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MCMVII

Two hundred and ninety copies of this book have been
printed for sale, of which ninety-five copies
are on handmade paper.



Sir Thomas Gray of Heton



Sir Herbert Maxwell of Monreith

Scalacronica

THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I, EDWARD II
AND EDWARD III

AS RECORDED BY

Sir Thomas Gray

AND NOW TRANSLATED BY THE RIGHT HON.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL

BARONET

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Glasgow

JAMES MACLEHOSE & SONS

PUBLISHERS TO THE UNIVERSITY

1907

TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
Sir Edward Grey of Falloden,
BARONET, M.P.,

THIS TRANSLATION OF PART OF HIS ANCESTOR'S WORK
IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.

'There is no man,' wrote Lord Chief Justice Sir Ranulphe Crewe, 'that hath any apprehension of gentry or nobleness, but his affection stands to a continuance of a noble name and house, and would take hold of a twig or twine thread to uphold it. And yet time hath his revolution: there must be a period and an end of all temporal things—finis rerum—an end of all names and dignities and whatsoever is terrene.'

Preface

IN August, 1355, Sir Thomas Gray of Heton,¹ son and heir of a knight who bore the same name with great distinction in the Scottish Wars of Edward I. and Edward II., was Edward III.'s constable, or warden, of Norham Castle. This fortress, standing just within the English Border, and commanding an important ford on the Tweed, was a perpetual offence to the Scots, and the object of their incessant attack. In the month aforesaid, Patrick, Earl of March, laid an ambuscade on the Scottish side of the river, and sent Sir William Ramsay of Dalwolsay (which we now write Dalhousie) with a party of four hundred spears to raid the English farms. Ramsay, in returning with his booty, rode within view of Norham Castle. Sir Thomas sounded 'Boot and saddle!' sallied out briskly in pursuit with a following of only fifty men,² and fell into the trap prepared by March. The English being taken in front and rear, defended themselves stoutly, but were overpowered by superior numbers.

¹ Direct ancestor of the present Earl Grey and Sir Edward Grey of Falloden, Bart., M.P. He wrote his name 'Gray,' a form which now distinguishes Scottish from English families of that surname.

² Wyntoun says fourscore, besides archers.

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Gray, with his son, also called Thomas, was taken prisoner, and, being unable to raise the ransom demanded, lay for two years a captive in Edinburgh Castle. Luckily for him, and for us, he had the run of the library there, which was better furnished than might have been expected. He found such good and suggestive material therein that he undertook to compile a history of Britain, an enterprise which very few knights in that illiterate age were competent to attempt. He offered in his prologue the usual apology of an inexperienced writer.

‘How it was that he [the author] found courage to treat of this matter, the story tells that when he was prisoner in the town Mount Agneth (formerly Chastel de Pucelis, now Edynburgh), he perused books of chronicles, in verse and prose, in Latin, in French, and in English, about the deeds of the ancestors, at which he was astonished; and it grieved him sore that, until that time, he had not acquired a better knowledge of the course of the age. So, as he had hardly anything else to do at the time, he became curious and thoughtful, how he might deal with and translate into shorter sentences the chronicles of Great Britain and the deeds of the English.’

Then follows the description of a dream, in which the Sibyl and a Cordelier Friar appeared to Gray, and provided him with a ladder to scale a great wall withal. Arrived at the top, he obtained access to a mighty city, and beheld a number of allegorical phenomena with which we have no concern, save that they inspired him with the resolve to carry out the project of a chrohicle. The Sibyl bade him call his work *Scalacronica*—the Ladder Chronicle; a title wherein,

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perhaps, may be recognised an allusion to the crest adopted by the Gray family—namely, a scaling ladder.¹

The scheme of the work was a survey of history from the Creation to the date of compilation; and, as may be imagined, the earlier part is not worth much attention, being merely, as Gray candidly explains in his prologue, a transcript of passages in the writings of Gildas, Walter of Exeter's translation of the *Brut*, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, the *Historia Aurea* of John of Tynemouth, Higden's *Polychronicon*, and such like. Coming to the reigns of the Norman Kings, there are passages of undoubted value, describing events not recorded elsewhere; such as the means whereby King John caused the death, in 1203, of his inconvenient nephew, Arthur of Brittany, whom he had supplanted on the throne of England. But it is when Gray is dealing with a period covered by the actual experience of his father and himself that the chronicle has been recognised as being of incomparable value to the student of Scottish and English history during the reigns of Edward I., Edward II., and Edward III., especially as being written by a soldier, who naturally viewed affairs from a different standpoint to that of the usual clerical annalist. Even Froissart, prince of chivalrous writers, was a priest—*curé* of Lestines—though it must be admitted that his survey of men and manners was of more than parochial breadth.

Knowledge of the *Scalacronica* and its treasures was scarcely

¹ Crests were a novelty in the attire of a knight in the fourteenth century. Barbour says that they were first seen in the campaign of Weardale, 1327, and mentions them as one of 'twa novelryis,' the other being 'crakis of wer,' *i.e.* cannon.

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to be obtained, except through the brief English abstract made by John Leland in the 16th century, until Joseph Stevenson edited, from the original MS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the portion of it beginning with the Norman Conquest, and this was privately published, with a masterly introduction from the editor, by the Maitland Club in 1836. Even so, it cannot be considered easy of access to general readers, first, because the edition consisted of only 120 copies; and second, because it requires some application to master the obscurities and ambiguities of the Norman French in which Sir Thomas Gray wrote. It seems, then, that it may be interesting, and perhaps useful, to those who care for the history of their country to have a translation of the portion of *Scalacronica* covering the reigns of Edward I., Edward II., and Edward III., when the author either was personally engaged in the scenes described, or heard of them from those who had been actors in the same.

The Cambridge MS. being the only copy known now to exist, we have to deplore its mutilation, which has taken place since Leland made his abstract, supposing that it was from this copy that he worked. The loss of some of the earlier folios might be borne with equanimity, but it is exceedingly tantalising that the missing sheets covered the period of the author's chief activity, namely, from the capture of Roxburgh Castle by Sir Alexander Ramsay, in 1342, down to the capture of Gray himself by the Earl of March, in 1355. Of Gray's observations upon these eventful years we can only judge by Leland's exceedingly succinct notes.

A careful collation of the Maitland Club edition with the

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original was begun by the late Miss Bateson, and continued by Mr. Alfred Rogers of the University Library, Cambridge. Very few errors were detected, testifying to the diligence and erudition of Stevenson, who was only twenty-nine when his edition of the text was printed. The sense, however, was sometimes obscured by faulty punctuation, which the translator has remedied to the best of his ability. In doing so, as well as in very numerous passages and words of doubtful meaning, he has had constant recourse to the patient revision of his manuscript by Mr. George Neilson, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., to whom he takes this opportunity of making grateful acknowledgement.

Sir Thomas Gray died in 1369. Practically all that is known about him has been so clearly explained in Stevenson's introduction to the French text as to render superfluous more than the present brief notice of the author's life and work.

The arms of the principal English and Scottish knights mentioned in the chronicle have been designed by Mr. Graham Johnston, Herald Painter in the Court of the Lord Lyon, from blazons carefully collected from the best authorities.

Words of doubtful meaning and names which have not been identified are printed in italics.

HERBERT MAXWELL.

MONREITH,

April, 1907.

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REIGN OF EDWARD I.

THE 'SCALACRONICA' OF SIR THOMAS GRAY

REIGN OF EDWARD I.

IN the year of grace 1274, on the feast of the Assumption of ^{MS.} Our Lady,¹ Edward the son of Henry, with his wife Eleanor, ^{fo. 191^b} were crowned and anointed at Westminster by Friar Robert of Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury. The great street of Cheap and the others through which this Edward rode to his coronation were covered with carpets and silken tapestry. The citizens flung gold and silver from the windows for anybody who cared to take it. The conduit on one side of Cheap ran with white wine, on the other side with red. King Alexander of Scotland was there, and the Duke of Brittany (who was the premier duke after the earls present), the wives of both being sisters of the said Edward, and also the Queen-mother. Which seigneurs, with all the other Earls of England, were clothed in garments of gold and silk, with numerous retinues of knights, who, on dismounting, turned their horses loose for anybody to take who

¹ 19th August.

THE 'SCALACRONICA' OF

chose, in honour of the coronation of this Edward, who at this time was thirty-six years of age. Alexander, King of Scotland, did him homage at this time, then went to his own country, where soon after Margaret, his wife, Edward's sister, died. She had two sons, Edward and David, and a daughter Margaret, who afterwards was Queen of Norway. The two sons died during their father's lifetime, at the age of twenty years.

Soon afterwards, in the year following this coronation, Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, sent beyond seas for the daughter of the Earl of Montfort to make her his wife. She was captured by the seamen of Bristol on her way to Snowdon and taken before King Edward, who suspected from this treaty of marriage that Llewelyn bore him no good will, and also because Llewelyn had not come to his coronation, whither he was summoned for his homage. He [Llewelyn] took offence and began war. The King entered Wales, captured the castle of Rhuddlan, driving thence the said Llewelyn and forcing him to crave grace, who yielded himself to the King [by payment of] 50,000 marks, upon condition of becoming the King's liege.¹ Then he [Llewelyn] took away with him the said damoisel.

Next year² the King caused Llewelyn to be summoned by brief to his Parliament, but he refused, and again took up arms; but he did not persist, but once more was reconciled with the King, upon condition that he would be guilty of no contempt from that time forward, on pain of the punishment which was due.

David, brother of Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, was of the King's household. The King had bestowed Trodsham upon him and his

¹ A.D. 1276-7.

² A.D. 1277.

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heirs. Which David was crafty, a spy upon the King's counsels, bidding his time. He joined the Welsh who once more were beginning war under his brother.¹ The King moved a great army to Wales, and caused a bridge of barges to be thrown across an arm of the sea towards Snowdon, because the passes in the woods and mountains, which the Welsh had occupied, made the other route a difficult one. The King's troops foolishly began the said crossing before the bridge was complete, and were repulsed by the Welsh who were formed in ambush on the other side. Here Roger de Clifford, William de Lindsey, John fitz-Robert, and Lucas de Towny were drowned, and many others perished in the crush of their repulse. At low tide John de Vesci, who had lately come from over sea, passed across into Snowdon with Basques² and brigands of Aragon, whom he had brought with him, and these wasted the country lamentably. David, the brother of Llewelyn, took to flight, which threw the prince, his brother, into such a panic that he lost all confidence and went off with a few followers. Suddenly he encountered John Giffard and Edmond de Mortimer, with their companies, who had left the King's army in search of adventure. These slew him and his people, and presented his head to the King, which was fixed on the Tower of London.

MS.
fo. 192

At the same time Friar John of Peckham was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury by the Pope.³ And Roger de Mortimer held the Round Table with a hundred knights at Kenilworth; to which peaceable revel of arms came knights errant from many foreign countries. At the same time began the sheep scab⁴ in England; for knights returning from the

¹ A.D. 1282.

² Baskles.

³ A.D. 1279.

⁴ *La roingue des berbis.*

THE 'SCALACRONICA' OF

Holy Land brought home sheep with great tails from Cyprus, which first carried hither the said scab.

At the same time the coinage was changed, and was called ¹²⁷⁹ *pollardes*.

Soon afterwards David the brother of Llewelyn was taken near Denbigh, and was hanged and drawn by decree of the King, his quarters being sent to divers places. The King bestowed the lordships of Wales upon divers seigneurs of England, on condition that they should dwell there, which they did, and led a jolly life, and took much delight in hounds and hawks, and in horse racing and leaping, and especially in killing deer by hunting them on horseback.

In the year of grace 1284, his [King Edward's] son, Edward, was born in the castle of Carnarvon, in Wales, and in the same year his other son, Alfonso, died at Windsor, being the King's eldest son; and his daughter, Mary, became a nun at Amesbury. King Alexander of Scotland after the death of the King's sister,¹ took to wife the daughter of the Count of Flanders, by whom he had no offspring.

This King Edward caused the Jews to be expelled from his realm, wherefore he took [a tax of] a fifteenth from the laity and a tenth from the clergy.²

^{MS.}
^{fo. 192^b} The King passed into Gascony to compose the war between the King of Aragon and the Prince del More, who had submitted all their dispute to his award. While the King was over there, the Earl of Cornwall remained Guardian of England.

Rhys-ap-Merodach, a seigneur of Wales, rose in arms on

¹ Queen Margaret of Scotland, sister of Edward; d. 1275.

² A.D. 1280.

SIR THOMAS GRAY

account of injury which Payn Tiptoft had done him by haughtiness and malice, which Rhys-ap-Merodach refused to put up with at the commandment of the King; wherefore he was afterwards hanged and drawn at York when the King returned from over sea.

King Edward discovered such default during his absence on the part of his justices and officers that he caused some to be exiled, as Thomas de Weyland, Rafe de Engham, and Hugh del Chauncelery; Adam de Stratton was fined; the faithful ones were continued in their offices, as Elys de Ethingham and Johan de Meckingham. X

At this time Acre was lost by the Christians.

Also in this year Queen Eleanor died.¹

King Alexander of Scotland, riding one night to [visit] his aforesaid wife, fell from his palfrey, near Kinghorn, and broke his neck,² to the great confusion of the two realms; his sons were dead, and he had no issue save the daughter of his daughter, Queen Margaret of Norway. The lords of Scotland—prelates, earls and barons, and the commons, foresaw trouble afar from a disputed succession.³ They sent to King Edward of England in Gascony a request that, in order to secure peace, he would consent to his eldest son, Edward of Carnarvon, taking to wife Margaret, the daughter of Queen Margaret of Norway, daughter of the said Alexander who broke his neck. To which [proposal] the councils of both realms consented on the condition that the said Edward of Carnarvon should dwell in Scotland during his father's life, and that after his [father's] death, he should always dwell one year in one realm and the next in the other, and that he

¹ 28th Nov., 1290.

² 17th March, 1286.

³ *Chalange du realme.*

THE 'SCALACRONICA' OF

should leave behind him all his officers and ministers of one realm when he entered the marches of the other realm, so that his council should always be of that nation in whose realm he was dwelling for the time being.

Assent was given [to this] by the King on arriving at his house and [a request] was sent to Rome for dispensation, and an embassy to Norway to ask for the said Margaret. This envoy was a cleric of Scotland, Master Weland, who perished with the said maiden upon the coast of Buchan, in returning to Scotland.

MS.
fo. 193

In the meantime King Edward of England, who was without a wife, and had only one son, hearing tell of Blanche, daughter of King Philip of France, demanded her in marriage,¹ on condition that the King of England should enfeoff the King of France in Gascony, and that the King of France should re-enfeoff the King of England in Gascony with his daughter in marriage, which was agreed.² But the said King of France refused to re-enfeoff to the said English King in his territory of Gascony, but retained it as his own demesne; neither would he give the aforesaid daughter, but pretended summons upon the King of England to come before his Parliament [to answer] for depredations committed by the Cinque Ports³ upon the Normans; designing, in disregard of treaty, to deprive the said Edward of his territory of Gascony by process in his [Philip's] Court. Whereupon the said Edward prepared a great array against Gascony, renouncing his homage to the King of France for Gascony by the Cordelier, William of Gainsborough, and the Jacobin, Hugh of Manchester; which friars the Count

¹ A. D. 1293.

² *qi ces fist.*

³ *Les Fiportz.*

SIR THOMAS GRAY

d'Artois, having seized them as they passed through his land on their errand, caused to be imprisoned for a long time.

King Edward had prepared a great expedition against Gascony, and had reached Portsmouth in setting out, when news arrived that Madock and Morgan, believing that he had passed beyond sea, had raised the commonalty of Wales against him in war. Wherefore the King abandoned his voyage at that time, and marched into Wales. But already he had sent into Gascony several barons of his realm, who, upon their arrival, found not so much land in the obeisance of their lord the King as they could make good their footing upon. But before long the people of Bordeaux rose and joined them, and drove out the French whom King Louis of France had placed there. The English recovered much land in that country to the use of the King, wherefore this King Edward, as it was said, ever afterwards showed special favour to the knights who took part in this voyage to Gascony.

The aforesaid English barons encountered Charles of Valois, with the power of France, at Belgard, where many English were slain and taken, but not thoroughly defeated; they held the field all day, but retired during the night, while the French kept their ground upon the field all night, wherefore they claimed to have won the victory. And truth to tell, the English suffered the heavier loss, for there were taken Monsire John de Saint John, father and son, Monsire Rafe de Touny, and many others, most of whom never recovered from their sufferings in a horrible, villainous prison.

Meanwhile the King had destroyed and scattered the Welsh rebels, and had taken Madock and Morgan and caused them to

THE 'SCALACRONICA' OF

MS.
fo. 193^b

be hanged and drawn, and then addressed himself to the rescue of his people in Gascony. He sent thither his brother, Edmond,¹ who there met with a fair death. He himself [King Edward] went to Flanders in support of Count Robert, who was at war with the French.

The said King Edward sent Master John de Glantoun, Archdeacon of Richmond, to the Pope to complain of the bad faith of the King of France, and of his intention to take his heritage from him. By other envoys he made alliance with the King of Germany, and with the King of Aragon, with the Archbishop of Cologne, and with the Count of Burgundy, with the Count of Savoy, and with several princes of Germany, who all failed him at need; which when he perceived, he made peace with the King of France, who at the same time gave him his sister, Margaret, to wife,² on account of the youth of Blanche, and, in making peace, surrendered [to Edward] a great part of Gascony.

While King Edward lay at Ghent, the townspeople began rioting and quarrelling with the King's people. The Welsh who were there swam across the Scheldt, robbed houses and did much mischief. King Edward sent to seek the Count of Flanders and said to him—' Sir Count, keep your people quiet, or I shall cause it to be said that " here once stood Ghent " '—upon which order was restored.

While King Edward was at Ghent,³ honourable envoys came on behalf of the commons of Scotland, and of the prelates,

¹ 'Crouchback,' Earl of Lancaster.

² A.D. 1299.

³ There is a confusion in dates here. Edward married Margaret of France in 1299; the Scottish dispute was referred to him in 1291.



The King of England



The King of Scots



Llewelyn, Prince of Wales

SIR THOMAS GRAY

earls and barons, to inform him that Margaret, daughter of the Queen of Norway, who was the daughter of their King Alexander, had died at sea on the voyage to Scotland, and beseeching his lordship that he would interfere in the interests of the country's peace to secure for them that King who had most right to be so; because they apprehended great disputes among divers puissant lords, both of the realm and of elsewhere, who should claim the succession, and also on account of sundry disturbances which had broken out in the country, for every one of these great lords behaved like a king on his own lands. The King replied that he would return to his realm and travel towards the Border, and that he would take their request into consideration.

