Torwood, near Stirling,[2] and here he found, that the greatest force which he could collect, did not amount to forty thousand fighting men, and that the little cavalry which he had, could not compete for a moment, either in the temper of their arms, or the strength of their horses, with the heavy cavalry of the English. He at once, therefore, resolved to fight on foot,[3] and to draw up his army in

[1] Rotuli Scotiæ, 7. Ed. II. passim.

[2] Barbour, p. 221.

[3] The Scala Chron. quoted in Leland, tom. i. part ii. p. 547, says,

ground where cavalry could not act with effect, and where the English, from their immense numbers, would be cramped and confined in their movements. For this purpose, he chose a field not far from Stirling, which was then called the New Park. It was studded and encumbered with trees, and the approach to it was protected by a morass, the passage of which would be dangerous to an enemy.[1] Bruce, having carefully examined the ground, determined that his right wing should rest on the rivulet called Bannockburn, whose broken and wooded banks afforded him an excellent security against being outflanked. His front thus extended to St Ninians, and his left wing, which was unprotected by the nature of the ground, was exposed to the garrison of Stirling in the rear—a dangerous position, had not the terms of the treaty with the governor precluded all attack from that quarter. But Bruce did not leave the defence of his left to this negative security, for in a field hard by, so firm and level that it afforded favourable ground for cavalry, he caused many rows of parallel pits to be dug, a foot in breadth, and about three feet deep. In these he placed pointed stakes, with a number of sharp iron weapons, called in Scotland calthrops, and covered them carefully with sod, so that the ground, apparently level, was rendered impassable

that Bruce determined to fight on foot, after the example of the Flemish troops, who, a little before this, had discomfited the power of France at the battle of Coutray. The same allusion to Coutray is made by the Monk of Malmesbury, p. 152.

[1] Barbour, pp. 223, 224.

to horse.[1] It does not appear, however, that the English cavalry attempted to charge over this fatal ground, although, in the subsequent dispersion of the army, many lost their lives in the pits and ditches.[2] Having thus judiciously availed himself of every circumstance, the king reviewed his troops, welcomed all courteously, and declared himself well satisfied with their appearance and equipment. The principal leaders of the Scottish army were Sir Edward Bruce, the king's brother, Sir James Douglas, Randolph, Earl of Moray, and Walter, the High Steward of Scotland. These, with the exception of the last, who was still a youth, were experienced and veteran leaders, who had been long trained up in war, and upon whom their master could place entire reliance; and having fully explained to them his intended order of battle, the king waited in great tranquillity for the approach of the enemy. Soon after, word was brought that the English army had lain all night at Edinburgh. This was on Saturday evening the twenty-second of June, and early in the morning of Sunday the soldiers heard mass. It is stated by the contemporary historians, that they confessed themselves with the solemnity of men who were resolved to die in that field, or to free their country; and as it was the vigil of St John, they took no dinner, but kept their fast on bread and water. Meanwhile the king, on Sunday, after hearing mass, rode out to examine the pits which had been made, and to see that his orders had been well executed.

[1] Barbour, book viii. p. 226, l. 365.

[2] Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 146.

Having satisfied himself, he returned, and commanded his soldiers to arm. This order was promptly obeyed; and all cheerfully arrayed themselves under their different banners. Bruce then caused proclamation to be made, that all who did not feel fully resolved to win the field, or to die with honour, had at that moment free liberty to leave the army; but the soldiers raised a great shout, and answered with one accord, that they were determined to abide the enemy.[1]

The baggage of the army was placed in a valley at some distance in the rear, and the sutlers and camp-followers, who amounted nearly to twenty thousand, were stationed beside it, and commanded to await the result of the battle. They were separated from the army by a small hill, which is yet called the Gilles, or Gillies' Hill.

The king now arranged his army in a line consisting of three square columns, or battles, of which he intrusted the command of the vaward, or centre, to the Earl of Moray. His brother Edward led the right, and the left was given to Sir James Douglas, and Walter, the Steward of Scotland.[2] He himself took the command of the reserve, which formed a fourth battle, drawn up immediately behind the centre, and composed of the men of Argyle, Carric, Cantire, and the Isles. Along with him was Angus of Isla, with the men of Bute, and he had also under his command a body of five hundred cavalry, armed

[1] Barbour, pp. 226, 227.

[2] Ibid. p. 225, l. 344, compared with l. 309.

in complete steel, and mounted on light and active horses.

Having thus disposed his order of battle, the king dispatched Sir James Douglas and Sir Robert Keith to reconnoitre, who soon after returned with the news, that they descried the English host advancing in great strength, and making a very martial and splendid appearance. For this intelligence Bruce was well prepared, yet, dreading its effect upon his soldiers, he directed them to give out to the army, that the enemy, though numerous, were advancing in confused and ill-arranged order.[1]

Although this was not exactly the case, the rash and presumptuous character of Edward led him to commit some errors in the conduct and disposal of his army, which led to fatal consequences. He had hurried on to Scotland with such rapidity, that the horses were worn out with travel and want of food, and the men were not allowed the regular periods for halt and refreshment, so that his army went into action under a great disadvantage. Upon advancing from Falkirk, early in the morning, and when the English host was only two miles distant from the Scottish army, Edward dispatched an advanced party of eight hundred cavalry, led by Sir Robert Clifford, with orders to outflank the enemy, and to throw themselves into Stirling castle. Bruce had looked for this movement, and had commanded Randolph, his nephew, to be especially vigilant in repelling any such

[1] Barbour, p. 229.

attempt.[1] Clifford, however, unobserved by Randolph, made a circuit by the low grounds to the east and north of the church of St Ninians, and having thus avoided the front of the Scottish army, he was proceeding towards the castle, when he was detected by the piercing eye of Bruce, who rode hastily up to Randolph, and angrily reproached him for his carelessness in having suffered the enemy to pass. "Oh, Randolph!" cried his master, "lightly have you thought of the charge committed to you; a rose has fallen from your chaplet."[2] Stung by such words, the Earl of Moray, leaving the vaward, at the head of a select body of infantry, hasted at all hazards to repair his error. As he advanced, Clifford's squadron wheeled round, and putting their spears in rest, charged him at full speed, but Randolph had formed his infantry in a square presenting a front on all sides, with the spears fixed firmly before them;[3] and although he had only five hundred men with him, he awaited the shock of Clifford with such fatal firmness, that many of the English were unhorsed, and Sir William Daynecourt, a knight of great note, who had been more forward in his attack than his companions, was slain.[4] Unable to make any impression upon Randolph's square by this first charge, the English proceeded more leisurely to surround him on all sides, and by a second furious and simultaneous charge on each front, to endeavour to break the line. But

[1] Barbour, p. 228.
[2] Ibid. p. 230.
[3] Ibid. p. 232.
[4] Ibid. p. 234.

the light armour, the long spears, and the short knives and battle-axes of the Scottish foot, were quite a match for the heavy-armed English cavalry, and a very desperate conflict ensued, in which Randolph's little square, although it stood firm, to a looker-on seemed likely to be crushed to pieces by the heavy metal which was brought against it. All this passed in the sight of Bruce, who was surrounded by his officers. At length Sir James Douglas earnestly requested to be allowed to go with a reinforcement to his relief. "You shall not stir a foot from your ground," said the king, "and let Randolph extricate himself as best he can; I will not alter my order of battle, and lose my advantage, whatever may befall him."—"My liege," answered Douglas, "I cannot stand by, and see Randolph perish, when I may bring him help, so by your leave I must away to his succour." Bruce unwillingly consented, and Douglas immediately held his way towards Randolph.[1] By this time the King of England had brought up his main army, and ordered a halt, for the purpose of consulting with his leaders, whether it was expedient to join battle that same day, or take a night to refresh his troops. By some mistake, however, the centre of the English continued its march, not aware of this order, and on their approach to the New Park, Bruce rode forward alone to make some new arrangements, which were called for by the absence of Randolph, and to take a final view of the disposition of his army. He was at this time in front of his own line, meanly mounted

[1] Barbour, pp. 233, 234.

on a little palfrey, but clad in full armour, with his battle-axe in his hand, and distinguished from his nobles by a small crown of gold surmounting his steel helmet. On the approach of the English vaward, led by the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, Sir Henry de Boune, an English knight, who rode about a bow-shot in advance of his companions, recognised the king, and galloped forward to attack him. Boune was armed at all points, and excellently mounted on a heavy war-horse, so that the contest was most unequal, and Bruce might have retired; but for a moment he forgot his duties as a general in his feelings as a knight, and, to the surprise of his soldiers, spurred his little palfrey forward to his assailant. There was an interval of breathless suspense, but it lasted only a moment; for as the English knight came in full career, the king parried the spear, and raising himself in his stirrups as he passed, with one blow of his battle-axe laid him dead at his feet, by almost cleaving his head in two.[1] Upon this his soldiers raised a great shout, and advanced hardily upon the English centre, which retreated in confusion to the main army, and Bruce, afraid of disorder getting into his line of battle, called back his men from the pursuit, after they had slain a few of the English soldiers. When they had time to recollect themselves, the Scottish leaders earnestly remonstrated with the king for the rash manner in which he exposed himself; and Bruce, somewhat ashamed of