It is to be observed that, according to the chronicles of Scotland, there was never such a difficulty [as to] who should be their kings of the right line, which had completely failed in the time of three successive kings, each one son of the other. And for that reason this chronicle aims at explaining the descent of the kings and the pedigree of those who have reigned in Scotland.

.
[Here follow six folios reciting the well-known mythical descent of the Scots from Gaidel, who married Scots, the daughter of Pharaoh.]

About this time the bridge of Berwick across the Tweed fell in a great flood, because the arches were too low, which bridge had lasted only nine years since it had been erected. Soon after

MS.
fo. 197

THE 'SCALACRONICA' OF

this¹ William de Vesci gave the Honor of Alnwick to Antony Beck, Bishop of Durham, who, because of the hot words of John, bastard son of the said William, sold it to Henry de Percy.²

By the time that King Edward of England, the First after the Conquest, had performed that which he had to do in Flanders in the aforesaid manner, he repaired to England and travelled to the march of Scotland, where he caused a parliament to be summoned at Norham; whither came all the magnates³ of Scotland, requesting him as sovereign lord to cause it to be tried who should be their rightful king; but he would take no part in the matter until they had surrendered all the fortresses of Scotland to him as to their sovereign, which they did, and he placed therein his ministers and officers. Now all the magnates of Scotland recognised this sovereignty by overt declaration, and all those who claimed right to the realm of Scotland placed themselves entirely at his judgment, to which all set their seals in affirmation of the matter to be debated. This parliament of Norham was [held] after Easter in the year of grace 1291, whence they adjourned until the octave of Saint John⁴ in the same year, in order that whosoever claimed right [to the throne] in Scotland should come to Berwick upon the said day and receive true judgment.

King Edward travelled south, and sent in the meantime, by his honourable envoys, to all the universities of Christendom to ascertain the opinions and advice upon this matter of all the experts in civil and canon law. The said King Edward returned

¹ Not before A.D. 1297.

² The sale did not take place till 1309. See De Fonblanque's *Annals of the House of Percy*, i. 64, where, however, no mention is made of the dispute with John de Vesci.

³ *Lez grauntz.*

⁴ 1st July.

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on the said day, and on the appointed day when all the magnates of the two realms were assembled under summons, and several [knights] came to claim their right upon divers grounds to the realm of Scotland; that is to say—Florence, Count of Holland, John de Balliol, Robert de Brus, John de Hastings, John de Comyn, Patrick Earl of March, John de Vesci, Nicholas de Soulis, William de Ros and Patrick Galightly. All these put in claim by different challenge in form of petition before the said King Edward. Then it was decreed by the said King, that twenty of the most eminent persons of England, and twenty other persons of Scotland, very eminent and discreet, elected by common assent,¹ should try their challenge; which [persons] were elected, nominated, attested and sworn, and received time to consider [the matter] until the feast of Saint Michael² next following.

MS.
fo. 197^b

King Edward returned into England, and came back to Berwick on Saint Michael's day, when judgment was pronounced in the church of the Trinity that the right of succession to the realm of Scotland [was confined] solely to the issue of three daughters of David, Earl of Huntingdon, who was brother of King William [the Lion]; the others were nonsuited.³ But great difficulty arose in regard to the issue of the two elder daughters of the said Earl David, that is to say, between John de Balliol, who was the son of the daughter Margaret, eldest daughter of the said earl, and Robert de Brus the elder, who was the son of Isabel, second daughter of the said David Earl of Huntingdon; and between these there were great pleadings. The right of John de Hastings issue of the youngest daughter,

¹ *Per comun eleccioun.*

² 29th September.

³ *Foriugez.*

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failed entirely.¹ Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, vigorously supported the contention of Robert de Brus, because he had married his [Clare's] sister. The Earl of Warren and Antony Bishop of Durham [were] of John de Balliol's party. The pleaders and advocates urged for Robert de Brus that he was the nearest heir male, inasmuch as he was the son of Isabel, daughter of the said Earl David of Huntingdon, one degree nearer to the said earl than was John de Balliol, who was the son of Dervorguile, daughter of Margaret, the daughter of the said Earl of Huntingdon [and] wife of Alan of Galloway; wherefore he demanded the royal right as the nearest heir. The advocates of John de Balliol said that, as his mother could not reign, he claimed the right in succession to his ancestor as his lawful lineal descendant, and according to the law of their judge, whereunto they were in submission, agreement and assurance. So it was found by the forty persons of both realms, upon their oath, that the right lay with John de Balliol, as being the issue of the eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon.

In accordance with which verdict, King Edward of England awarded the right to the realm to John de Balliol, whereupon, in presence of the said King Edward, all the magnates of Scotland yielded allegiance to John de Balliol with oath and homage, except Robert de Brus the elder, who persisted in his claim, and declared in the hearing of King Edward that he would never do homage. He surrendered the land he owned in Scotland, the Vale of Annan, to his son, the second Robert, and son of the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, who was no more willing than his father to make allegiance to the said John de Balliol;

¹ *Ofte* (? *Oste*) *de tout*.

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therefore he said to his son, the third Robert, who was son of the daughter and heiress of the Earl of Carrick, and was afterwards King of Scotland—‘Take thou our land in Scotland, if you desire it, for never shall I become his man.’ This third Robert, who was at the time a bachelor of King Edward’s chamber, did homage to John de Balliol; which John was crowned after the manner of the country at Scone on Saint Andrew’s day, in the year of grace 1292.¹

This John de Balliol had three sisters; the first, Margaret, lady of Gilsland; the second was lady de Quenci; the third had John Comyn for husband, father of him whom Robert Brus killed at Dumfries; and the said John de Balliol had but one son, named Edward.

This John de Balliol, King of Scotland, came to Newcastle-on-Tyne at Christmas next after his coronation, and there did royal homage for his realm of Scotland to King Edward the First after the Conquest; also he was seized anew of all the strong places of Scotland which were in possession of the King of England. Shortly afterwards an appeal was lodged in the court of the King of England by a gentleman of Scotland, because he could not obtain justice, as it appeared to him, in the court of the King of Scotland against one of his neighbours; wherefore King John of Scotland was summoned by writ of the King of England to do justice to the said person; on account of which the Council of Scotland was immediately disturbed.

At this same time war broke out afresh between the King of England and the King of France, arising out of doings by the

¹ It will be remembered that Barbour in his poem rolls these three Roberts into one.

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Bayonnaises and the Cinque Ports, mariners at Saint Mahu, against the shipping of Normandy; wherefore the Council of Scotland appointed four bishops and four earls and four barons to rule the land of Scotland, by whose advice rebellion was planned against the King of England. Also they sent as envoys to the King of France John de Soulis and others, who made with him an alliance against the King of England; which King of England, being by no means sure about the Scots, appointed Antony, Bishop of Durham, to treat with them, and, during the ensuing negotiations at Jedworth, one of the cousins of the said Bishop of Durham, Buscy by name, was killed in a mellay among petty chiefs. Which Bishop of Durham, on the part of the King of England, demanded of the Scots hostages from the four castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, so that he might have security for them [the Scots] during the war with France. Thereafter he presented the King's writ summoning their King John to appear in person before the King of England's parliament at Newcastle-on-Tyne at mid Lent; at which place and time neither the King of Scots, nor anybody representing him, appeared. Wherefore King Edward of England marched to Scotland with a great army, [and] kept the feast of Easter at Wark, of which castle Robert de Ros was lord, who deserted the service of the said King of England on the third day before the King's coming, left the castle empty, and betook himself to Sanquhar,¹ a small castle which he had in Scotland, all on account of the love *paramours* which he bore to Christian de Moubray, who afterwards would not deign to take him.²

MS.
fo. 198^b

¹ *Senewar.*

² *Qe apres ne le deigna avoir.*

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At this time seven earls of Scotland, Buchan, Menteith, Strathearn, Lennox, Ross, Athol and Mar, with John Comyn and many other barons, invaded England in force, spared nothing, burnt the suburbs of Carlisle and laid siege to that place. King Edward, hearing of this, took up a position before Berwick,¹ and the first day he was there, when the King sat eating in his tent, one of his provision ships, by a blunder of her crew, went aground upon the Scottish shore close to the town, which at this time was not walled but enclosed by a high embankment. The townspeople rushed down to the ship, set her on fire and cut to pieces the crew. At the cry "All to arms!" in the King's host, the fierce young fellows, spurring forth mounted the banks on horseback. Then, where the townsfolk had made a path along the fosse, they [the English] entered pell-mell with those on horseback, whoever could get in first. Inside a great number of people of Fife and Forfar,² who were in garrison of the town, were killed. That same night the said King Edward wholly captured the town and the castle, where he made his abode, and whither came to him a Minorite friar, warden of the friars of Roxburgh, by authority of King John of Scotland bringing him letters renouncing the homage of the King of Scotland by letters patent³ from the King and the Community of Scotland, which letters the King received and caused them to be notarially registered.

¹ 28th March, 1296.

² *De Fyffe et de Foritherik.* Fife and Fothreve formed one of the seven territorial divisions of Scotland, comprising the modern counties of Fife and Kinross. This is a very mild description of the ferocious sack of Berwick perpetrated by Edward, 30th March, 1296.

³ *Par lettres pupplis.*

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At the same time¹ the aforesaid earls of Scotland re-entered England, burnt the priory of Hexham and wrought great damage to the country. The Earl of March, Patrick-with-the-Black-Beard, who alone of all the lords of Scotland had remained obedient to the King of England, and was with the King at the taking of Berwick, came to announce to the King that his wife had received into his castle of Dunbar her kinsmen, enemies of Scotland, who had imprisoned² his officers and held the castle against him. He therefore asked assistance from the King, and wished to set out that very night. The King gave him the Earls of Warren and Warwick, with great supplies by sea and land, so that before sunrise next day he [March] had laid siege to the castle of Dunbar.

The lords of Scotland who were assembled, hearing of the siege, marched by night upon the place and came in the morning to Spott, between which place and Dunbar they gave battle to the said English besiegers, when the Scots were defeated [in] the first battle of this war.³ There were taken prisoners in the castle the Earls of Menteith, Athol and Ross, and seven barons—John Comyn the younger, William de Saint Clare, Richard Syward the elder, John of Inchmartin, Alexander de Moray, Edmund Comyn of Kilbride, with nine and twenty knights, eighty esquires, who were all sent to prisons in different parts of England.

ms.
fo. 199

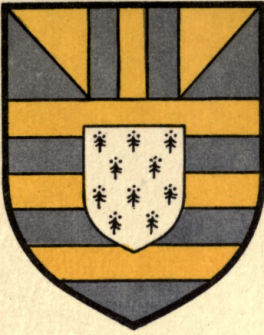
The King of Scotland, John de Balliol,⁴ sent to crave peace

¹ This refers to the expedition of the earls from Carlisle. Hexham was burnt 8th April, 1296.

² *Embote*, perhaps attacked or overpowered.

³ 28th April, 1296.

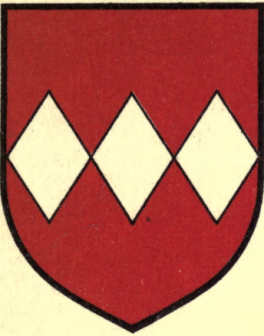
⁴ So Sir Thomas Gray styles him; but the Scottish monarchs were never styled Kings of Scotland, but Kings of Scots.



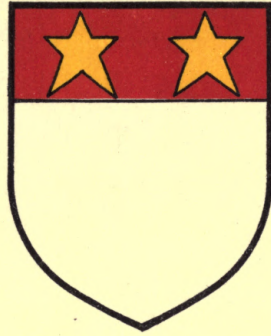
Roger de Mortimer, Earl of March



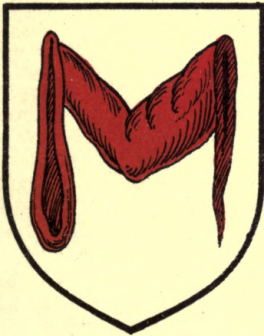
Sir Thomas de Rokeby



Sir John de Gifford



Sir John de St. John



Sir Rafe de Tonny



Florence, Count of Holland

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from the King [Edward], submitted to his grace and surrendered to the king,¹ with his son Edward, whom he offered to him as hostage for his good behaviour, and these two were taken and sent to London, and forbidden to pass further than twenty leagues around the city. X

King Edward of England occupied all the castles of Scotland, and rode through the country until he came to Stokforthe,² and appointed his officials, and, in returning, caused to be carried away from the abbey of Scone the stone whereon the kings of Scotland were wont to be seated at the beginning of a reign, and caused it to be taken to London at Westminster, and made it the seat of the priest at the high altar. ✓

King Edward of England caused summon his Parliament at Berwick, where he took homage from all the magnates of Scotland, to which he had their seals appended in perpetual memory,³ and thence he repaired to England, where, at the abbey of Westminster,⁴ he committed the custody of Scotland to the Earl of Warenne, with a seal of government for the same, and said in jest: 'He does good business who rids himself of dirt!'⁵ The king appointed Hugh de Cressingham his Chamberlain of Scotland, and William de Ormesby Justiciar, and laid commands on them that all persons of Scotland above fifteen years should

¹ July 2, 1296.

² Perhaps Stracathro, or Stocket Forest in Aberdeenshire.

³ The Ragman Roll, 1296.

⁴ Westminster, the 'new minster' of Edward the Confessor.

⁵ *Bon besoigne fait qy de merde se deliuer*: reminding one of the famous *mot de Cambroune* at Waterloo.

THE 'SCALACRONICA' OF

do homage, and that their names should be inscribed. The clerks took a penny¹ from each, whereby they became wealthy fellows. The King ordained that all lords of Scotland should remain beyond the Trent, so long as his war with France should last. In which year of grace 1297 he levied [a tax of] half a mark sterling upon every sack of wool in England and Scotland, which before paid no more than fourpence; wherefore it was called *la mal tol*. The King went to Gascony.

MS. ✓
fo. 199^b At which time [1297] in the month of May William Wallace was chosen by the commons of Scotland as leader to raise war against the English, and he at the outset slew William de Hesilrig at Lanark, the King of England's Sheriff of Clydesdale.² The said William Wallace came by night upon the said sheriff and surprised him, when Thomas de Gray,³ who was at that time in the suite of the said sheriff, was left stripped for dead in the mellay when the English were defending themselves. The said Thomas lay all night naked between two burning houses which the Scots had set on fire, whereof the heat kept life in him, until he was recognised at daybreak and carried off by William de Lundy, who caused him to be restored to health.

And the following winter, the said William Wallace burnt all Northumberland. The Earl of Warenne, who was Keeper

¹ *Vn denar.*

² His proper name was Andrew de Livingstone, usually termed de Heselrig or Hazelrig, as in the death sentence of Wallace, probably on account of his official residence.

³ Father of the chronicler.

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of Scotland for the King of England, being in the south,¹ turned towards Scotland ; where at the bridge of Stirling he was defeated by William Wallace, who, being at hand in order of battle,² allowed so many of the English as he pleased to cross over the said bridge, and, at the right moment,³ attacked them, caused the bridge to be broken, where many of the English perished, with Hugh de Cressingham, the King's Treasurer ; and it was said that the Scots caused him to be flayed, and in token of hatred made girths of his skin. The Earl of Warenne took flight to Berwick. William Wallace, to whom the Scots adhered, immediately after this discomfiture, followed⁴ the said Earl of Warenne in great force, and skirting Berwick, arrived on Hutton Moor in order of battle ; but perceiving the English arrayed to oppose him, he came no nearer to Berwick, but retired and bivouacked in Duns Park.⁵

The said Earl of Warenne, on the approach of William Wallace, took his departure from Berwick, leaving the said town waste,

¹ Warenne, or Surrey, which was his principal title, had been recalled on 18th August for service with King Edward on the Continent, and Sir Brian Fitz Alan was appointed Keeper of Scotland in his place. But Sir Brian having raised a difficulty about his salary (£1128 8s.), the Prince of Wales wrote on 7th Sept., 1298, requiring Surrey to remain at his post. (See Stevenson's *Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland*, ii. 230.)

² *En bataille*, in force or in order of battle ; used in both senses.

³ *A soun point*.

⁴ *Suyst*, misprinted *fuyst* in Maitland Club Ed.

⁵ Not Duns Park on Whitadder, but in a place which then bore that name a little to the north of Berwick.

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and went to the King's son, who was Prince of Wales, because the King was in Gascony.¹

On account of these tidings the King returned to England. At the first coming of the Earl of Warenne to Scotland, the Bishop of Glasgow² and William Lord of Douglas³ came to give assurance that they were no parties to the rising of William Wallace, albeit they had been adherents of his previously;⁴ wherefore the said earl caused them to be imprisoned—the bishop in Roxburgh Castle, William de Douglas in Berwick Castle, where he died of vexation.⁵

William Wallace, perceiving the departure of the Earl of Warenne, sent the chevalier Henry de Haliburton to seize Berwick, and appointed others to besiege Robert de Hastings in Roxburgh Castle with a strong force.

MS.
fo. 200

Robert the son of Roger, who at that time was lord of Warkworth, with John the son of Marmaduke, with other barons of the counties of Northumberland and Carlisle, mustered quickly and came by night to Roxburgh, and came so stealthily upon the Scots that, before they knew where they were, the English were upon them and killed the engineers who were handling the hooks of the engines to shoot into the castle⁶; whereby they

¹ He was in Flanders.

² Robert Wishart, one of the Six Guardians appointed on the death of Alexander III. in 1286.

³ Sir William de Douglas 'le Hardi,' a crusader: father of 'the Good Sir James.'

⁴ They deserted him at the capitulation of Irvine, July, 1297.

⁵ *De mischef.* He was transferred to the Tower of London, where he died in 1298.

⁶ *Lez clikes de lez engines a trier pur getter au chastel.*

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[the Scots] were thrown into confusion, many being slain. Henry de Haliburton, with others who were in Berwick, hearing of this reverse, drew off without delay, leaving the said town empty.

The said English lords recovered the said town of Berwick, and held it until the arrival of the King, who, returning from Gascony, approached Scotland in great force, entered it by Roxburgh, advanced to Templeliston and Linlithgow, and so towards Stirling, where William Wallace, who had mustered all the power of Scotland, lay in wait and undertook to give battle to the said King of England. They fought on this side of Falkirk on the day of the Magdalene in the year of grace *mille cclxxx et xv*,¹ when the Scots were defeated. Wherefore it was said long after that William Wallace had brought them to the revel if they would have danced.²

Walter, brother of the Steward of Scotland, who had dismounted [to fight] on foot among the commons, was slain with more than ten thousand of the commons.³ William Wallace, who was on horseback, fled with the other Scottish lords who were present. At this battle, Antony de Bek, Bishop of Durham, who was with King Edward of England, had such abundance of retinue that in his column there were thirty-two banners and

¹ A clerical error. The date was 21st July, 1298.

² *Qe Willam Walays lour auoit amene au karole dauncent sils uolount.*

³ It was Sir John Stewart of Bonkill who was thus slain, at the head of his Selkirk bowmen. Gray's estimate of the slain is more reasonable than that of clerical writers. Walsingham puts the number at 60,000, probably three times as much as Wallace's whole force: Hemingburgh reduces it to 56,000.

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a trio of earls—the Earl of Warwick,¹ the Earl of Oxford,² and the Earl of Angus.³

At this time the town of St. Andrews was destroyed. The King reappointed his officials in Scotland, betook himself to England, making pilgrimage to holy tombs,⁴ thanking God for his victory, as was his custom after such affairs.

In the following year, the year of grace *mille* cc.lxxx.xix, on the day of the translation of St. Thomas,⁵ arrived legates from the Court of Rome to King Edward at Canterbury, praying and admonishing the King that he would leave John de Balliol, lately King of Scotland, in the keeping of the Holy Father, since he had surrendered to his mercy. The King granted this, provided he [John] should not enter Scotland, which was undertaken, and the said John was delivered, who betook himself to the estate of Baillof, his heritage in Picardy, where he resided all [the rest of] his life.

MS.
fo. 200^b

In the following year, owing to the diligence of persons in Scotland and the setting forth of all the evidence they could devise, letters came from Pope Boniface to King Edward of England, declaring that the realm of Scotland was held in fief of the Court of Rome, and that he had intruded to the disinheritance of the Roman Church,⁶ desiring him and admonishing

¹ Guy de Beauchamp, Lord Ordainer: d. 1315.

² Probably de Vere, 6th Earl. The line was extinguished in 1703 in the person of Aubrey de Vere, 20th Earl of Oxford.

³ Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus: d. 1307.

⁴ Or 'to relics of saints'—*les corps saintz*.

⁵ 7th July, 1299.

⁶ *Leglis Romayne* in MS. misprinted *legatis Romayne* in *Maitland Club Edition*.

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him to remove his hand. The King caused a general parliament to be summoned to Lincoln, where it was declared by all laws imperial, civil, canonical and royal, and by the custom of the Isle of Britain in all times from the days of Brutus, that the sovereignty of Scotland belonged to the regality of England, which was announced to the Pope.

The said King Edward went to Scotland, invested the castle of Carlaverock¹ and took it, after which siege² William Wallace was taken by John de Menteith near Glasgow and brought before the King of England, who caused him to be drawn and hanged in London.³

The said King caused the town of Berwick to be surrounded with a stone wall, and, returning to England, left John de Segrave Guardian of Scotland. The Scots began again to rebel against King Edward of England, and elected John de Comyn their Guardian and Chief of their cause. At which time ensued great passages of arms between the Marches, and notably in Teviotdale, before Roxburgh Castle, between Ingram de Umfraville,⁴ Robert de Keith, Scotsmen, and Robert de Hastings, warden of the said castle. John de Segrave, Guardian of Scotland for King Edward of England, marched in force into Scotland with several magnates of the English Marches, and with Patrick Earl of March, who was an adherent of the English King, came to Rosslyn, encamped about the village, with his

¹ July, 1300.

² Five years after : viz. in the summer of 1305.

³ 23rd August, 1305.

⁴ This Earl of Angus, who inherited through Matilda, heiress of the Celtic earls, was a staunch supporter of King Edward, and it seems strange to find him fighting for the Scottish cause.

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column around him. His advanced guard was encamped a league distant in a hamlet. John Comyn with his adherents made a night attack upon the said John de Segrave and discomfited him in the darkness; and his advanced guard, which was encamped at a distant place,¹ were not aware of his defeat, therefore they came in the morning in battle array to the same place where they had left their commander overnight, intending to do their devoir, where they were attacked and routed by the numbers of Scots, and Rafe the Cofferer was there slain.

MS. fo. 201
Because of this news King Edward marched the following year² into Scotland, and on his first entry encamped at Dryburgh. Hugh de Audley, with 60 men-at-arms, finding difficulty in encamping beside the King,³ went [forward] to Melrose and took up quarters in the abbey. John Comyn, at that time Guardian of Scotland, was in the forest of Ettrick with a great force of armed men, perceiving the presence of the said Hugh at Melrose in the village,⁴ attacked him by night and broke open the gates, and, while the English in the abbey were formed up and mounted on their horses in the court, they [the Scots?] caused the gates to be thrown open, [when] the Scots entered on horseback in great numbers, bore to the ground the English who were few in number, and captured or slew them all. The chevalier, Thomas Gray,⁵ after being beaten down,

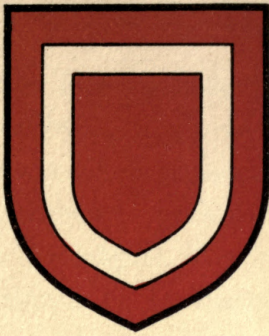
¹ Or 'at the distance of a league'—*ge herbisez estoit de ly vn lieu loinz.*

² May, 1303. The battle of Rosslyn was fought 24th February, 1302-3. The new year being then reckoned to begin on 25th March, Edward's invasion is correctly dated as being in the following year.

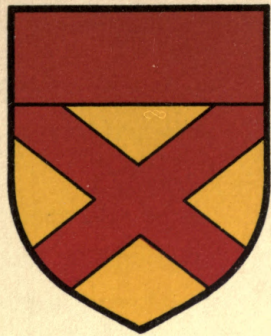
³ *Si eisement ne purroient my estre herbisez de lee le roy.*

⁴ *A la maner.*

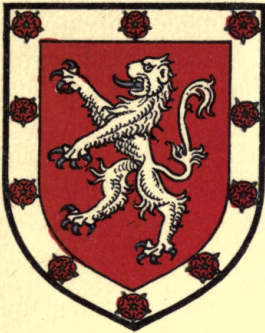
⁵ Father of the chronicler.



Sir John de Galliol



Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale



Patrick, Earl of Dunbar and March



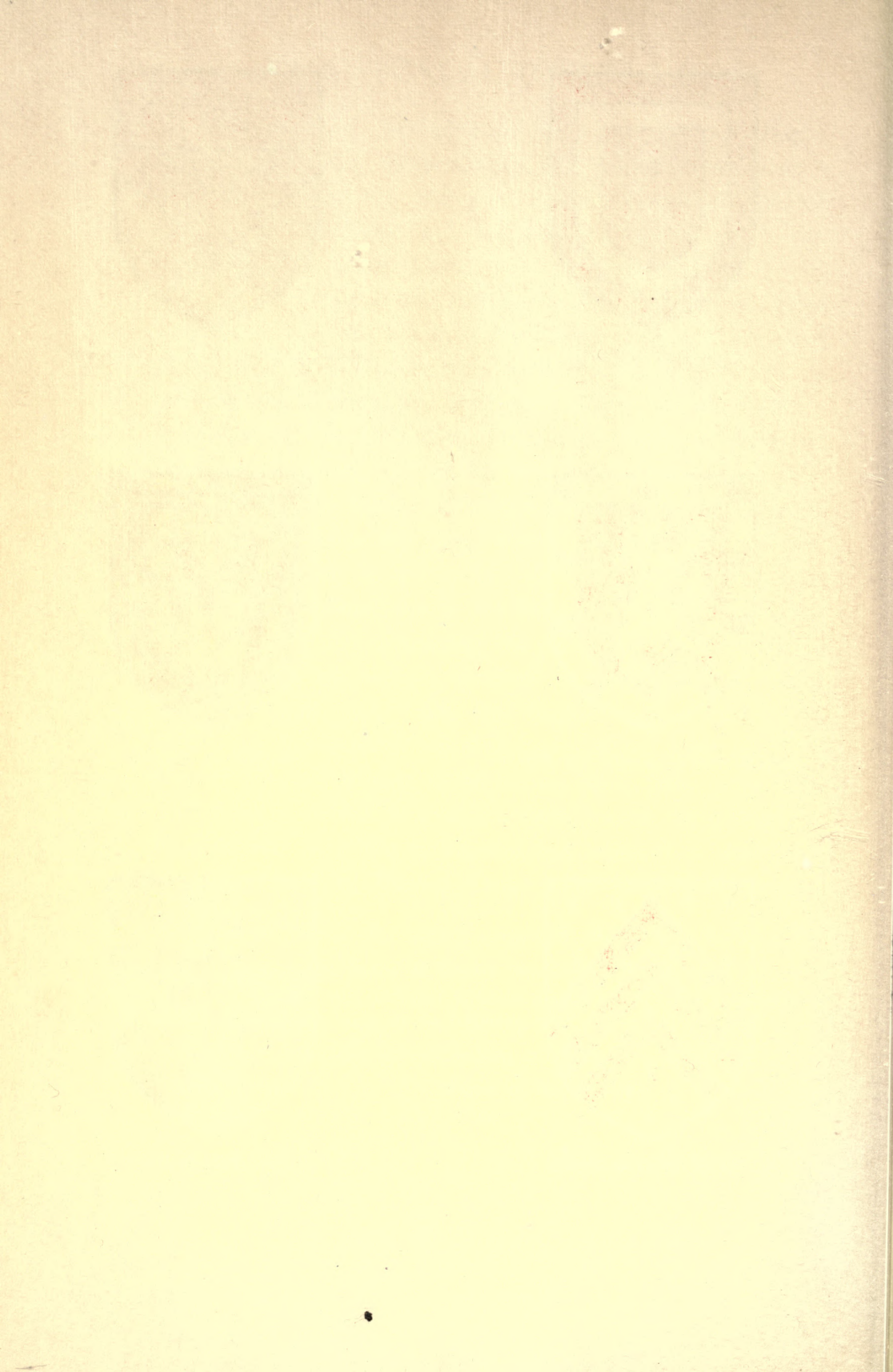
Sir John de Hastings



Sir Nicholas de Soulis



Sir John de Vesci



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seized the house outside the gate, and held it in hope of rescue until the house began to burn over his head, when he, with others, was taken prisoner.

King Edward marched forward and kept the feast of Christmas¹ at Linlithgow, then rode throughout the land of Scotland, and marched to Dunfermline, where John Comyn perceiving that he could not withstand the might of the King of England, rendered himself to the King's mercy, on condition that he and all his adherents should regain all their rightful possessions, and they became again his [Edward's] lieges; whereupon new instruments were publicly executed.

John de Soulis would not agree to the conditions; he left Scotland and went to France, where he died.² William Oliphant, a young Scottish bachelor, caused Stirling Castle to be garrisoned, not deigning to consent to John Comyn's conditions, but claiming to hold from the Lion.³ The said King Edward, who had nearly all the people of Scotland in his power and possession of their fortresses, came before Stirling Castle, invested it and attacked it with many different engines, and took it by force and by a siege of nineteen weeks.⁴ During which siege, the chevalier Thomas Gray was struck through the head below the eyes by the bolt of a springald, and fell to the

¹ A.D. 1303.

² He was joint-Guardian with Comyn; was banished by King Edward in 1304 and d. 1318.

³ *Se clamoit a tenir du Lioun*: apparently from the Lion as emblem of Scotland.

⁴ For the details of this siege, and the names of the siege engines, see Bain's *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ii. 420.

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ground for dead under the barriers of the castle. [This happened] just as he had rescued his master, Henry de Beaumont, who had been caught at the said barriers by a hook thrown from a machine, and was only just outside the barriers when the said Thomas dragged him out of danger. The said Thomas was brought in and a party was paraded to bury him, when at that moment he began to move and look about him, and afterwards recovered.

The King sent the captain of the castle,¹ William Oliphant, to prison in London, and caused the knights of his army to joust before their departure at the close of the siege. Having appointed his officers throughout Scotland, he marched to England, and left Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, as ^{MS.} fo. 201^b Guardian of Scotland, to whom he gave the forests of Selkirk and Ettrick, where at Selkirk the said Aymer caused build a pele, and placed therein a strong garrison.

At this time the Count of Flanders was captured at Béthune and kept in prison by the King of France; wherefore the commons of Flanders made war upon the French, and on St. John's day at midsummer they fought with the power of France at Courtrai, where the Comte d'Artois and several other French counts and barons met their death through pride and arrogance, because they charged the Flemings in their trenches.² Enraged at this, the King of France laid siege to Lille with all his

¹ *Chastelain.*

² The date of this 'Battle of the Spurs' is wrongly given. It was not fought on St. John's Day (24th June), 1304, but on 11th July, 1302. *En leur fossez.* It is doubtful whether these *fosses* were military entrenchments or the existing ditches of the country. I incline to think that they were defensive works constructed for the occasion, like Bruce's pits at Bannockburn.

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might. The Flemings sent to King Edward of England to ask for help, which king was aged and in bad health and his treasure spent in his wars with Scotland, in which his people were so deeply involved that he could interfere to no good purpose. Who [nevertheless] willingly undertook to aid them, [and] adopted a stratagem, causing a letter to be forged [as if] from the aldermen of Ghent to himself which was expressed thus :—

‘To their redoubtable lord, the King of England, his humble servants of Ghent [present] all honours and services.

‘Forasmuch we think it will be agreeable to your nobility to hear the joyous news of the well-being of our Lord the Count of Flanders, your ally if you please, please your highness to understand that we have purchased to our [cause] a pretty large conspiracy of private and powerful people in the King of France’s army, who have covenanted with us under sufficient surety to take the king out of his tent within these fifteen days, and to send him to us at a certain fixed place to be exchanged with our said lord.

‘May it please your very excellent lordship to keep this matter secret, and to aid and defend, sustain and govern, your humble adherents if they should require assistance when the aforesaid business is accomplished, which cannot well fail and will tend greatly to the increase of your estate. Which [things] we hope to perform, for if they are not done one day, they cannot fail on another; of so much we are certain.’

King Edward took this letter, and one day when he rose from bed with his wife the Queen, who was sister to the King of France, and was at that time in Kent, he pretended to search in his purse for letters, then left this [forged] letter lying on his wife’s bed, and went off to chapel to hear mass. The Queen perceived the letter, which she took and read and replaced. In the middle of the mass the King returned hastily to the Queen’s chamber, asking impatiently¹ and abruptly

¹ *Irrousement.*

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whether anybody had found a letter; went to the bed, found the letter, snatched it up, folded it up with satisfaction, and departed quickly without saying more. The Queen, who had read the letter, noticed the King's countenance, and, being in great fear and sorrow lest her brother should be betrayed in this manner by villains, caused secret letters to be written to her brother the King of France [containing] all the substance of that letter, and warning him to be on his guard. These letters were despatched, and as soon as the King of France had seen the contents of his sister's letters, he departed from the siege that very night. And thus craft availed, which is often of great use when force is wanting. This happened after [the feast of] St. Michael.¹ And later in the same summer the King of France collected an army, re-entered Flanders, and, on the same St. John's Day, one year after the battle of Courtrai, the Flemings were defeated at Mons-en-Pévele² and their leader, William de Juliers, who was brother to the Count of Juliers, was slain. After which the Count Robert [of Flanders] was released from prison under an arrangement that the three cities of Flanders which were on the frontier of France should belong to the King of France, [namely] Douai, Lille and Béthune.

At this same time Robert de Brus, Earl of Carrick, who retained a strong following through kinsmanship and alliance, always hoping for the establishment of his claim of succession to the realm of Scotland, on the 4th of the kalends

¹ 29th September.

² *Mouns en Païwer*, i.e. Mons, capital of the province of Hainault, called Mons-en-Pévele, anciently written Mons-en-Pévère.

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of February in the year of grace 1306¹ sent his two brothers, Thomas and Neil, from Lochmaben to Dalswinton to John Comyn, begging that he would meet him [Robert] at Dumfries at the [church of the] Minorite Friars, so that they might have a conversation. Now he had plotted with his two brothers aforesaid that they should kill the said John Comyn on the way. But they were received in such a friendly manner by the said John Comyn that they could not bring themselves to do him any harm, but agreed between themselves that their brother himself might do his best. The said John Comyn, suspecting no ill, set out with the two brothers of the said Robert de Brus in order to speak with him [Robert] at Dumfries, went to the Friars [Church] where he found the said Robert, who came to meet him and led him to the high altar. The two brothers of the said Robert told him secretly—‘Sir,’ they said, ‘he gave us such a fair reception, and with such generous gifts, and won upon us so much by his frankness, that we could by no means do him an injury.’—‘See!’ quoth he, ‘you are right lazy: let me settle with him.’

He took the said John Comyn, and they approached the altar.

‘Sir,’ then spoke the said Robert de Brus to the said John Comyn, ‘this land of Scotland is entirely laid in bondage to the English, through the indolence of that chieftain who suffered his right and the franchise of the realm to be lost. Choose one of two ways, either take my estates and help me to be king, or give me yours and I will help you to be the ^{MS.} fo. 202^b

¹ According to the fourteenth century calendar the year should have been 1305.

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same, because you are of his blood who lost it, for I have the hope of succession through my ancestors who claimed the right and were supplanted by yours; for now is the old age of this English King.'

'Certes,' then quoth the said John Comyn, 'I shall never be false to my English seigneur, forasmuch as I am bound to him by oath and homage, in a matter which might be charged against me as treason.'

'No?' exclaimed the said Robert de Brus; 'I had different hopes of you, by the promise of yourself and your friends. You have betrayed me to the King in your letters, wherefore living thou canst not escape my will—thou shalt have thy guerdon!'

So saying, he struck him with his dagger, and the others cut him down in the middle of the church before the altar. A knight, his [Comyn's] uncle,¹ who was present, struck the said Robert de Brus with a sword in the breast,² but he [Bruce] being in armour, was not wounded, which uncle was slain straightway.

The said Robert caused himself to be crowned as King of Scotland at Scone on the feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady³ by the Countess of Buchan, because of the absence of her son, who at that time was living at his manor of Whitwick near Leicester, to whom the duty of crowning the Kings of Scotland

¹ Sir Robert Comyn, whom Barbour calls 'Schir Edmund.'

² *Hu pice*: apparently the same word as *pix*, which de Roquefort gives as *poitrine*, *estomac*, *pectus*.

³ 25th March, whereas the coronation actually took place on 29th March, 1306.

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belonged by inheritance, in the absence of the Earl of Fife,¹ who at that time was in ward of the King in England. The said Countess this same year was captured by the English and taken to Berwick, and by command of King Edward of England was placed in a little wooden chamber² in a tower of the castle of Berwick with sparr'd sides, that all might look in from curiosity.

King Edward of England, perceiving the revolt that Robert de Brus and his adherents was making in Scotland, sent thither Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, with other barons of England and several Scottish ones, descended from the blood of John Comyn, who all set themselves against the said Robert de Brus. The said Earl of Pembroke went to the town of Saint John³ and remained there for a while. Robert de Brus had gathered all the force of Scotland which was on his side, and some fierce young fellows easily roused against the English, and came before the town of Saint John in two great columns, offering battle to the said earl and to the English. He remained before the said town from morning until after high noon. The said Earl of Pembroke kept quite quiet until their departure, when, by advice of the Scottish lords who were with him in the town, friends of John Comyn and adherents of the English—the lords de Moubray, de Abernethy, de Brechin and de Gordon, with ^{MS.} fo. 203 several others—he [Pembroke] marched out in two columns. Their Scottish enemy had decamped, sending their quarter-

¹ It was the hereditary office of the Earls of Fife. The Countess of Buchan was sister to the Earl of Fife, who at that time, like her husband, was in the English interest.