[1] Barbour, pp. 235, 236.

the adventure, changed the subject, and looking at the broken shaft which he held in his hand, with a smile replied, "He was sorry for the loss of his good battle-axe."[1]

In the meantime, the contest between Randolph and Clifford was still undecided; but Douglas, as he drew near, to his friend's rescue, perceived that the English had by this time begun to waver, and that disorder was rapidly getting into their ranks. Commanding his men, therefore, to halt, "Let us not," cried he, "diminish the glory of so redoubtable an encounter, by coming in at the end to share it. The brave men that fight yonder, without our help will soon discomfit the enemy." And the result was as Douglas had foreseen; for Randolph, who quickly perceived the same indications, began to press the English cavalry with repeated charges and increasing fury, so that they at length entirely broke, and fled in great disorder. The attempt to throw succours into the castle was thus completely defeated; and Clifford, after losing a great many of his men, who were slain in the pursuit, rejoined the main body of the army with the scattered and dispirited remains of his squadron.[2] So steadily had the Scots kept their ranks, that Randolph had sustained a very inconsiderable loss. From the result of these two attacks, and especially from the defeat of Clifford, Bruce drew a good augury, and cheerfully and kindly congratulated his soldiers on so fair and fortunate a beginning. He

[1] Barbour, p. 287.

[2] Ibid, pp. 238, 239.

observed to them, that they had defeated the flower of the English cavalry, and had driven back the centre division of their great army; and remarked, that the same circumstances which gave spirit and animation to their hopes, must communicate depression to the enemy.[1] As the day was far spent, he held a military council of his leaders, and requested their advice, whether, having now seen the numbers and strength of their opponents, it was expedient to hazard a battle, declaring himself ready to submit his individual opinion to the judgment of the majority. But the minds of the Scottish commanders were not in a retreating mood; and although aware of the immense disparity of force, the English army being more than triple that of Bruce, they declared that it was their unanimous desire to keep their position, and to fight on the morrow. The king then told them that such was his own wish, and commanded them to have the whole army arrayed next morning by daybreak, in the order and upon the ground already agreed on. He earnestly exhorted them to preserve the firmest order, each man under his own banner, and to receive the charge of the English with levelled spears, so that even the hindmost ranks of the English would feel the shock. He pointed out to them, that every thing in the approaching battle, which was to determine whether Scotland was to be free or enslaved, depended on their own steady discipline and deliberate valour. He conjured them not to allow a

[1] Barbour, pp. 240, 241.

single soldier to quit his banner or break the array; and, if they should be successful, by no means to begin to plunder or to make prisoners, as long as a single enemy remained on the field. He promised that the heirs of all who fell should receive their lands free, and without the accustomed feudal fine; and he assured them, with a determined and cheerful countenance, that if the orders he had now given were obeyed, they might confidently look forward to victory.[1]

Having thus spoken to his leaders, the army were dismissed to their quarters. In the evening, they made the necessary arrangements for the battle, and passed the night in arms upon the field. Meanwhile the English king and his leaders had resolved, on account of the fatigue of the army, and symptoms of dissatisfaction which appeared amongst the soldiers, to delay the attack, and drew off to the low grounds to the right and rear of their original position, where they passed the night in great riot and revelry.[2] At this time, it is said, a Scotsman, who served in the English army, deserted to Bruce, and informed him he could lead him to the attack so as to secure an easy victory. Robert, however, was not thus to be drawn from his position, and determined to await the attack of the enemy on the ground already chosen.