² *Mesouneaux de fust.*

³ Perth.

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masters¹ to prepare a camp at Methven; they formed up as best they could and all on horseback attacked the said sortie; but the Scots were defeated. John de Haliburton caught the reins of the said Robert de Brus, and let him escape directly that he saw who it was, for he [Brus] had no coat armour, only a white shirt. Thomas Randolf, nephew of the said Robert de Brus, he who was afterwards Earl of Moray, was taken at this same battle of Methven,² and was released at the instance of Adam de Gordon, and remained English until at another time he was retaken by the Scots.³

Robert de Brus, most of his following being slain or captured at this battle of Methven, was pursued into Cantyre by the English, who invested the castle of the said country, thinking⁴ that the said Robert was within it, but upon taking the said castle they found him not, but found there his wife, a daughter of the Earl of Ulster, and Niel his brother, and soon after the Earl of Athol was taken, who had fled from the said castle.⁵ The said Niel, brother to the said Robert de Brus, with Alan Durward and several others, was hanged and drawn by sentence at Berwick, and the wife of the said Robert was sent to ward in England. The Earl of Athol, forasmuch as he was cousin of

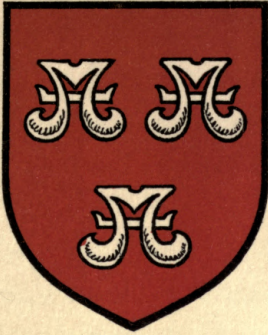
¹ *Herbisours*.

² Sunday, 26th June, 1306.

³ On the Water of Lyne, in 1309.

⁴ *Quidantz* : omitted in *Maitland Club Edition*.

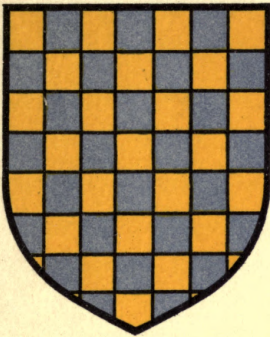
⁵ *Qi de dit chastel fu fuis*, misrendered in *Maitland Club ed.*, [*au*] *le dit chastel*. Gray's statement is incorrect. Athol did not go to Dunaverty with the King. Bruce sent his Queen Elizabeth, his daughter Marjorie, his sister Marie, and the Countess of Buchan, under charge of his brother Niel or Nigel, and the Earl of Athol, to Kildrummie Castle in Aberdeenshire, where they were taken by the Prince of Wales in September.



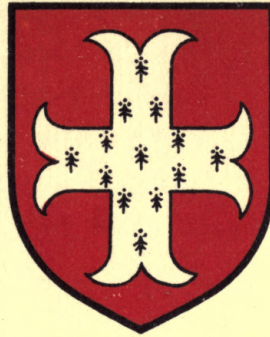
Sir William de Ros



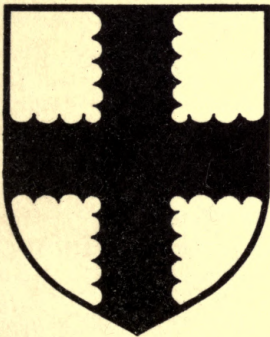
Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester



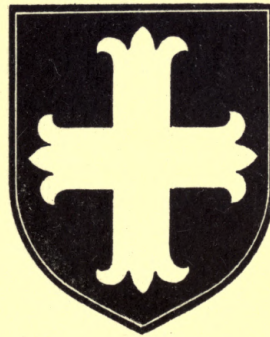
John, Earl of Clarence and Surrey



Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham



Sir William de Saint Clare



Sir Richard Sitward

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the King of England, [being] the son of Maud of Dover his [Edward's] aunt, was sent to London, and, because he was of the blood royal, was hanged on a gallows thirty feet higher than the others.

In the same year¹ the King made his son Edward, Prince of Wales, a knight at Westminster, with a great number of other noble young men of his realm, and sent him with a great force to Scotland with all these new knights. Thomas Earl of Lancaster and Humfrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford, passing through the mountains of Scotland, invested the castle of Kildrummie and gained it, in which castle were found Christopher de Seton with his wife, the sister of Robert de Brus, who, as an English renegade, was sent to Dumfries and there hanged, drawn and decapitated, where he had before this caused to be slain a knight, appointed sheriff of a district for the King of England.² The Bishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews and the Abbot of Scone were taken in the same season and sent to ward in England.

Piers de Gaveston was accused before the King of divers crimes and vices, which rendered him unfit company for the King's son, wherefore he was exiled and outlawed.

In the year of Grace 1306 King Edward having come to Dunfermline, his son Edward Prince of Wales returned from beyond the mountains, and lay with a great army at the town

¹ A.D. 1306.

² There seems to be some confusion here between Sir Christopher de Seton, who certainly was hanged at Dumfries, as his brother Sir Alexander was at Newcastle, and John de Seton, also hanged at Newcastle, for having captured Tibbers Castle in Dumfriesshire, and making captive Sir Richard de Siward, Sheriff of that county.

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^{MS.}
fo. 203^b of Perth. Meanwhile, Robert de Brus having landed from the Isles and collected round him a mob in the defiles of Athol, sent a messenger having a safe conduct to come and treat, to arrange for a treaty of peace with the said son of the king. He came to the bridge of the town of Perth, and began negotiation in order to ascertain whether he could not find grace, which parley was reported to the King at Dunfermline on the morrow.¹

He was almost mad when he heard of the negotiation and demanded:

'Who has been so bold as to attempt treating with our traitors without our knowledge?' and would not hear speak of it.

The King and his son moved to the Marches of England. Aymer de Valence remained the King's lieutenant in Scotland. Robert de Brus resumed [his] great conspiracy; he sent his two brothers Thomas and Alexander into Nithsdale and the vale of Annan to draw [to him] the hearts of the people, where they were surprised by the English and captured,² and taken by command of the King to Carlisle, and there hanged, drawn and decapitated. Robert de Brus had assembled his adherents in Carrick. Hearing of this, Aymer de Valence marched against him, when the said Robert de Brus encountered the said Aymer de Valence at Loudoun, and defeated him, and pursued him to the castle of Ayr;³ and on the third day [after] the said Robert

¹This is an error. King Edward did not cross the Border in 1306, but remained ill in the North of England. Bruce landed at Turnberry in February or March, 1306-7, but there is no evidence to confirm Gray's statement that he attempted to open negotiations.

²On the shore of Loch Ryan, 9th February, 1307.

³Battle of Loudoun Hill, May 1307.

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de Brus defeated Rafe de Monthermer, who was called Earl of Gloucester because Joan the King's daughter and Countess of Gloucester had taken him for husband out of love [for him]. Him also he [Brus] pursued to the castle of Ayr, and there besieged him until the English army came to his rescue, which [army] reduced the said Robert de Brus to such distress¹ that he went afoot through the mountains, and from isle to isle, and at the same time in such plight as that occasionally he had nobody with him. For, as the chronicles of his actions testify, he came at this time to a passage between two islands all alone, and when he was in the boat with two seamen they asked him for news—whether he had heard nothing about what had become of Robert de Brus. 'Nothing whatever,' quoth he. 'Sure,' said they, 'would that we had hold of him at this moment, so that he might die by our hands!' 'And why?' enquired he. 'Because he murdered our lord John Comyn,' [said they]. They put him ashore where they had agreed to do, when he said to them: 'Good sirs, you were wishing that you had hold of Robert de Brus—behold me here if that pleases you; and were it not that you had done me the courtesy to set me across this narrow passage, you should have had your wish.' So he^{MS. fo. 204} went on his way, exposed to perils such as these.²

The aforesaid King Edward of England had remained at this same time exceedingly ill at Lanercost, whence he moved for change of air and to await his army which he had summoned to re-enter Scotland. Thus he arrived at Burgh-on-sands,³ and

¹ *Enboterent le dit Robert de Bruys a tiel meschef.*

² All this was antecedent to the Battle of Loudoun Hill.

³ *Burch sure le Sabloun.*

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died there in the month of July, in the year of grace 1307, whence he was carried and was solemnly interred at Westminster beside his ancestors after he had reigned 34 years 7 months and 11 days, and in the year of his age 68 years and 20 days.

This King Edward had by his first wife, the daughter of the King of Castile, but one son who lived. By his second wife, sister of the King of France, he had two sons, Thomas and Edmund. Upon Thomas he bestowed the earldom of Norfolk and Suffolk, with the Marshaldom of England, which earldom and office belonged by inheritance to Roger Bigod, who, having no offspring, made the King his heir, partly for fear lest the King should do him some injury, because there had once been at Lincoln a conspiracy against him [the King] between him [Bigod] and others. To Edmund his younger son he devised in his will 4000 marks of land, to be discharged with his benison by Edward his son and heir, which heir afterwards gave to the said Edmund the earldom of Kent with part of the land bequeathed to him, but the whole of it [the bequest] was not completed before the time of the third Edward. This Edward the First after the Conquest had several daughters; one was married to the Earl of Gloucester;¹ another to the Duke of Brabant;² the third to the Count of Bar;³ the fourth to the Count of Holland, after whose death she was married again to the Earl of Hereford;⁴ the fifth was a nun at Amesbury.⁵

¹ Joan, second daughter, afterwards married Sir Ralph de Monthermer.

² Margaret, third daughter.

³ Eleanor, eldest daughter, married 1st King Alphonso of Aragon.

⁴ Elizabeth, the fifth daughter.

⁵ Mary, fourth daughter.

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Innocent V. was Pope after Gregory X. for five months.¹ He was named Peter of Taranto: he was of the Order of Preachers and Master in Divinity. After which Innocent, Adrian V. was Pope for two months.² He had been sent by Pope Clement to England, to settle the dispute between the King and his barons. After which Adrian, John V. was Pope for eight years.³ He was originally named Peter, and was a good deal more saintly before than after he attained to his dignity. He willingly promoted great scholars; he hoped for a long life, but suddenly fell from a chamber which he had built at Viterbo and died.

After which John II. [*sic*], John III. was Pope for three years.⁴ After which John, Nicholas was Pope,⁵ who ordained Robert de Kilwardby as Cardinal, and Friar John de Peckham, of the Order of Minorites and Master of Divinity as Archbishop of ^{MS.} fo. 204^b Canterbury. After which Nicholas III., Honorius IV. was Pope for seven years.⁶ He changed the costume of the Carmelite Friars, which hitherto had been *pale*.⁷

¹ A.D. 1276.

² For 36 days only.

³ This ought to read; John XX. or XXI. was Pope for eight months, not years. There were four Popes elected successively in 1276, one of whom, Vice-dominus, not mentioned by Gray, died next day. The unsaintly character of John XX. or XXI., commented on by Gray, consisted in nothing more than a love of learning.

⁴ An error: Nicholas III. succeeded John XX. or XXI.

⁵ 1277-1288.

⁶ 1285-88. Gray reckons him as Pope during the papacy of the French Martin IV., 1280-85.

⁷ Meaning obscure. The Carmelites, or White Friars, always were distinguished by white robes. *Pale* is also an old term for 'cloth.'

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After which Honorius IV., Nicholas IV. was pope for six years.¹ He was of the Order of Minorite Friars; he declared the rule of the Minorite Friars. In his time there befel in England, on the eve of Saint Margaret,² such a storm of winter thunder as destroyed the crops, whence came such a time of dearness as lasted almost throughout the life of Edward the First after the Conquest. At this time the taxation of the churches was changed to a higher rate. Celestine V. was pope for three years after Nicholas.³ This Celestine was a poor hermit in the desert near Rome, simple in manner, neither learned, nor wise, nor distinguished. A certain cardinal, who desired to govern the Court, or to become pope, yet feared that the College would not elect him, made a pretence, and, after the death of the said Pope Nicholas, told his brother cardinals at the election to the Papacy, that a voice had come to him three times in a vision that they should elect as pope this simple hermit, whose promise he had that he would do nothing without him. The others, believing this to be the inspiration of God, elected him [the hermit] as pope; who knew not how to conduct his estate, whereby the Court fell into great confusion, and they themselves also.

The aforesaid cardinal, who was afterwards named Boniface, allowed him to play the fool, and would not interfere [to maintain] good government, until affairs were in such a mess that they were past mending, and then he advised him [Celestine]

¹ 1288-1292.

² 19th July, old style, equal to 30th July, new style.

³ The see was vacant two years and three months after the death of Nicholas in 1292.

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and compelled him to resign the dignity in his favour, undertaking to provide for his honourable maintenance, to which he consented. The College [also] consented in their folly; elected the other and called him Boniface;¹ who, from the moment he entered into his dignity, took no care for Celestine, but allowed him to return to his former condition, to his wretched hermitage. Which Celestine, as soon as he perceived that he had been cheated, prophesied of Boniface his successor: 'Thou camest in like a fox: thou shalt reign like a lion, and die like a dog.'

Which thing came to pass, for the said Boniface reigned arrogantly; deposed cardinals of the most powerful house in Rome, the family of Colonna, and vehemently opposed the King of France. Wherefore, allying themselves, they seized the said pope and led him out of Rome, with his face turned to his horse's tail, to a castle in the neighbourhood, where he perished of hunger.²

MS.
fo. 205

After which Boniface, Benedict III. of the Order of Preachers, was pope for one year,³ of whom a certain ribald wit said in Latin:

'A re nomen habe—benedic, benefac, benedicte;
Aut rem perverte—maledic, malefac, maledicte.'⁴

Antony de Beck, Bishop of Durham, was constituted Patriarch of Jerusalem, but never entered upon the Patriarchy, but insisted upon living as a noble in his own country.

¹ 1294-1303.

² The townspeople rescued him after three days' imprisonment, but he died soon after, 11th October, 1303.

³ Benedict XI., 1303.

⁴ Wrongly printed 'malefacte' in *Maitland Club Edit.*

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Clement V. was pope after Benedict for twelve years.¹ He became enormously rich in treasure, purchased extensive lands, caused great castles to be built, and removed the Court from Rome [to Avignon]. In his time the Templars were dissolved. He caused certain of the decretals, of which he himself was the author, to be revoked, which John, his successor, renewed.

This John II. [*sic*] was pope after Clement, for more than twenty years,² and was a great scholar in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. He caused great treasure to be amassed, and waged great wars in Lombardy. He willingly advanced great scholars; he condemned pluralities; he reserved for his Camera the first fruits after the death of the prelates; he instituted the matins of the Cross. He lived throughout the time of King Edward the Second after the Conquest, and, after him, during the time of his son, Edward III.

At the end of the reign of Edward the First after the Conquest, and at the beginning of the reign of Edward II., Henry, Count of Luxemburg, was King of Germany and Emperor,³ who was valiant and chivalrous, and proved himself worthy of the dignity of his three crowns. He bestowed the realm of Bohemia upon his son John, with the King's daughter; which John conquered the said realm and took the city of Prague by assault from those who claimed the right by the other male line.

The said Emperor Henry chivalrously undertook to regain the rights of the empire in Tuscany and Lombardy; wherefore, while he lay before Brescia,⁴ he was poisoned in receiving the

¹ 1305-1314.

² John XXII., 1316-1334.

³ 1308-1313.

⁴ At Buonconvento, 24th Aug., 1313.



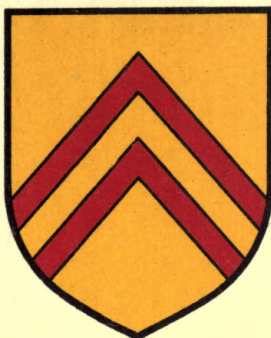
William, Earl of Ross



Comyn, Earl of Buchan



Alexander, Earl of Menteith



Malise, Earl of Strathearn



John of Strathbolgie, Earl of Atholl



Malcolm, Earl of Lennox



Stratney, Earl of Mar

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body of God by his confessor, a Jacobin, who was hired by the Guelfs, who were in dire terror of his [Henry's] prowess. His physicians, who well perceived what had happened, would have saved him, but he would not cast up his Creator, saying that for fear of death he would never part with the body of God.

After his death there was great dispute about the election to the empire. The Duke of Austria had the votes of some of the electors ; Louis, Duke of Bavaria, on the other hand, had the votes of the rest of the electors, by reason of which dispute ^{MS.} fo. 205^b the aforesaid seigneurs fought with [all] their force in Swabia. The Bavarian won the victory by the aid of John, King of Bohemia. The said Bavarian assumed the dignity of emperor, and received his three crowns ; but the Pope and the Court of Rome were opposed to him ; wherefore, at his coronation in Rome, the senators and those of the College who dwelt at the time about the church of SS. Peter and Paul, agreed to elect a new pope, a cordelier, who had the name of Nicholas, alleging as reasons for this that the Court, which by ancient canonical constitution ought to have been at Rome, was [then] at Avignon.

This Nicholas did not persevere long in his office, but, as soon as the aforesaid emperor had returned to Bavaria, put himself at the mercy of Pope John, who at that time dwelt at Avignon. Wherefore the Court of Rome never accepted the said Bavarian as emperor, who lived all his days under interdict. He lived a good while, but did little in deeds of arms to be recounted. He was very skilful with his hands. He bestowed the Mark of Brandenburg upon his eldest son, as the right

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of the empire is that such lordships are at the disposal of the emperor in default of heir male. To this same [lord] of Brandenburg he gave the duchy of Carentan and the countship of Tyrol, with the daughter and heiress of the duke. He gave to his younger son, whom he had by the eldest daughter of William, Count of Hainaw, the earldoms of Zeeland, Holland and Hainaw. Another of his sons, le Romer, by the same wife, he caused to marry the daughter and heiress of the King of Cracow. He lived very long in the time of King Edward of England, the Third after the Conquest, as will be afterwards recorded.

REIGN OF EDWARD II.

REIGN OF EDWARD II.

AFTER the death of Edward the First after the Conquest, his son, Edward the Second, reigned in great tribulation and adversity. He was not industrious, neither was he beloved by the great men of his realm; albeit he was liberal in giving, and amiable far beyond measure towards those whom he loved and exceedingly sociable with his intimates. Also, in person he was one of the most powerful men in his realm. He took to wife Isabel, daughter of Philip le Beau, King of France, whom he married at Amiens and brought to England, where they were crowned in London with great solemnity. Then the king and his said wife Isabel passed again into France, to Paris, to treat of his affairs in Gascony, when the said King Edward entertained the said King of France at Saint-Germain-en-Prés, which feast was greatly spoken of at the time.