On Monday, the 24th of June, at the first break of day, the Scottish king confessed himself, and along with his army heard mass. This solemn ceremony

[1] Barbour, pp. 243, 244. [2] Thomas de la More, p. 94.

was performed by Maurice, the Abbot of Inchaffray, upon an eminence in front of their line, and after its conclusion the soldiers took breakfast, and arranged themselves under their different banners. They wore light armour, but of excellent temper. Their weapons were, a battle-axe slung at their side, and long spears, besides knives, or daggers, which the former affair of Randolph had proved to be terribly effective in close combat. When the whole army was in array, they proceeded, with displayed banners, to make knights, as was the custom before a battle. Bruce conferred that honour upon Walter, the young Steward of Scotland, Sir James Douglas, and many other brave men, in due order, and according to their rank.[1]

By this time the van of the English army, composed of archers and lancemen, and led by the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, approached within bowshot; and at a little distance behind, the remaining nine divisions, which, confined by the narrowness of the ground, were compressed into a close column of great and unwieldy dimensions.[2] This vast body was conducted by the King of England in person, who had along with him a body-guard of five hundred chosen horse. He was attended by the Earl of Pembroke, Sir Ingram Umfraville, and Sir Giles de Argentine, a Knight of Rhodes, and of great reputation.[3] When Edward approached near enough, and observed the Scottish army drawn up on foot, and their firm array

[1] Barbour, p. 248. [2] Walsingham, p. 105.
[3] Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 441. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 295.

and determined countenance, he expressed great surprise, and turning to Umfraville, asked him "if he thought yon Scots would fight?" Umfraville replied, that they assuredly would; and he then advised Edward, instead of an open attack, to pretend to retreat behind his encampment, upon which he was confident, from his old experience in the Scottish wars, that the Scots would break their array, and rush on without order or discipline, so that the English army might easily attack and overwhelm them. Umfraville, an Anglicised Scottish baron, who had seen much service against Edward's father, and had only sworn fealty in 1305, spoke this from an intimate knowledge of his countrymen; but Edward fortunately disdained his counsel. At this moment the Abbot of Inchaffray, barefooted and with a crucifix in his hand, walked slowly along the Scottish line, and as he passed, the whole army knelt down with one consent,[1] and prayed for a moment with the solemnity of men who felt it might be their last act of devotion. "See," cried Edward, "they are kneeling —they ask mercy."—"They do, my liege," replied Umfraville, "but it is from God, not from us. Trust me, yon men will win the day, or die upon the field."[2] —"Be it so, then," said Edward, and bade the charge be sounded. The English van, led by Gloucester and Hereford, spurred forward their horses, and at full gallop charged the right wing of the Scots, commanded by Edward Bruce; but an unhappy dispute be-

[1] Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 250. [2] Barbour, p. 250.

tween the two English barons as to precedency, caused the charge, though rapid, to be broken and irregular. Gloucester, who had been irritated the day before by some galling remarks of the king, insisted on leading the charge, a post which of right belonged to Hereford, as Constable of England. To this Hereford would by no means agree, and Gloucester, as they disputed, seeing the Scottish right advancing, sprung forward at the head of his own division, and, without being duly supported by the rest of the van, attacked the enemy, who received them with a shock, which caused the noise of the meeting of their spears to be heard a great way off, and threw many good knights from their saddles, whose horses were stabbed, and rendered furious by their wounds.[1] While the right wing was thus engaged, Randolph, who commanded the centre division, advanced at a steady pace to meet the main body of the English, whom he confronted and attacked with great boldness, although the enemy outnumbered him by ten to one; so that his square, to use an expression of Barbour's, was soon surrounded and lost amidst the English, as if it had plunged into the sea; upon which Sir James Douglas and Walter the Steward brought up the left wing; so that the whole line, composed of the three battles, was now engaged, and the battle raged with great fury.[2] The English cavalry attempting, by repeated charges, to break the line of the Scottish spearmen, and they standing firm in their array, and presenting on every side a ser-

[1] Barbour, p. 251. [2] Ibid. pp. 252, 253.

ried front of steel, caused a shock and melée, which is not easily described; and the slaughter was increased, by the remembrance of many years of grievous injury and oppression, producing, on the part of the Scots, an exasperation of feeling, and an eager desire of revenge. At every successive charge, the English cavalry lost more men, and fell into greater confusion, than before; and this confusion was infinitely increased by the confined nature of the ground, and the immense mass of their army. The Scottish squares, on the other hand, were light and compact, though firm; they moved easily, altered their front at pleasure, and suited themselves to every emergency of the battle. They were, however, dreadfully galled by the English archers, and Bruce, dreading the effect of the constant and uninterrupted arrow-flight, which fell like hail upon them, directed Sir Robert Keith, the marshal, to make a circuit, with the five hundred horse which were in the reserve, round the morass called Miltown Bog, and to charge the archers in flank. This movement was executed with great decision and rapidity; and such was its effect, that the whole body of the archers, who had neither spears nor other weapons to defend themselves against cavalry, were in a short time overthrown and dispersed, without any prolonged attempt at resistance.[1] Part of them fled to the main army, and the rest did not again attempt to rally or make head during the continuance of the battle. Although such was the success of this judi-