At which time it was reported to the said King Philip of France that the wives of his sons had misbehaved. He had three sons—Philip, Louis, and Charles—by his wife the daughter of the King of Navarre (by whose inheritance he was King of Navarre), the mother of which wife was married to Edmund, brother of Edward the First of England after the Conquest,

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by whom he begot Thomas and Henry, afterwards Earls of Lancaster. He [King Philip] also had one daughter, this same Isabel, Queen of England. He was informed, then, that the said ladies [his daughters-in-law] had committed adultery *par amours* with knights of his Court, which thing weighed heavily upon his heart. Wherefore, after the departure of the said King of England, the said King of France enquired of Philip Dawnay, an old knight of his Council, what should be done to those who had intrigued with the wives of the king's sons and princes of the blood royal of France.

'Sire,' replied the worthy gentleman,¹ 'they deserve to be flayed alive.'

'Thou hast pronounced judgment,' said the king to him; 'they are your own two sons, who shall suffer the punishment according to your judgment.'²

One of them was condemned immediately; the other escaped to England, but was taken at York and sent back to the said King of France, for which the King of England received much blame from murmurs of the Commons, seeing that the said knight had come for succour to his realm. The said knight was flayed alive; two of the ladies were put to a shameful death; the third was enclosed in a high wall without meat or drink, where she died.

It was generally reported among the common people that this scandal was communicated to the King of France by his daughter Isabel, Queen of England, although this was supposed by many people to be an untruth. It was judged and declared by the Commons that, because of this cruelty, neither the father

¹ *Le prudhom.*

² *Com iuge auez.* Omitted in *Maitland Club Ed.*

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[King Philip] nor the sons should live long. The father died shortly after.¹ His three sons aforesaid became Kings of France, one after the other, for a short time. The eldest of them,² who was King of Navarre during his father's life, had no offspring³ but one daughter,⁴ who afterwards married the Count of Evreux, who became King of Navarre in right of his said wife. The second brother⁵ had by his wife, daughter of the Count of Artois, three daughters, who afterwards shared the succession to Artois. The Duke of Burgundy married one, the Count of Flanders another, and the Lord of Faucony took the third as his mistress. Charles, the third brother,⁶ and last to become King, died without offspring, whereupon the succession to France should by right have devolved upon Edward [III.] of England, son of Isabel, sister of the said three brothers and kings, as the nearest heir male,⁷ for at [the time of] the decease of the said Charles, their uncle, the last king of the three brothers, the daughters of the two aforesaid brothers and kings had no male issue, wherefore the said Edward, son of Isabel of England, was the nearest heir male. Nevertheless, as will be recorded hereafter, for want of good advice, and because he was young and entangled with other matters, he lodged no challenge whatever

¹ 29th Nov., 1314.

² Louis X., *le Hutin*, d. 5th June, 1316.

³ He had a posthumous son who died an infant.

⁴ Succeeded as Joanna II., Queen of Navarre, on the death of her brother in-law, Charles IV.

⁵ Philip V. d. 3rd Jan., 1322.

⁶ Charles IV., *le Beau*, d. 13th Jan., 1328, last of the Capets. At his death the crowns of France and Navarre were again separated.

⁷ *Al plus prochain heire masle*. He means the nearest male in blood, for Edward III., as Isabel's son, was not technically heir male.

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upon the death of his uncle Charles, so that another collateral,¹ the son of the uncle of the aforesaid Charles,² was crowned King by means of his supporters, especially of Robert of Artois (to whom he was afterwards the greatest enemy), because no other challenged the right at the proper time, nor until a considerable time after, as will be recorded hereafter; which [thing] is correct, and ought to be a notable thing and remembered everywhere.

At this time Thomas de Gray³ was warden of the castle of Cupar and Fife,⁴ and as he was travelling out of England from the King's coronation to the said castle, Walter de Bickerton, a knight of Scotland, who was an adherent of Robert de Brus, having espied the return of the said Thomas, placed himself in ambush with more than four hundred men by the way the said Thomas intended to pass, whereof the said Thomas was warned when scarcely half a league from the ambush. He had not more than six-and-twenty men-at-arms with him, and perceived that he could not avoid an encounter. So, with the approval of his people, he took the road straight towards the ambush, having given his grooms a standard and ordered them to follow behind at not too short interval.

The enemy mounted their horses and formed for action, thinking that they [the English] could not escape from them. The ^{MS.} said Thomas, with his people, who were very well mounted, struck spurs to his horse, and charged the enemy right in the fo. 207

¹ The insertion here of a full stop instead of a comma in the *Maitland Club Ed.* makes nonsense of this long sentence.

² Philip V. de Valois, eldest son of Charles, Count of Valois, brother of Philip IV.

³ Father of the chronicler.

⁴ *Gardein du chastel de Coupir et de Fif.*

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centre of their column, bearing many to the ground in his course by the shock of his horse and lance. Then, turning rein, came back in the same manner and charged again, and once again returned through the thick of the troop, which so encouraged his people that they all followed him in like manner, whereby they overthrew many of the enemy, whose horses stampeded along the road. When they [the enemy] rose from the ground, they perceived the grooms of the said Thomas coming up in good order, and began to fly to a dry peat moss which was near, wherefore almost all [the others] began to fly to the moss, leaving their horses for their few assailants. The said Thomas and his men could not get near them on horseback, wherefore he caused their horses to be driven before them along the road to the said castle, where at night they had a booty of nine score saddled horses.

Another time, on a market day, the town being full of people from the neighbourhood, Alexander Frisel, who was an adherent¹ of Robert de Brus, was ambushed with a hundred men-at-arms about half a league from the said castle, having sent others of his people to rifle a hamlet on the other side of the castle. The said Thomas, hearing the uproar, mounted a fine charger before his people could get ready, and went to see what was ado. The enemy spurred out from their ambush before the gates of the said castle, so doing because they well knew that he (Sir Thomas) had gone forth. The said Thomas, perceiving this, returned at a foot's pace through the town of Cupar, at the end whereof stood the castle, where he had to enter on horseback, [and] where they had occupied the whole street. When he came near them he struck spurs into his horse; of those who advanced against

¹ *Qenherdaunt estoit*, misprinted *qenderdaunt* in *Maitland Club Ed.*

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him, he struck down some with his spear, others with the shock of his horse, and, passing through them all, dismounted at the gate, drove his horse in, and slipped inside the barrier, where he found his people assembled.

This King Edward the Second after the Conquest bestowed great affection during his father's life upon Piers de Gaveston, a young man of good Gascon family; whereat his father became so much concerned¹ lest he [Piers] should lead his son astray, that he caused him [Piers] to be exiled from the realm, and even made his son and his nephew,² Thomas of Lancaster, and other magnates swear that the exile of the said Piers should be for ever irrevocable. But soon after the death of the father, the son caused the said Piers to be recalled suddenly, and made him take to wife his sister's daughter, one of Gloucester's daughters, and made him Earl of Cornwall. Piers became very magnificent, liberal, and well-bred in manner, but haughty and supercilious in debate,³ whereat some of the great men of the realm took deep offence. They planned his destruction while he was serving the King in the Scottish war. He had caused the town of Dundee to be fortified, and had behaved himself more rudely there than was agreeable to the gentlemen of the country, so that he had to return to the King because of the opposition of the barons.⁴ On his way back they surprised and took him at Scarborough, but he was delivered to Aymer de Valence upon

¹ *Prist malencoly.*

² He was not the King's nephew, but a distant cousin, son of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster.

³ *En party.*

⁴ *Pur debate des barouns.*

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condition that he was to be taken before the King, from whose [Aymer's] people he was retaken near Oxford, and brought before the Earl of Lancaster, who had him beheaded close to Warwick,¹ whereat arose the King's mortal hate, which endured for ever between them.

MS.
fo. 207^b

Adam Banaster, a knight bachelor of the county of Lancaster, led a revolt against the said earl by instigation of the King; but he could not sustain it, and was taken and beheaded by order of the said earl, who had made long marches in following his [Banaster's] people.

During the dispute between the King and the said earl, Robert de Brus, who had already risen during the life of the King's father, renewed his strength in Scotland, claiming authority over the realm of Scotland, and subdued many of the lands in Scotland which were before subdued by and in submission to the King of England; and [this was] chiefly the result of bad government by the King's officials, who administered them [the lands] too harshly in their private interests.

The castles of Roxburgh² and Edinburgh³ were captured and dismantled, which castles were in the custody of foreigners, Roxburgh [being] in charge of Guillemyng Fenygges,⁴ a knight of Burgundy, from whom James de Douglas captured the said castle upon the night of Shrove Tuesday,⁵ the said William being slain by an arrow as he was defending the great tower. Peres Lebaud, a Gascon knight, was Sheriff of Edinburgh, from whom the people of Thomas Randolph, Earl

¹ A.D. 1312.

² 6th March, 1314.

³ Lent, 1314.

⁴ Sir William de Fiennes.

⁵ *La nuyt de quarrem pernaunt.*

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of Moray, who had besieged the said castle, took it at the highest part of the rock, where he suspected no danger. The said Peter became Scots in the service of Robert de Brus, who afterwards accused him of treason, and caused him to be hanged and drawn. It was said that he suspected him [Peres] because he was too outspoken, believing him nevertheless to be English at heart, doing his best not to give him [Bruce] offence.

The said King Edward planned an expedition to these parts, where, in [attempting] the relief of the castle of Stirling, he was defeated, and a great number of his people were slain, [including] the Earl of Gloucester and other right noble persons; and the Earl of Hereford was taken at Bothwell, whither he had beaten retreat, where he was betrayed by the governor. He was released [in exchange] for the wife of Robert de Brus and the Bishop of St. Andrews.¹

As to the manner in which this discomfiture befel, the chronicles explain that after the Earl of Atholl had captured the town of St. John² for the use of Robert de Brus from William Oliphant, captain [thereof] for the King of England, being at that time an adherent of his [Edward's], although shortly after he deserted him, the said Robert marched in force before the castle of Stirling, where Philip de Moubray, knight, having command of the said castle for the King of England, made terms with the said Robert de Brus to surrender the said castle, which he had besieged, unless he [de Moubray]

¹ William de Lamberton, from whom Bruce received more advice and encouragement than from almost any other at the outset of his enterprise.

² Perth.

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MS.
fo. 208

should be relieved: that is, unless the English army came within three leagues of the said castle within eight days of Saint John's day in the summer next to come, he would surrender the said castle.¹ The said King of England came thither for that reason, where the said constable Philip met him at three leagues from the castle, on Sunday the vigil of Saint John, and told him that there was no occasion for him to approach any nearer, for he considered himself as relieved. Then he told him how the enemy had blocked the narrow roads in the forest.²

[But] the young troops would by no means stop, but held their way. The advanced guard, whereof the Earl of Gloucester had command, entered the road³ within the Park, where they were immediately received roughly by the Scots who had occupied the passage. Here Peris de Mountforth, knight, was slain with an axe by the hand of Robert de Brus, as was reported.⁴

While the said advanced guard were following this road, Robert Lord de Clifford and Henry de Beaumont, with three hundred men-at-arms, made a circuit upon the other side⁵ of the wood towards the castle, keeping the open ground. Thomas

¹ It was not with King Robert, but with his brother Edward, that this agreement was made; much to Robert's displeasure, whose main strategy it was to avoid a pitched battle.

² The Torwood.

³ The Roman Road, running through the Park which Alexander III. had enclosed for the chase.

⁴ It was Sir Henry de Bohun, nephew of the Earl of Hereford, who fell in single combat with the King of Scots.

⁵ The east side next the Carse.

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Randolph, Earl of Moray, Robert de Brus's nephew, who was leader of the Scottish advanced guard,¹ hearing that his uncle had repulsed the advanced guard of the English on the other side of the wood, thought that he must have his share, and issuing from the wood with his division marched across the open ground towards the two afore-named lords.

Sir Henry de Beaumont called to his men: 'Let us wait a little; let them come on; give them room!'²

'Sir,' said Sir Thomas Gray,³ 'I doubt that whatever you give them now, they will have all too soon.'

'Very well!' exclaimed the said Henry, 'if you are afraid, be off!'

'Sir,' answered the said Thomas, 'it is not from fear that I shall fly this day.' So saying he spurred in between him [Beaumont] and Sir William Deyncourt, and charged into the thick of the enemy. William was killed, Thomas was taken prisoner, his horse being killed on the pikes, and he himself carried off with them [the Scots] on foot when they marched off, having utterly routed the squadron of the said two lords. Some of whom [the English] fled to the castle, others to the king's army, which having already left the road through the wood had debouched upon a plain near the water of Forth beyond Bannockburn, an evil, deep, wet marsh, where the said English army unharnessed and remained all night, having

¹ He commanded the central of the three divisions which formed Bruce's front.

² Randolph's division being entirely on foot, of course the English squadron could have pushed on to establish communication with Stirling Castle, for which purpose they had been detached. It was characteristic of the chivalrous ceremony of the day that Beaumont should have insisted on awaiting attack from the Scots.

³ Father of the chronicler.

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sadly lost confidence and being too much disaffected by the events of the day.

The Scots in the wood thought they had done well enough for the day, and were on the point of decamping in order to march during the night into the Lennox, a stronger country, when Sir Alexander de Seton, who was in the service of England and had come thither with the King, secretly left the English army, went to Robert de Brus in the wood, and said ^{MS.} fo. 208^b to him: 'Sir, this is the time if ever you intend to undertake to reconquer Scotland. The English have lost heart and are discouraged, and expect nothing but a sudden, open attack.'¹

Then he described their condition, and pledged his head, on pain of being hanged and drawn, that if he [Bruce] would attack them on the morrow he would defeat them easily without [much] loss. At whose [Seton's] instigation they [the Scots] resolved to fight, and at sunrise on the morrow marched out of the wood in three divisions of infantry. They directed their course boldly upon the English army, which had been under arms all night, with their horses bitted. They [the English] mounted in great alarm, for they were not accustomed to dismount to fight on foot; whereas the Scots had taken a lesson from the Flemings, who before that had at Courtrai defeated on foot the power of France. The aforesaid Scots

¹This incident is important, and does not appear in other chronicles of Bannockburn. Sir Thomas Gray, father of the writer, was at the time a prisoner in the Scottish camp, and probably communicated the information direct to his son. It is true that Sir Alexander de Seton transferred his allegiance from Edward II. to King Robert about this time. In March, 1322-3, he proceeded with Sir William de Mountfichet on a mission to the English Court from King Robert.

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came in line of 'schiltroms,'¹ and attacked the English columns, which were jammed together and could not operate against them [the Scots], so direfully were their horses impaled on the pikes.² The troops in the English rear fell back upon the ditch of Bannockburn, tumbling one over the other.

The English squadrons being thrown into confusion by the thrust of pikes upon the horses, began to fly. Those who were appointed to [attend upon] the King's rein, perceiving the disaster, led the King by the rein off the field towards the castle, and off he went, though much against the grain.³ As the Scottish knights, who were on foot, laid hold of the housing of the King's charger in order to stop him, he struck out so vigorously behind him with a mace that there was none whom he touched that he did not fell to the ground.

As those who had the King's rein were thus drawing him always forward, one of them, Giles de Argentin, a famous knight who had lately come over sea from the wars of the Emperor Henry of Luxemburg, said to the king:

'Sire, your rein was committed to me; you are now in safety; there is your castle where your person may be safe. I am not accustomed to fly, nor am I going to begin now. I commend you to God!'

¹The 'schiltrom' or *shield troop* was the favourite formation of the Scottish infantry. It was a dense column, oval in form, resembling a modern close column; when halted, the flank files and rearmost ranks faced outwards and knelt, planting their pikes between their knees.

²The full stop here is omitted in the *Maitland Club Ed.*, making nonsense of the passage.

³*Maugre qil enhust qi enuyte sen departist.*



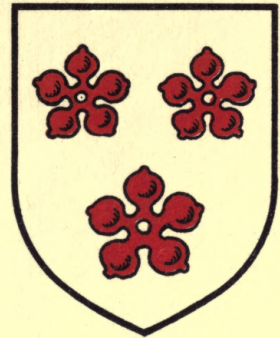
Sir Hugh de Cressingham



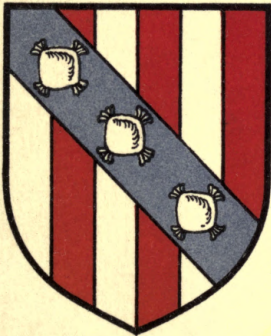
Sir William de Ormesby



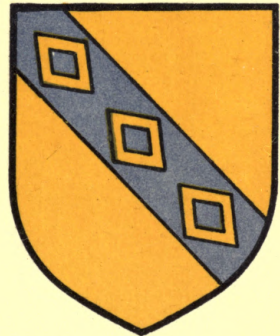
Sir William Wallace



Sir William de Libingstone of Hazelrigg



Sir William de Lundy



Sir Henry de Haliburton



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Then, setting spurs to his horse, he returned into the mellay, where he was slain.

The King's charger, having been piked, could go no further ; so he mounted afresh on a courser and was taken round the Torwood, and [so] through the plains of Lothian.¹ Those who went with him were saved ; all the rest came to grief. The King escaped with great difficulty, travelling thence to Dunbar, where Patrick, Earl of March, received him honourably, and put his castle at his disposal, and even evacuated the place, removing all his people, so that there might be neither doubt nor suspicion that he would do nothing short of his devoir to his lord, for at that time he [Dunbar] was his liegeman. Thence the King went by sea to Berwick and afterwards to the south.

Edward de Brus, brother to Robert, King of Scotland,² desiring to be a king [also], passed out of Scotland into Ireland with a great army in hopes of conquering it.³ He remained there two years and a half, performing there feats of arms, inflicting great destruction both upon provender and in other ways, and conquering much territory, which would form a splendid romance were it all recounted. He proclaimed himself King of the kings of Ireland ;⁴ [but] he was defeated and slain at Dundalk by the English of that country,⁵ [because] through over confidence he would not wait for reinforcements, which had arrived lately, and were not more than six leagues distant.

¹ *Lownesse.*

² This is the first occasion on which Gray acknowledges King Robert's title.

³ More probably King Robert sent him there to create a diversion favourable to the Scottish war.

⁴ 2nd May, 1316.

⁵ 5th Oct., 1318.

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At the same time the King of England sent the Earl of Arundel as commander on the March of Scotland, who was repulsed at Lintalee in the forest of Jedworth,¹ by James de Douglas, and Thomas de Richmond was slain. The said earl then retreated to the south without doing any more.

On another occasion the said James defeated the garrison of Berwick at Scaithmoor, where a number of Gascons were slain.² Another time there happened a disaster on the marches at Berwick, by treachery of the false traitors of the marches, where was slain Robert de Nevill;³ which Robert shortly before had slain Richard fitz Marmaduke, cousin of Robert de Brus, on the old bridge of Durham, because of a quarrel between them [arising] out of jealousy which should be reckoned the greater lord. Therefore, in order to obtain the King's grace and pardon for this offence, Nevill began to serve in the King's war, wherein he died.

At the same period the said James de Douglas, with the assistance of Patrick, Earl of March, captured Berwick from the English,⁴ by means of the treason of one in the town, Peter de Spalding.⁵ The castle held out for eleven weeks after, and at last capitulated to the Scots in default of relief, because it was not provisioned. The constable, Roger de Horsley, lost there an eye by an arrow.

Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, travelling to the court

¹ In 1317. Not of the House of Brittany, as Hailes follows Barbour in stating, but a Yorkshire knight, owner of Burton-Constable.

² *Ou furount mors toutes playnes de Gascoins*; 'where the Gascons were slain to a man.'

³ The 'Peacock of the North.'

⁴ 28th March, 1318.

⁵ Barbour calls him "ane burgess Sym of Spalding."

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of Rome, was captured by a Burgundian, John de la Moiller, taken into the empire and ransomed for 20,000 silver livres, because the said John declared that he had done the King of England service, and that the King was owing him his pay.

This James de Douglas was now very busy in Northumberland. ^{MS.} fo. 209^b Robert de Brus caused all the castles of Scotland, except Dunbarton, to be dismantled. This Robert de Brus caused William de Soulis to be arrested, and caused him to be confined in the castle of Dunbarton for punishment in prison, accusing him of having conspired with other great men of Scotland for his [Robert's] undoing, to whom [de Soulis] they were attorned subjects, which the said William confessed by his acknowledgment. David de Brechin, John Logie, and Gilbert Malherbe were hanged and drawn in the town of St. John,¹ and the corpse of Roger de Mowbray was brought on a litter² before the judges in the Parliament of Scone, and condemned. This conspiracy was discovered by Murdach of Menteith, who himself became earl afterwards. He had lived long in England in loyalty to the King,³ and, returned home⁴ in order to discover this conspiracy. He became Earl of Menteith by consent of his niece, daughter of his elder brother, who, after his death at another time, became countess.

¹ Perth.

² *Sur une lettre*, in the original, but evidently the word ought to be *litiere*.

³ Which King? Edward of England or Robert Bruce to whom he revealed the plot. The expression is: *qi longement auoit demore en Engleterre a la foy le roy*.

⁴ *Qi pur decouerer cet couyne sen ala a lostel*. Norman French, like modern French, lacks an exact equivalent to our "home." *A lostel* [*à l'hôtel*] was the predecessor of *chez lui*.

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X The King of England undertook scarcely anything against Scotland, and thus lost as much by indolence as his father had conquered; and also a number of fortresses within his marches of England, as well as a great part of Northumberland which revolted against him.¹

Gilbert de Middleton in the bishoprick of Durham, plundered two Cardinals who came to consecrate the Bishop, and seized Louis de Beaumont, Bishop of Durham, and his brother Henry de Beaumont, because the King had caused his [Gilbert's] cousin Adam de Swinburne to be arrested, because he had spoken too frankly to him about the condition of the Marches.

This Gilbert, with adherence of others upon the Marches, rode upon a foray into Cleveland, and committed other great destruction, having the assistance of nearly all Northumberland, except the castles of Bamborough, Alnwick, and Norham, of which the two first named were treating with the enemy, the one by means of hostages, the other by collusion,² when the said Gilbert was taken through treachery of his own people in the castle of Mitford by William de Felton, Thomas de Heton, and Robert de Horncliff, and was hanged and drawn in London.

< On account of all this, the Scots had become so bold that they subdued the Marches of England and cast down the castles of Wark and Harbottle, so that hardly was there an Englishman who dared to withstand them. They had subdued all Northumberland by means of the treachery of the false people of the country. So that scarcely could they [the Scots]

¹ The omission of a full stop here in the MS. makes nonsense of this paragraph.

² *Par affinite.*

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find anything to do upon these Marches, except at Norham, where a [certain] knight, Thomas de Gray,¹ was in garrison with his kinsfolk. It would be too lengthy a matter to relate MS.
fo. 210 [all] the combats and deeds of arms and evils for default of provender, and sieges which happened to him during the eleven years that he remained [there] during such an evil and disastrous period for the English. It would be wearisome to tell the story of the less [important] of his combats in the said castle.² Indeed it was so that, after the town of Berwick was taken out of the hands of the English, the Scots had got so completely the upper hand and were so insolent that they held the English to be of almost no account, who [the English] concerned themselves no more with the war,³ but allowed it to cease. x

At which time, at a great feast of lords and ladies in the county of Lincoln, a young page⁴ brought a war helmet, with a gilt crest on the same, to William Marmion, knight, with a letter from his lady-love commanding him to go to the most dangerous place in Great Britain and [there] cause this helmet to be famous. Thereupon it was decided by the knights [present] that he should go to Norham, as the most dangerous [and] adventurous place in the country. The said William betook himself to Norham, where, within four days of his arrival, Sir Alexander de Mowbray, brother of Sir Philip de Mowbray, at that time governor of Berwick, came before the castle of Norham with the most spirited chivalry of the Marches

¹ Father of the chronicler.

² *Et ia le meinz aucuns de sez journes en le dit chastel enuoit lestoir deviser.*

³ *La guer*, misprinted *quer* in *Maitland Club Ed.*

⁴ *Vn damoisel faye.*

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of Scotland, and drew up before the castle at the hour of noon with more than eight score men-at-arms. The alarm was given in the castle as they were sitting down to dinner. Thomas de Gray, the constable, went with his garrison to his barriers, saw the enemy near drawn up in order of battle, looked behind¹ him, and beheld the said knight, William Marmion, approaching on foot, all glittering with gold and silver, marvellous finely attired, with the helmet on his head. The said Thomas, having been well informed of the reason for his coming [to Norham], cried aloud to him :

✓ 'Sir knight, you have come as knight errant to make that helmet famous, and it is more meet that deeds of chivalry be done on horseback than afoot, when that can be managed conveniently. Mount your horse: there are your enemies: set spurs and charge into their midst. May I deny my God if I do not rescue your person, alive or dead, or perish in the attempt!'

The knight mounted a beautiful charger, spurred forward, [and] charged into the midst of the enemy, who struck him down, wounded him in the face, [and] dragged him out of the saddle to the ground.

At this moment, up came the said Thomas with all his garrison, with levelled lances, [which] they drove into the bowels of the horses so that they threw their riders. They repulsed the mounted enemy, raised the fallen knight, remounting him upon his own horse, put the enemy to flight, [of whom] some were left dead in the first encounter, [and] captured fifty valuable horses. The women of the castle [then] brought out horses to their men, who mounted and

¹ *Derier ly*, misprinted *derier* in *Maitland Club Ed.*

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gave chase, slaying those whom they could overtake. Thomas de Gray caused to be killed in the Yair Ford, a Fleming [named] Cryn, a sea captain,¹ a pirate, who was a great partisan of Robert de Brus. The others who escaped were pursued to the nunnery of Berwick.

MS.
fo. 210^b

Another time, Adam de Gordon,² a baron of Scotland, having mustered more than eight score men-at-arms, came before the said castle of Norham, thinking to raid the cattle which were grazing outside the said castle. The young fellows of the garrison rashly hastened to the furthest end of the town, which at that time was in ruins, and began to skirmish. The Scottish enemy surrounded them. The said men of the sortie defended themselves briskly, keeping themselves within the old walls. At that moment Thomas de Gray, the said constable, came out of the castle with his garrison, [and], perceiving his people in such danger from the enemy, said to his vice-constable: 'I'll hand over to you this castle, albeit I have it in charge to hold in the King's cause, unless I actually drink of the same cup that my people over there have to drink.'

Then he set forward at great speed, having of common people and others, scarcely more than sixty all told. The enemy, perceiving him coming in good order,³ left the

¹ *Vn amirail de la mere, vn robbour.* This appears to be the same man as the pirate John Crab, whose engineering skill enabled Walter the Steward to repulse the attack on Berwick in 1319. (See Barbour's *Brus*, cxxx. and Bain's *Calendar*, iii. 126.)

² Formerly a supporter of the English King; but, being suspected in 1313, was imprisoned in Roxburgh Castle. (Bain's *Calendar*, ii. No. 337.)

³ *En le maner.*

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skirmishers among the old walls and drew out into the open fields. The men who had been surrounded in the ditches, perceiving their chieftain coming in this manner, dashed across the ditches and ran to the fields against the said enemy, who were obliged to face about, and then charged back upon them [the skirmishers]. Upon which came up the said Thomas with his men, when you might see the horses floundering and the people on foot slaying them as they lay on the ground. [Then they] rallied to the said Thomas, charged the enemy, [and] drove them out of the fields across the water of Tweed. They captured and killed many; many horses lay dead, so that had they [the English] been on horseback, scarcely one would have escaped.

The said Thomas de Gray was twice besieged in the said castle—once for nearly a year, the other time for seven months. The enemy erected fortifications before him, one at Upsettlington, another at the church of Norham. He was twice provisioned by the Lords de Percy and de Nevill, [who came] in force to relieve the said castle; and these [nobles] became wise, noble and rich, and were of great service on the Marches.

Once on the vigil of St. Katherine during his [Gray's] time, the fore-court of the said castle was betrayed by one of his men, who slew the porter [and] admitted the enemy [who were] in ambush in a house before the gate. The inner bailey and the keep held out. The enemy did not remain there more than three days, because they feared the attack of the said Thomas, who was then returning from the south, where he had been at that time. They evacuated it [the forecourt] and burnt it, after failing to mine it.

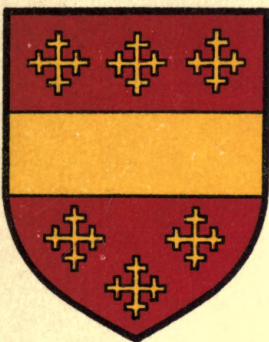
MS.
fo. 211



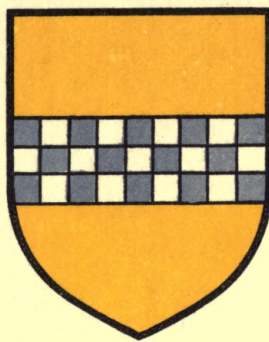
Sir Robert Fitz Roger



Sir John Fitz Marmaduke



Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick



Sir Walter, Sixth High Steward



Sir John de Segrave



Sir William de Oliphant

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Many pretty feats of arms chanced to the said Thomas which are not recorded here.

About this time Joscelin d'Eyville¹ caused the manor of Allerton to be seized, and held it by force of arms; such disorder taking place because the barons respected not the King's authority, so that every one did as he pleased. At which time John the Irishman² ravished the Lady de Clifford; the malefactors were called *schaualdours*.

The barons came at this time to a parliament in London, their people being dressed in livery with³ quartered coats; and there began the mortal hatred between them and the King.

At which time appeared the star comet; also it was a dear year for corn, and such scarcity of food that the mother devoured her son, wherefore nearly all the poor folk died.

The aforesaid King tarried in the south, where he amused himself with ships, among mariners, and in other irregular occupation unworthy of his station, and scarcely concerned himself about other honour or profit, whereby he lost the affection of his people.

At the same time there came a man who declared himself to be King by right, having been taken out of the cradle and this Edward substituted as King. This fellow was hanged at Northampton, declaring⁴ that the devil in the shape of a cat had made him say this.

¹ An ancient Northumbrian family whose castle of Dilston (d'Eyville's toun) still remains, a ruin, near Corbridge.

² *Johan le Irroys*, who abducted the lady from Barnard Castle in the autumn of 1315. The King sent three knights and thirty-six esquires to rescue her.

³ *Ove = avec*, misprinted *ou* in *Maitland Club Ed.*

⁴ *Reioyaunt*.

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By intervention of the nobles of the realm the King was reconciled with Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, in regard to the death of Piers de Gaveston, which [reconciliation] endured for a while, and soon afterwards [the quarrel] was renewed.

This King Edward was on one occasion before Berwick with all his royal power, and had besieged the town, which shortly before had been lost to him through the treachery of Peter de Spalding, when he [the King] had given it into the hands of the burghers of the town, in order to save the great expense to which he had been put before. At the same time the Scots entered by way of Carlisle, and rode far into England, when the common people of the towns and the people of Holy Church assembled at Myton,¹ and were there defeated, as a folk unaccustomed to war and in disorderly array before fierce troops. Wherefore the King raised his siege of Berwick, intending to operate against his enemies within his realm; but they moved through the wasted lands towards Scotland so soon as they knew of the raising of the siege, [to effect] which had been the reason for their expedition.

The King left his Marches in great distress [and] without succour, and retired towards the south, where the great men of his realm were again in rebellion against him, [namely] the said Earl of Lancaster and others, who besieged his [the King's] ^{MS.}fo. 211^b castle of Tickhill.² The Castle of Knaresborough³ was surprised by John de Lilleburn, who afterwards surrendered upon terms to the King. The Queen besieged the Castle of Leeds, to

¹ 'The Chapter of Myton,' 20th Sept., 1319.

² In the West Riding. The Norman keep was demolished in 1646 by the Parliamentarians.

³ Dismantled in 1648 by the same authority.

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whom it was surrendered, for the barons would not relieve it out of respect to the Queen Isabel. The said barons came in force, with banners displayed, against the King, at the bridge of Burton-on-Trent, where they were defeated, and retired towards Scotland, as it was said, to obtain aid and support. But at the bridge of Boroughbridge, Andrew de Harcla and other knights and esquires of the north, who were of the King's party, perceiving the barons approaching in good order,¹ seized one end of the bridge aforesaid, the way by which they [the barons] had to pass; where the earls and barons were defeated, killed and captured; the Earl of Hereford being slain, the Earl of Lancaster and many of the barons being taken and brought before the King. The lords de Moubray and de Clifford were hanged at York in quartered coats, such as their people had worn in London. Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, was beheaded at Pontefract² in revenge for Piers de Gaveston, and for other offences which he had often and habitually committed against the King, and at the very place where he had once hooted, and made others hoot, the King as he [the King] was travelling to York.

Andrew de Harcla was made Earl of Carlisle; but he did not last long; for in his pride he would commit the King to having made peace with the Scots in a manner contrary to his instructions; which was the finding of the King's council. This Andrew was tried by the chief men of his council at Carlisle, and was there drawn and hanged.³

¹ *A la maner.*

² A.D. 1322.

³ In February, 1323, Sir Andrew, who took his family name from the manor of Harcla in Westmorland, had done King Edward splendid service. It is

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Andrew de Harcla had behaved gallantly many times against the Scots, sometimes with good result and sometimes with loss, [performing] many fine feats of arms; until he was captured by them and ransomed at a high price.¹

In the summer² following the death of the Earl of Lancaster the King marched with a very great army towards Scotland, having, besides his knights and esquires,³ an armed foot-soldier from every town in England. These common people fought at Newcastle with the commons of the town, where, on the bridge of the said town, they killed the knight, John de Penrith, and some esquires who were in the service of the Constable, and the Marshal, because they tried to arrest the ruffians so as to quell the disturbance; so insolent were the common folk in their conduct.

true that he entered into unauthorised negotiations with King Robert, and that an indenture, pronounced to be treasonable, was drawn up between them at Lochmaben, 3rd January, 1322-3; but it is pretty clear that Harcla never meant to betray his country. He despaired, and with good cause, of Edward II.'s government, and endeavoured to avert the disasters which he foresaw by acknowledging Robert as King of Scots, thereby securing the peace which Robert was anxious to restore between the two countries.

¹ Barbour refers to de Harcla's capture by Sir John Soulis of Eskdale, with fifty men against Harcla's three hundred, 'horsyt jolyly.' He alludes, also, in most tantalising manner to a ballad celebrating the exploit:

'I will nocht rehersh the maner
For quha sa likis, thai may her
Young wemen, quhen thai will play,
Syng it amang thaim ilk[a] day.'

On 23rd November, 1316, Sir Andrew petitioned King Edward II. to grant him two Scots prisoners in aid of his ransom, adding that his valet, John de Beauchamp, will explain how he, Sir Andrew, came to be taken.

² *Le procheyn este*, omitted in *Maitland Club Ed.*

³ Who of course had each his armed followers.

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The said King marched upon Edinburgh, where at Leith there came such sickness and famine upon the common soldiers of that great army, that they were forced to beat a retreat for want of food; at which time the King's light horsemen¹ foraging at Melrose were defeated by James de Douglas. None [dared] leave the main body to seek food by foray. So greatly were the English harassed and worn with fighting that before they arrived at Newcastle there was such a murrain in the army for want of food, that they were obliged of necessity to disband. MS. fo. 212

The King retired upon York with the great men of his realm; when Robert de Brus having caused to assemble the whole power of Scotland, the Isles and the rest of the Highlands, pressed ever after the King, who, perceiving his approach, marched into Blackhow Moor with all the force that he could muster on a sudden. They [the Scots] took a strength on a hill near Biland, where the King's people were defeated,² and the Earl of Richmond, the Lord of Sully, a baron of France, and many others; so that the King himself scarcely escaped from Rivaulx, where he was [quartered]. But the Scots were³ so fierce and their chiefs so daring, and the English so badly cowed, that it was no otherwise between them than as a hare before greyhounds.

The Scots rode beyond the Wold and [appeared] before York, and committed destruction at their pleasure without resistance from any, until it seemed good to them to retire.

From this time forward⁴ the King made a truce with the Scots for thirteen years. He kept himself quite quiet,

¹ *Lez hoblours.*

² 14th October, 1322.

³ *Estoient*, omitted in *Maitland Club Ed.*

⁴ 13th May, 1323.

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undertaking nothing [in the way] of honour or prowess, but only acting on the advice of Hugh le Despenser so as to become rich, keeping for himself as much as he could seize of the lands of the aforesaid forfeited barons.

X In his [Edward II.'s] time the commons of his realm were wealthy and protected by strong laws,¹ but the great men had ill will against him for his cruelty and the debauched life which he led, and on account of the said Hugh, whom at that time he loved and entirely trusted. Nevertheless, the said Hugh by their influence was arraigned before a parliament at York in presence of the King, [but] against his will; also others of his intimates whom he loved [were] removed from their offices by them, who then by their decision caused him [Hugh] to be banished from the realm, when he in his exile captured two carracks full of merchandise,² which cost the realm of England dearly thereafter. The King caused him to be restored to office not long after, without their consent, and, after his example, did everything that wholly unfitted him for X chivalry, delighting himself in avarice and in sensual pleasures, disinheriting his subjects who had rebelled against him, and enriching himself with their great property in lands.