[1] Barbour, pp. 255, 256.

cious attack, the English still kept fighting with great determination; but they had already lost some of their bravest commanders, and Bruce could discern symptoms of fatigue and impatient exhaustion. He saw, too, that his own infantry were still fresh and well-breathed; and he assured his leaders that the attack, continued but for a short time, and pushed with vigour, must make the day their own. It was at this moment that he brought up his whole reserve, and the four battles of the Scots were now completely engaged in one line.[1] The Scottish archers, unlike the English, carried short battle-axes, besides the bow; and with these, after they exhausted their arrows, they rushed upon the enemy, and made great havoc. The Scottish commanders, too, the King, Edward Bruce, Douglas, Randolph, and the Steward, were fighting in the near presence of each other, and animated with a generous rivalry. At this time, Barbour, whose admirable account is evidently taken from eye-witnesses, describes the field as exhibiting a terrific spectacle. "It was awful," says he, "to hear the noise of these four battles fighting in a line, the clang of arms, the shouts of the knights as they raised their war-cry; to see the flight of the arrows, which maddened the horses, the alternate sinking and rising of the banners, and the ground streaming with blood, and covered with shreds of armour, broken spears, pennons, and rich scarfs, torn and soiled with blood and clay; and to listen to the

[1] Barbour, p. 258.

groans of the wounded and the dying." The wavering of the English lines was now discernible by the Scottish soldiers themselves; and raising at once a great shout, "On them, on them—they fail!" they pressed forward with renewed energy and fury, gaining ground upon their enemy.[1] At this critical moment, there appeared over the little hill, which lay between the field and the baggage of the Scottish army, a large body of troops, with banners waving, and marching in firm array towards the battle. This spectacle, which was instantly believed to be a reinforcement proceeding to join the Scots, although it was nothing more than the sutlers and camp-boys hastening to see the battle, spread dismay amidst the ranks of the English; and King Robert, whose eye was everywhere, to perceive and take advantage of the slightest movement in his favour, put himself at the head of his reserve, and raising his ensenye, or war-cry, furiously pressed on the enemy.[2] It was this last charge, which was followed up by the advance of the whole line, that decided the day; the English, who hitherto, although wavering, had preserved their array, now broke into disjointed squadrons; part began to quit the field, and no efforts of their leaders could restore order. The Earl of Gloucester, who was mounted on a beautiful and spirited war-horse, which had lately been presented to him by the king,[3]

[1] Barbour, p. 259. [2] Ibid. p. 261.

[3] Hutchinson's Hist. and Antiquities of the Palatinate of Durham, p. 261. "The Bishop of Durham, Richard Kellow, had a short

in one of his attempts to rally his men, rode furiously upon the division of Edward Bruce; he was instantly unhorsed, and fell transpierced by numerous wounds of the Scottish lances. The flight now became general, and the slaughter very great. The banners of twenty-seven barons were laid in the dust, and their masters slain. Amongst these were Sir Robert Clifford, a veteran and experienced commander, and Sir Edmund Mauley, the Seneschal of England. On seeing the entire rout of his army, Edward reluctantly allowed the Earl of Pembroke to seize his bridle, and force him away, guarded by five hundred heavy-armed horse.[1] Sir Giles de Argentine accompanied him a short way off the field, till he saw the king in safety. He then reined up, and bade him farewell. "It has never been my custom," said he, "to fly, and here I must take my fortune." Saying this, he put spurs to his horse, and crying out, "An Argentine!" charged the squadron of Edward Bruce, and, like Gloucester, was soon borne down by the dreadful force of the Scottish spears, and cut to pieces.[2] Multitudes of the English were drowned when attempting to cross the river Forth. Many, in their flight, fell into the pits, which they seem to have avoided in their first attack, and were there suffocated or slain; others, who vainly endeavoured to pass the

time before presented this war-horse, an animal of high price, along with 1000 marks, to King Edward."