And at the same time war broke out in Gascony with the King of France, upon which the King of England spent much treasure as for the country and nation which he loved best. Accordingly he sent his brother, the Earl of Kent, and MS. fo. 212^b other nobles, who scarcely achieved anything, but lost much territory, for it was a disastrous period for the English, which lasted all the time of this King. The King gave the duchy

¹ *Maintenuz en reudes loys.*

² *Avoir de pois.*

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of Guienne to his elder son, the Earl of Chester,¹ but the barons of the duchy would not submit either to him, or to any other living, but only to the Crown of England. He sent his said son to Paris, with his mother Queen Isabel, sister of the King of France, to perform his homage to his uncle and to put an end to the war of Gascony. So when they arrived in France, the mother and the son, they refused to return to England, but entered into another conspiracy against their liege-lord, husband and father, with the support of the people banished from England, [namely] the Lord of Mortimer and others; also with the adhesion of the Earl of Kent, the King's brother, who hastened from Gascony to Paris to join this conspiracy, abandoning his brother's war; also by treaty of alliance between the Count of Hainault and the Queen [providing for] the marriage of her son with Phillipa, daughter of the said Count, which afterwards took place.

The said Queen and her followers moved into Zealand; because, had she remained in the realm of France eight days longer than she did, she would have been sent back to the King of England with all the other partakers in this conspiracy. [For] so greatly had Hugh le Despenser affected the policy of France by his conduct,² that her brother the King would have sent her back to her husband, on the pretext that she had come from her liege-lord on a mission of friendship to the King of France, and upon his safe-conduct; and that the said business,³ the cause of her coming, had been abandoned, as well as other

¹ Afterwards Edward III.

² *Par son avoir*. The usual meaning of the noun *avoir* is riches, property.

³ The war with Gascony.

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disputes covered by the said safe-conduct. She was warned of this; wherefore she moved into the dominion of the Count of Hainault: which Count sent his brother John of Hainault with a strong force of men-at-arms [to escort] them. They arrived at Orwell in warlike array¹ without sustaining damage from the great fleet which, by the King's command, lay ready arrayed against them at Yarmouth.

They gained England without striking a blow; for all the lords and commons rose for them against the King, who, at the time they arrived, was in London, and went off towards Wales, where Hugh le Despenser² thought [to find] refuge and support, which altogether failed them. At Chepstow the King dismissed his suite,³ and embarked suddenly on the river Wye, intending to have fled with Hugh le Despenser to a foreign country, because his people had deserted him, but wind and tide⁴ were so contrary for him that during fifteen whole days he could not venture out of the Severn for the storm.

^{MS.}
fo. 213 In the meantime came the Queen and her son and Roger de Mortimer, then chief of her council, which Roger was formerly in accord with Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and the barons, but he left them and placed himself at the King's mercy [as] the primary cause of their disaffection.⁵ By advice of Hugh le Despenser he was placed in the Tower of London, then a long time after he escaped from prison and went to France, one of the prime instigators of this enterprise.⁶

¹ *Au furre de guere.*

² The younger.

³ Or was deserted by his suite—*gerpy sa meine.*

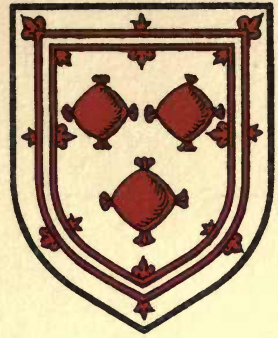
⁴ *Marray.*

⁵ *Le primer mesconfourt de lour meschief.*

⁶ *Vn dez plus graunt embraceour de cest veage.*



Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke



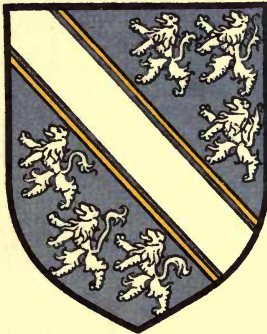
Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray



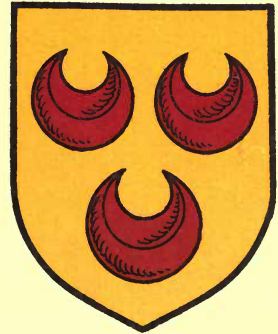
Sir Adam de Gordon



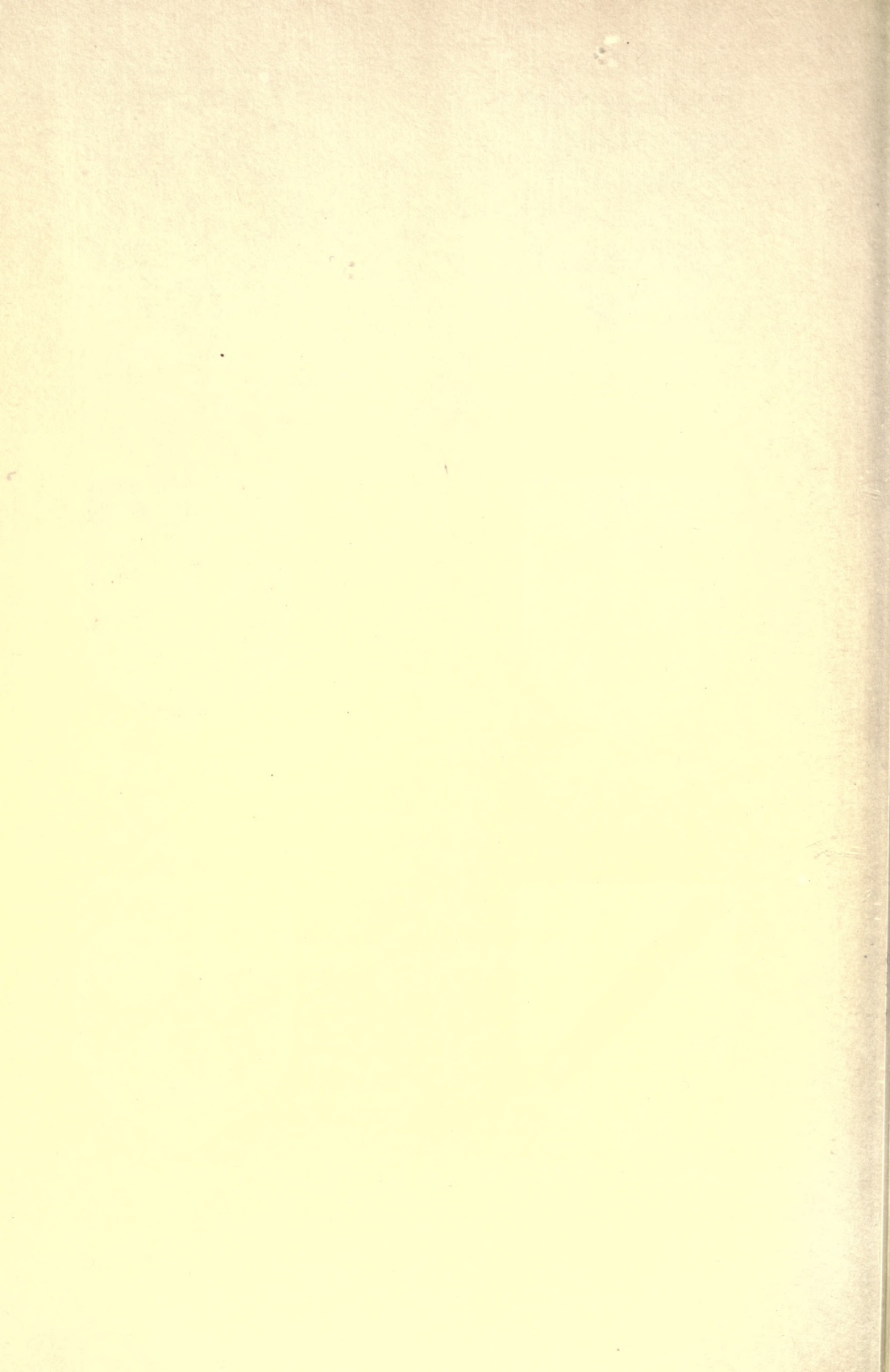
Thomas, Earl of Lancaster



Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex



Sir Christopher de Seton



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They [Queen Isabella, Mortimer, etc.] came to Bristol with the foreigners and all the great nobles of England, where Hugh le Despenser, the father, Earl of Winchester, was captured, and drawn and hanged on the spot.¹

Donald, Earl of Mar,² [who had been] reared with the King of England, was at that time with the King, and had charge of the castle of Bristol by the King's commission. He surrendered it to the Queen and went to his country of Scotland. The whole of the King's suite came from Chepstow to the Queen and her son at Bristol, [where they were] holding the King's court. Men-at-arms in the Queen's cause embarked when the storm abated to pursue the King, who still lay on board ship before them in the Severn. The King, perceiving all these misfortunes which had come upon him, landed in Glamorgan, where he bargained with a Welshman³ of the country, in whom Hugh le Despenser put trust, for great reward⁴ to conceal the said Hugh, who was not over courageous, seeing that they had failed two or three times in attempting [to escape] by sea, which Welshman treacherously delivered the said Hugh to the Queen, and he was hanged and drawn at Gloucester.⁵

The Earl of Arundel⁶ was beheaded on the Welsh border at this time, being of the King's party.

¹ A.D. 1326.

² Grandson of Donald, 10th earl, and nephew of Robert the Bruce. Elected Regent of Scotland in 1332, and died the same year.

³ *Vn galay* : a Welshman or native of *Galis*.

⁴ *Pur grant garnison*.

⁵ He was executed at Hereford.

⁶ Edmund Fitzalan, 2nd Earl, Justice of Wales and Warden of the Welsh Marches.

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The King, who apprehended no danger to his own life, sent word to his wife that he was willing to make amends by good conduct for all the ill he had done her and hers, and that he would be found in a certain place, expecting that she would come to him as a wife ought to her husband. But Henry, Earl of Lancaster, went to find him, and brought him to Kenilworth as a prisoner, so to speak. The Queen caused a Parliament to be summoned in London, where, with assent of the prelates, earls, barons and commons and citizens of London, on the arrival of the Queen in the middle of Chepe, these Londoners¹ beheaded the King's Treasurer, the Bishop of Exeter.

The King was deposed by their common assent, and they renounced their homage in a deed under their seals drawn by the Bishop of Hereford, who made known the same to the deposed King at Kenilworth. With bitterness, as one who heartily detested the King because of the special injury he ^{MS.} fo. 213^b [the King] had done him, he announced to him the articles [in which] the commons, his subjects, had set forth the cause of his deposition.

He [the King] took this matter very patiently, giving to his son God's blessing and his own, and praying God that he would make him [his son] a good man, and grant him greater favour and goodwill from the people than he himself had found.

He was taken from Kenilworth to Berkeley, where he died, in what manner was not known, but God knoweth it. He was buried at Gloucester, and reigned nineteen years. He was

¹ *Queux Loundrais.*

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wise, gentle, and amiable in conversation, but indolent in action.¹ He was very skilful in what he delighted to employ his hands upon. He was too familiar with his intimates, shy² with strangers, and loved too exclusively a single individual. His son was crowned by common assent at the aforesaid Parliament, during his father's life, and received the homage of the nobles and the obeisance of all the commons, who were delighted at the change of government [both] because of the misdoing of the [King's] father, and because of their fickle habit, so characteristic of a medley of different races. Wherefore some people are of opinion that the diversity of spirit among the English is the cause of their revolutions,³ which are more likely to happen in Great Britain than in other countries; for, in the time of every king since Vortigern, aliens of all nations, having diverse customs, have received great advancement there; so that when they happened to differ in purpose, each one desired to be lord, because the lordships in that country follow not birth, but fortune. Wherefore they desire change, for each one thinks that the luck will be his; as it is said that running water is the most powerful thing that can be, although so gentle and soft by nature, because all [the particles of water take effect equally in the current; wherefore water pierces the hard rock. Just so it is with a nation which exerts itself with a single spirit to maintain the dignity of its lords, who desire nothing but the welfare of the community, and individually follow no other design. In such a people a revolution is seldom seen, at least

¹ *Mesoeurous en fait* may signify something more actively evil than indolence.

² *Soleyn*.

³ *Lez chaungementz du siecle*.

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an overthrow of the estate of their lords, [which is] the greatest dishonour to the people.

This Edward the Second (after the Conquest) had two sons and two daughters. The elder son, Edward, was constituted king during his father's life;¹ the other was named John, was Earl of Cornwall, and died at the town of St. John,² and had no offspring. The elder daughter, Isabel, was afterwards married to the Count of Guelders, who afterwards became Duke; the second daughter, Joan, was afterwards married to David, son of Robert de Brus, King of Scotland.

¹ 25th Jan., 1327.

² Perth.

REIGN OF EDWARD III.



REIGN OF EDWARD III.

THIS Edward the Third (after the Conquest) was not more than fourteen years old at his coronation at the feast of ^{MS.}fo. 214 Candlemas,¹ and was in all things governed, and his realm also, by his mother and by Roger de Mortimer, at that time Earl of March. In the first year of his reign the Scots wrought great destruction in his territory on several occasions. The Earls of Lancaster and of Kent, with the Lords Wake, Ros, Moubray, and Beaumont, and other great barons, with a thousand men-at-arms, were sent to Newcastle-on-Tyne to defend the March; where James de Douglas went before them, at a distance of four leagues, burning and wasting the land in open sight of them all; for none of them dared to go forth, so grievously were they demoralised and unprepared for war. Soon after this all the chivalry of England were assembled, with a large contingent of foreigners; which foreigners fought at York with the followers of the earls, of whom a large number were slain there. They [the English] had attacked in drunkenness the foreigners, who were lodged in the suburbs of the said town. This mellay was stopped by action of the Council,

¹ *I.e.* The Purification of the Virgin, 2nd Feb., 1327.

THE 'SCALACRONICA' OF

because these foreigners had been sent to assist them ; and all marched against the Scottish enemy, which was again upon English territory.

The said young King, with his great army, took the road to Stanhope, where he was informed that his Scottish enemy lay. As he was on the march thither, the scouts of his advanced guard came in to inform him that the enemy was in full and disorderly retreat ; but indeed it was not so, for they were only shifting camp and choosing for themselves the best ground to await attack. The commander of the said King's army, believing that the scouts had made true report, left the road to Stanhope. Advised by some men of the Marches that they could intercept the enemy, whom they believed to be flying towards their own country, they rode at speed with all this great army a whole summer day, a good six and twenty leagues between Annandale and Tynedale, encamped at Haydon Bridge, where they remained eight days, and received no word of the enemy. It was proclaimed in the army that he who should bring to the King certain news of the enemy should receive one hundred pounds in land. Thomas de Rokeby brought word that they were lying quietly at Stanhope where they [the English] had left them.¹ He received the said guerdon and was dubbed knight.

The King broke up his camp and marched back with all his great army upon the enemy. In the meantime Archibald de

¹ Rokeby was taken prisoner by the Scots in the last week of July, 1327, and frankly told them his errand. He was sent back to his master with a message that Douglas and Moray had been waiting eight days for him in Weardale desiring nothing so much as a battle. On 28th Sept., 1327, the king fulfilled his word by granting to Rokeby £100 a year for bringing him within sight of the enemy (Rymer's *Fœdera*).

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Douglas,¹ having overrun with the foragers of the enemy almost all the bishopric of Durham and brought in much booty to their army, fell in at Darlington with a great body of common people [marching] towards the English army, and killed them nearly all. MS.
fo. 214^b

This great army of the English found their said enemy ready at Stanhope, [formed] in three divisions on a fine plain. They were but few in number, with only three chief commanders—the Earls of Moray and of Mar and James de Douglas. The King took up a position before them on the river Wear for three days. On the fourth night the Scots broke up and moved a short league thence [to] within the park of Stanhope, where they waited six days before this great army of English, Germans, and men of Hainault. They did no feats of arms, except that the Scots under James de Douglas rode one night² into the lines at one end of the camp, slew a large number of the people of the earls, and withdrew without loss.

The third night after this affair³ the Scots broke up and marched to their own country, having done much damage in England. On the very day of their departure they fell in with Patrick, Earl of March, and with John the Steward, who called himself Earl of Angus, with 5000 men of the Scottish nation, who were marching to their relief, having heard say that they were beleaguered. It was said that if they had only had provender they would have returned [to Weardale], such fierce fighters they were.

The King, a mere boy, burst into tears; he broke up and retired towards York, engaging no more in this war so long

¹ 'The Tineman,' youngest brother of Sir James of Douglas.

² Probably 3rd August.

³ Probably the next night, 4th August.

THE 'SCALACRONICA' OF

as he was under governance of his mother and of the aforesaid Roger de Mortimer, Earl of March.

When Robert de Brus, then King of Scotland, had laid siege to the castle of Norham, whereof Robert de Manners was then constable, he [Manners] made a sortie with his garrison one day and defeated the watch¹ of the Scottish enemy before the castle gate, where a banneret of Scotland, William Mouhaud, was slain. The commander of the watch would not allow them to be rescued because of the flood, so that none of those in the town could get near them.

The Earl of Moray, with James de Douglas, had then besieged the Lord Percy in Alnwick, where there were great jousts of war by formal agreement; but these lords did not maintain the siege, but marched to Robert their King at the siege of Norham. At which time the Lord Percy, with the men of the Marches, made a raid upon the side of Teviotdale, remaining scarcely ten leagues distant. No sooner was James de Douglas informed of this, than he suddenly threw himself from Norham with his troops between the said Lord Percy and his castle of Alnwick; which forced him [Percy] to make a night march towards ^{MS.} Newcastle, so demoralised were the English in time of war.
fo. 215

X The aforesaid Council of the said King of England sent a man of law, William de Denoun, to the said Robert de Brus at Norham [to negotiate] peace, and arranged a marriage between David, son of the said Robert, and Joan, sister of the King of England, which afterwards took place at Berwick.²

At the Parliament of York, where this King Edward of England took for his wife Philippa, the daughter of Count

¹ *Le gayt.*

² August, 1328.