[1] One writer, Thomas de la More, Britann. p. 594, accuses Edward of cowardice; but I see no ground for this opinion.

[2] Barbour, p. 263.

rugged banks of the stream called Bannockburn, were slain in that quarter; so that this little river was so completely heaped up with the dead bodies of men and horses, that men might pass dry over the mass as if it were a bridge. Thirty thousand of the English were left dead upon the field, and amongst these two hundred belted knights, and seven hundred esquires. A large body of Welsh fled from the field, under the command of Sir Maurice Berkclay, but the greater part of them were slain, or taken prisoners, before they reached England.[1] Such, also, might have been the fate of the King of England himself, had Bruce been able to spare a sufficient body of cavalry to follow up the flight. But when Edward left the field, with his five hundred horse, many straggling parties of the enemy still lingered about the low grounds, and great numbers had taken refuge under the walls, and in the hollow recesses of the rock, on which Stirling castle is built.[2] These, had they rallied, might have still created much annoyance, as a part of the Scottish army was dispersed in the occupation of plundering the camp, and securing its numerous prisoners; and it became absolutely necessary for Bruce to keep the more efficient part of his troops together. When Douglas, therefore, proposed to pursue the king, he could obtain no more than sixty horsemen. In passing the Torwood, he was met by Sir Laurence Abernethy, hastening with a small body of cavalry to join the English rendezvous. This

[1] Barbour, pp. 266, 267. [2] Ibid.

knight immediately deserted a falling cause, and joined in the chase. They made up to the fugitive monarch at Lithgow, but Douglas deemed it imprudent to attack with so inferior a force. He pressed so hard upon him, however, as not to suffer the English to have a moment's rest; and it is a strong proof of the extreme panic which had seized them, that a body of five hundred heavy horse, armed to the teeth, fled before eighty Scottish cavalry, without daring to make a stand. But it is probable they believed Douglas to be the advance of the army.[1] Edward at last gained the castle of Dunbar, where he was hospitably received by the Earl of March, and from which he passed by sea to Berwick. In the meantime, Bruce sent a party to attack the fugitives who clustered round the rock of Stirling. These were immediately made prisoners, and having ascertained that no enemy remained, the king permitted his soldiers to pursue the fugitives, and plunder the camp of the English. The unfortunate stragglers were slaughtered by the peasantry, as they scattered themselves over the country, and many of them cast away their arms and accoutrements, and hid themselves, or fled almost naked from the field.[2] Some idea of the extent and variety of the rich booty which was divided by the Scottish soldiers, may be formed from the circumstance mentioned by an English historian, "That the chariots, waggons, and wheeled carriages,

[1] Henry Knighton, p. 151. Walsingham, p. 106.
[2] Monachi Malmesbur. p. 151.

which were loaded with the baggage and military stores, would, if drawn up in a line, have extended for sixty leagues."[1]

These, along with numerous herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep and swine, with great store of hay, corn and wine, with the vessels of gold and silver belonging to the king and his nobility, the money-chests holding the treasure for the payment of the troops, an infinite assemblage of splendid arms, rich wearing apparel, sumptuous stuffs, and horse and tent furniture out of the royal wardrobe and private repositories of the earls, and barons, and knights, together with a great booty in valuable horses and in tent equipage—these, and a variety of other plunder, fell into the hands of the conquerors, and were distributed by Bruce amongst his soldiers with a generosity and impartiality which rendered him highly and deservedly popular. Besides these, Edward had brought along with him many instruments of war, and machines employed in the besieging of towns, such as petronels, trebuchets, mangonels, and battering rams, which, intended for the demolition of the Scottish castles, now fell into the hands of Bruce, to be turned, in future wars, against England. The living booty, too, in the many prisoners of rank who were taken, was very great. Twenty-two barons and bannerets, and sixty knights, fell into the hands of the Scots, and their ransom must have amounted to a very large sum. Considering the grievous injuries

[1] Monachi Malmesbur. p. 147.

which he had personally sustained, the King of Scotland evinced a generous and noble forbearance in the uses of his victory, which does him the highest honour; not only was there no unnecessary slaughter, no uncalled-for severity of retaliation, but, in their place, we find a high-toned courtesy, which has called forth the praises even of his enemies.[1] The body of the young and noble Earl of Gloucester was reverently carried to a neighbouring church, where it was watched according to Catholic rites. It was afterwards sent to England, along with the last remains of the brave Lord Clifford, to be interred with the honours due to their high rank. The rest of the slain were honourably buried upon the field.[2] Early next morning, as the king examined the field, Sir Marmaduke de Twenge, who had lurked all night in the woods, presented himself to Bruce, and, kneeling down, delivered himself as his prisoner. Bruce kindly raised him, retained him in his company for some time, and then dismissed him, not only without ransom, but enriched with presents.[3]

It happened, that one Baston, a Carmelite friar, and esteemed an excellent poet, had been commanded by Edward to accompany the army, that he might immortalize the expected triumph of his master. He was taken; and Bruce commanded him, as his most appropriate ransom, to celebrate the victory of the Scots at Bannockburn—a task which he has accom-

[1] Joh. de Trokelowe, p. 28.
[2] Barbour, p. 273.
[3] Ibid. p. 269.

plished in a composition which is a very extraordinary relic of the Leonine, or rhyming hexameters.[1]

On the day after the battle, Mowbray, the English governor of Stirling, having delivered up that fortress, according to the terms of the truce, entered into the service of the King of Scotland; and the Earl of Hereford, who had taken refuge in Bothwell castle, then in the hands of the English, capitulated, after a short siege, to Edward Bruce. This nobleman was exchanged for five illustrious prisoners, Bruce's wife, his sister Christian, his daughter Marjory, Wisheart the Bishop of Glasgow, now blind, and the young Earl of Mar, nephew to the king. John de Segrave, made prisoner at Bannockburn, was ransomed for five Scottish barons; so that, in these exchanges, the English appear to have received nothing like an adequate value. The riches obtained by the plunder of the English, and the subsequent ransom paid for the multitude of the prisoners, must have been very great. Their exact amount cannot be easily estimated, but some idea of its greatness may be formed by the tone of deep lamentation assumed by the Monk of Malmesbury. "O day of vengeance and of misfortune!" says he, "day of disgrace and perdition! unworthy to be included in the circle of the year, which tarnished the fame of England, and enriched the Scots with the plunder of the precious stuffs of our nation, to the extent of two hundred thousand pounds. Alas! of how many noble barons, and accomplished knights,

[1] Barbour, p. 251.

and high-spirited young soldiers,—of what a store of excellent arms, and golden vessels, and costly vestments, did one short and miserable day deprive us!"[1] Two hundred thousand pounds of money in those times, amounts to about six hundred thousand pounds weight of silver, or nearly three millions of our present money. The loss of the Scots in the battle was incredibly small, and proves how effectually the Scottish squares had repelled the English cavalry. Sir William Vipont, and Sir Walter Ross, the bosom friend of Edward Bruce, were the only persons of note who were slain.[2]

Such was the great battle of Bannockburn, interesting above all others which have been fought between the then rival nations, if we consider the issue which hung upon it, and very glorious to Scotland, both in the determined courage with which it was disputed by the troops, the high military talents displayed by the King of Scotland and his leaders, and the amazing disparity between the numbers of the combatants. Its consequences were in the highest degree important. It put an end for ever to all hopes upon the part of England of accomplishing the conquest of her sister country. The plan, of which we can discern the foundations as far back as the reign of Alexander III., and for the furtherance of which

[1] Mon. Malmesburiensis, p. 152.

[2] Some remarks upon this battle will be found in Notes and Illustrations, letters BB.

the first Edward was content to throw away so much of treasure, and blood, and character, was put down in the way in which all such schemes ought to be defeated, by the strong hand of free-born men, who were determined to remain so; and the spirit of indignant resistance to foreign power, which had been awakened by Wallace, but crushed for a season by the dissensions of a jealous and an ambitious nobility, was directed and concentrated by the master-spirit of Bruce, and found fully adequate to overwhelm the united military energies of a kingdom, far superior to Scotland in all that constituted military strength. Nor have the consequences of this victory been partial or confined. Their duration throughout succeeding centuries of Scottish history and Scottish liberty, down to the hour in which we now write, cannot be questioned; and without launching out into any inappropriate field of historical speculation, we have only to think of the most obvious consequences which must have resulted from Scotland becoming a conquered province of England; and if we wish for proof, to fix our eyes on the present condition of Ireland, in order to feel the reality of all that we owe to the victory at Bannockburn, and to the memory of such men as Bruce, Randolph, and Douglas.