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William of Hainault, this war with Scotland was ended, the relics were restored, and also the indentures of obeisance by the Scottish lords, which men called Ragman [because of] their seals hanging thereto, and which King Edward the First after the Conquest had exacted; and by the same deed the King of England renounced his right over Scotland, and [gave] 40,000 silver marks for the marriage of his sister, and [conceded] that all his adherents should lose their inheritance in Scotland, except the Lords Wake, Percy, Beaumont, and la Zouche, concerning whose rights nothing was determined, whereby later they suffered much wrong. The King was not in accord with the whole of this transaction; but, by reason of his youth, the Queen and Mortimer arranged everything, [which was] one of the causes of their subsequent undoing. X

To this same Parliament came the news of the death of King Charles of France, uncle of this King Edward of England on his mother's side. He died without heir of his body; wherefore, according to the judgment of some, the right to the realm of France descended to this Edward of England, his nephew, son of his sister, as to the nearest heir male; but on account of the King's youth and the bad, indolent, negligent counsel by which he was ruled in all things, no claim of the right to the crown of France was lodged at the time; so that Philip de Valois, son of the uncle of the deceased, was crowned, because he was born in the realm, and had so many friends and supporters that, without regard to anybody's right, they chose him to be king through affinity, whence afterwards arose a great war. X

THE 'SCALACRONICA' OF

The said Philip defeated the Flemish at Cassel¹ in the first year of his reign. For long after this nothing was spoken about the King of England's challenge of the right to the crown of France. Queen Isabella and Mortimer governed all England in such fashion as to displease many of the nobles of the realm, who ranged themselves with the Earl of Lancaster and others of that faction who were beginning to stir revolt in order to throw off this government. But those of the Queen's party had strengthened themselves so well with allies and adherents that the others were not strong enough to rise against them, as they perceived. Therefore, they settled this quarrel so as to place themselves at the King's mercy, because they had not rebelled at all against him; nevertheless they constituted themselves the King's party, as those who had him entirely under control. This ^{MS.}fo. 215^b obeisance was done at Bedford, where all were received to grace except the Lords de Wake and de Beaumont and Thomas Rosselin, who quitted the realm, and concerted with their friends on the other side for the invasion of England; but a revolution had taken place before the time of their enterprise.

At the same time as this rising of the barons there came knights and esquires in aid of the King's party out of Northumberland to Rothwell, where they had a great encounter in manner of war with the peasants of the neighbourhood, who were there slain and defeated by the aforesaid people of the Marches.

After that there was great display of jousts and tourneys for a long time. The Queen, with advice of the Earl of March, had everything in her governance. One of her confidential friends made the Earl of Kent, the King's uncle, believe that

¹ Aug. 23rd, 1328.

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his brother the King [Edward II.], the father, was [still] alive, and that if he [Kent] would assist him [Edward], he could restore him to his [royal] estate. He [Kent] was delighted¹ [to hear] that his brother was alive, and declared that he would aid him to the death. Now this snare was laid to test the intentions of the said earl. So soon as he had spoken, the other went and told it all to the Queen. The said earl was arrested and arraigned upon this matter before a Parliament at Winchester. He admitted before the coroner of the King's household that he would have helped his brother, if he were alive, [so as] to restore him to his estate at his pleasure. They charged this against him as high treason, because restoration of the father would have been the dethronement of the son, to whom he was bound as to his liege lord. Wherefore, out of respect to his royal blood, they absolved him from the extreme punishment,² and caused him to be beheaded straightway.

The King began to grow³ in body and mind, which was not agreeable to the authority of the Queen his mother and annoyed the Earl of March, by whose direction the Queen acted in everything. The King entered into a plot with the young people around him to overturn this government and to destroy the said earl. They did not keep this affair so secret as not to be discovered, so that at Nottingham the King and all those who were in the plot were examined as to this design before a council in session. Each of them, on being examined separately, denied

¹ *Leez*, lætus.

² *Le haut jugement*, the cruel form of execution prescribed for those convicted of high treason.

³ *Grestre*, misprinted *crescere* in *Maitland Club Ed.*

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that he knew anything, except William de Montacute, who stood upon his dignity,¹ declaring that he would return a sharp answer to any man who should accuse him of [being party to] any plot inconsistent with his duty, and justified himself with such words, nobody answering him except in general terms.

MS.
fo. 216

The council having been dissolved, the said William said to the King that it were better to eat the dog than that the dog [should eat] them ; so he advised him to speak to the constable of the castle, charging him upon his oath and allegiance to keep the plan secret, and [directing] him to leave a postern open to the park that very night, and [warning him] that if he would not do so, he [the King] would cause him to be hanged so soon as he [the King] should have the upper hand. The said William arranged with his comrades to assemble by night at a certain thicket in the park to which all should come ; but they missed the trysting place, except the said William de Montacute and John de Nevill with four-and-twenty men, who kept their appointment well.

They were afraid that their comrades might miss them, and they durst not sound a call because of the sentries in the castle ; and so, as bold and enterprising men, they declared that, as the matter had gone so far, they would risk the adventure by themselves. They went forward, and found the postern open, as the King had commanded. They entered the castle and mounted the stairs of the second court without meeting anybody, for it was mirk night, and the followers of the [gentle] folk had left the castle for their lodgings. The Queen, Mortimer, and their confidential adherents were holding a council to take

¹ *Se adressoit en soun esteaunt.*

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measures against this plot which had been discovered to them. They [the conspirators] entered the hall where the Queen was sitting in council. The usher cried out at their entry. Hugh de Turpington, who was steward of the King's household, [but] was of the Queen's party, rushed out of the council and met them in the middle of the hall, crying 'Down with the traitors!'¹ and made to strike the first [of them] with a dagger, when John de Nevill ran him through the body and slew him, and an esquire [also] who offered resistance.

Then they passed forward into the chamber, and seized Mortimer and those whom they wished to have; so that before dawn none remained in the town save those who were of the King's party, who had armed themselves when the conspirators entered the castle. He [the King] gave directions for [the custody of] his mother, and took the said Mortimer with him to Leicester, where he intended to put him to death; but he took other advice, causing a Parliament to be summoned to London, where Mortimer was drawn and hanged,² upon a charge of having been party to the death of the King, the father [Edward II.], and because of the death of the Earl of Kent, and for the renunciation of the right to Scotland, and for the dissipation of the King's treasure which had been entrusted to him by his [Edward's] father, and upon other counts with which he was charged.

The lords who had been banished were restored. For a long time after this the King acted upon the advice of William de Montacute, who always encouraged him to excellence and honour and love of arms; and so they led their young lives in pleasant

¹ *Treiturs par nient.*

² A.D. 1330.

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fashion, until there came a more serious time with serious matters.

MS.
fo. 216^b King Philip of France pressed to have the submission of the King for the Duchy of Guienne. The King's council, having regard to his nonage, the weather, and the scarcity of funds, caused him to cross the sea privily and do his homage at Amiens, for which they were blamed afterwards, and for the same reason the French declare that the submission of the King established the superiority of his suzerain as regarded himself at the time. But his [Edward's] nonage constituted his excuse.

So this King led a gay life in jousts and tourneys and entertaining ladies, until the lords who had been disinherited in Scotland for the cause of himself and his predecessors made supplication to him that he would restore to them their inheritance which they had lost on his account, or allow them to take their own measures.¹ The King referred this supplication entirely to the Earl of Moray, who was then Guardian of Scotland during the nonage of King David after the death of his father King Robert, who had died shortly before of a leprosy.² Which earl replied honourably by letters demanding that he [King Edward] should allow them to take their measures and let the ball roll.

When this message was received, the lords who had been disinherited in Scotland, the Lord of Beaumont, the Earls of Atholl and of Angus, Richard Talbot, Henry de Ferrars, John de Moubray, and all the others, on the instigation of the Lord de Beaumont, gave their adhesion to Edward de Balliol (son of

¹ *Lex lesser couenyre.*

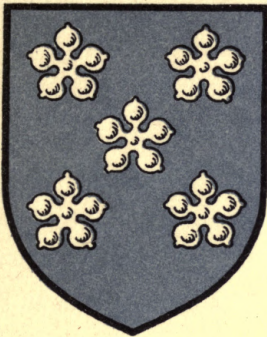
² 7th June, 1329.



Sir Kate de Monthermer



Sir Walter de Sickeroun



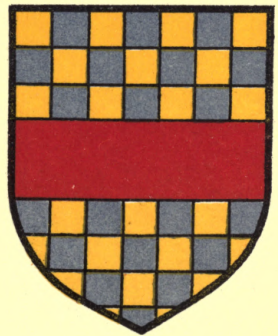
Sir Alexander Frisel or Fraser



Piers de Sabeston, Earl of Cornwall



Sir William de Fiennes



Robert, Lord de Clifford

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John de Balliol, formerly King of Scotland by election of both realms), who had been kept out of Scotland more than thirty years. They took ship at *Ravenspur*¹ and arrived at Kinghorn, few in number, seeing that there were not more than 400 men-at-arms.

The first day of their arrival they fought with the Earl of Fife and defeated him, where Alexander de Seton, the son, was slain. They held their course to Dunfermline, where they found and took all the newly-made iron pikes which Thomas, Earl of Moray, had caused to be made, he having recently died within eight days of their coming.

They held their course toward the town of St. John,² when they found the enemy before them in great force on the water of Earn; for the lords of Scotland had assembled, upon their coming, to choose themselves a Guardian. They chose the Earl of Mar, who had caused this great army to assemble, and occupied the great height³ above the ford of the Erne before these people arrived, they [the disinherited lords] being in the vale on the other side of the Earn, making a very small appearance compared to the others.

These people⁴ of the Earl of Mar's army were ensnared like a hare; and they intended on the morrow to send a strong force ^{ms.} fo. 217 round them, to attack them on all sides, which would greatly increase their own advantage.

These disinherited lords were so much dismayed by the great multitude of the enemy that they began to reproach the Lord of Beaumont very angrily, accusing him of having betrayed them,

¹ A port on the Humber, at that time of some importance.

² Perth.

³ *Tertre* = territoire.

⁴ *Cestez gentz.*

THE 'SCALACRONICA' OF

and of having made them understand that they would receive much support in Scotland.

'By no means, my lords,' quoth he, 'but since the affair has gone so far, for God's sake, let us help ourselves! for no man knows what God has in store for us. Let us think of our great right so as to show that we are descended from good knights, and of the great honour and profit to which God has destined us, and of the deep disgrace that will come upon us if we do not show ourselves [to be men] in this business.'

The result was¹ that, owing to the brave words of the worthy gentleman and the inspiration of God, they agreed to pass the ford by night, outflank the enemy, ascend the height above them, and run their chance during the night. They forded the water, where Roger de Swinnerton was drowned. The enemy, taking alarm at their crossing, hastened down on foot; but the others had passed over before they could reach the ford, surrounded the ridge, and fell suddenly upon the grooms and horses of their enemy, putting them to flight, and believing that they were the main body of the enemy. They pursued them hither and thither, so that by daybreak there were not forty of them left together. But by the light of a house which was set on fire they drew together again like partridges; and, as the day began to lighten, they beheld the enemy in two great columns, having stood all night in that formation, so that scarcely were they [the disinherited lords] able to put themselves in array before the enemy advanced to the attack.

¹ *Apartice issi.*

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Their advanced guard was stopped for a little on feeling the lance-points and arrows, when their rearguard charged in such disorderly fashion that, in their furious charge, they bore to the ground a great number of their advanced guard between themselves and the enemy,¹ who fell upon them so fiercely that they fell back one upon the other, so that in a short time you might see a heap of mens' bodies growing² as the strangers³ surrounded them. So were they defeated in this manner by a miracle of God; and there perished the Earl of Mar, Alexander Fraser, Robert de Brus bastard son of King Robert, and a great number of barons, knights, and esquires, who were nearly all smothered, for each one lay beneath another, and died in the manner described without any stroke of weapon.

This day's work accomplished, they held their way to the town of St. John, where they found much provision of every ^{MS.} fo. 217^b kind. They enclosed the town by repairing the old works, so that each one repaired his post with palisades. Within eight days of the battle there came against them such a multitude of people from all parts of Scotland as was marvellous [to see]. For eight days they lay before them, till for want of provender they departed each man to his own country.

The siege having been raised, the stranger lords caused Edward de Balliol to be crowned King at Scone.⁴ Then they left the town of St. John and went through Kyle and Cuninghame towards Galloway, where the people on the hither [east] side of Cree rose to join them.⁵ Thence they took their way

¹ *I.e.* the disinherited lords.

² *Crestre*, misprinted *crescere* in *Maitland Club Ed.* ³ *Cestes gentz aryues.*

⁴ 24th Sept., 1332.

⁵ Eastern Galloway was Balliol's own land.

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by Crawfordmuir towards Roxburgh, where, near Jedburgh, Archibald de Douglas¹ lay in ambush. He was discovered and defeated, Robert de Lawder the son, and others being captured.

King Edward de Balliol was quartered at Kelso, and his army in Roxburgh; but he [Edward] moved his quarters to Roxburgh on the same day for fear of the river rising. Andrew de Moray, at that time Guardian of Scotland for King David de Brus, having reconnoitred the quarters of the said King Edward de Balliol at Kelso, perceived the water of Tweed rising, and was near at hand in strong force. He posted himself at the end of Roxburgh bridge and began to break down the said bridge, intending to surprise the said King Edward; when the alarm was sounded among the troops in the said town, and all [stood] to arms, both horse and foot. Then they took the bridge from the enemy, and the cavalry swam the river and defeated these fellows, whose commander, Andrew de Moray, was captured.

Soon afterwards the King of England held his Parliament at York,² whither went the chief officers of Edward de Balliol's army. To which Parliament came envoys on behalf of David de Brus, beseeching the King that he would assist their lord as an ally ought to do, seeing that he had his [David's] sister to wife. Without dealing with any other consideration, the King's council was of opinion that he was not bound so to act against his own subjects who had been disinherited in the cause of himself and his predecessors, and had voluntarily began to reconquer their inheritance.

¹ 'The Tineman,' youngest brother of Sir James of Douglas, d. 1333.

² *A Euerwik*, omitted in *Maitland Club Ed.*

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In the meantime, during the parliament aforesaid, King Edward de Balliol broke up from Roxburgh and marched towards the west March at Annan; where at dawn one day Archibald de Douglas surprised and defeated him with a force of the enemy. He [Edward] escaped with much difficulty to Carlisle, many of his people being slain, and all his followers being driven out of Scotland, to begin their conquest all over ^{MS.} fo. 218 again.

Then Edward de Balliol began to treat with the King of England, which King was of opinion, and his council also, that he was free to look after his own interest, seeing that in the peace concluded with Robert de Brus it had been specially excepted and stipulated that the alliance with France should hold good with the Scots [only], and that the King of England should be bound to them by no tie; and because the Scots by advice of Thomas, Earl of Moray, declined to dissolve the alliance with France, which was the open enemy of the King of England; [and because] no other condition was specified except that the King of England surrendered the right which he had over Scotland (which [right] had fallen to the crown of England in the time of his grandfather by the forfeiture of John de Balliol, at that time King of Scotland, who repudiated his tenure from him [Edward I.], although he himself [John Balliol] had become his vassal by his homage to the suzerainty of Scotland, and became his [Edward's] man by a formal condition in his *clesement* when there was dispute about the said realm between the said John de Balliol and Robert de Brus, the grandfather of that Robert who called himself King of Scotland, and John de Hastings; which John de Balliol renounced his homage by two

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Jacobin friars with a sharp sword, declaring that he [John] held nothing as from him [Edward]), wherefore the King was of opinion that a new war was [justified by] a new situation. Now this Edward de Balliol made over to the King of England the town of Berwick with five counties, [namely] the sheriffdoms of Berwick, of Roxburgh, of Edinburgh, Peebles, and Dumfries, and would do homage for the rest of Scotland, on condition that the King should support him, maintain him, and restore him to his [royal] estate.

X

The King being eager for arms and glory, and his council being enterprising and burning for war, they soon came to an agreement upon that point—all the sooner because they desired to retrieve their prestige from those by whom they had forfeited it. Some of those [who were] in the inner council of the King acted with Edward de Balliol, who laid siege to the town of Berwick by land and sea in the second week of Lent; and just before Pentecost the King of England himself went [there], and they assaulted the town, but did not take it; but they re-timbered their works so as to renew attack upon the said town. Meanwhile, those within the town treated for terms, [proposing] to surrender the town if they were not relieved before a certain day, and for this they gave hostages. Before which fixed time all the power of Scotland, a marvellous multitude of people, crossed the Tweed at the Yair ford one day at dawn, and showed themselves before Berwick on the English side of Tweed in open view of the King and his army; and threw troops and provisions ^{MS.} fo. 218^b into the town, and remained there all day and night. Then on the morrow, about noon, they decamped and marched through

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the King's land into Northumberland, burning and spoiling the country in open view of the English army.

These people [the Scots] having departed in this manner, the King's council at the siege summoned the town according to the terms [agreed on]; but those within replied that they had been relieved both with men and provisions, and showed [how they had appointed] new wardens of the town and [received] knights sent in from their army; of whom William de Keith was one, with others. It was the opinion of the said council that they [the Scots] had forfeited their hostages, so they caused the son of Alexander de Seton, warden of the town, to be hanged.¹

This hostage having perished in this way, the others in the town, out of tenderness for their sons who were hostages [also], re-opened negotiations with the consent of the knights who had passed in, who were of opinion that their Scottish forces exceeded the army of the King of England. So they obtained these new terms—that within fifteen days they should throw into the town two hundred men-at-arms by force on dry land [marching] between the English army and high water mark, or else they would give battle in the open. The knights William de Keith, William de Prendergast, and Alexander Gray, who were

¹Wyntoun says Sir Alexander had already lost two sons in the defence of the town, but neither he nor his wife shrank from sacrificing a third.

'Then sayd the lady that scho was yhyng [young],
And hyr lord was yhowng alsua,
Off powere till have barnys ma.
And set [allow] that thai twa dede war thare,
Yhit off thare barnys sum lyvand ware.'

(*Cronykil*, viii. c. 27.)

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those thrown into the town, had safe-conduct to pass through the [English] army to their Scottish friends with these terms, and were taken under safe-conduct through Northumberland. They found their Scottish army at Witton Underwood,¹ and brought it back to Berwick to effect its relief, where they engaged in battle and were defeated.² Archibald de Douglas, at that time Regent of Scotland for King David de Brus, was slain there; the Earls of Ross, Moray, Menteith, Lennox, and Sutherland were slain there.³

[William] Lord of Douglas (son of James of Douglas, who perished on the frontier of Granada fighting the Saracens, having undertaken this crusade⁴ with the heart of Robert de Brus his King, as he [Robert] had instructed him on his deathbed) and a great number of barons, knights, and common people were slain at that place. The town surrendered upon fixed terms. The Earl of March, who had charge of the castle of Berwick, became English, having, indeed, no great esteem from either side.⁵ In the mean time [or, at the same time], by permission of the King, he caused his castle of Dunbar to be fortified, which was afterwards the cause of much mischief.

This battle having been fought, the King of England marched

¹ Probably the parish of Nether Witton, near Morpeth.

² Battle of Halidon Hill, 19th July, 1333.

³ The list is not quite correct. The Earl of Moray escaped from the field, but the Earls of Carrick and Athol made up the tale of six of their degree who perished.

⁴ *Cest saint veage.*

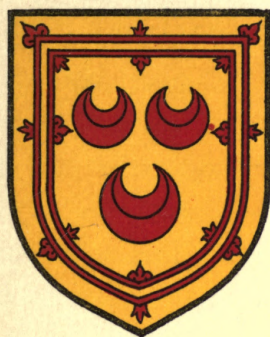
⁵ Or perhaps 'For either side,' being a most uncertain and fickle gentleman. *Qi nauoit my graunt gree de nul coste.*



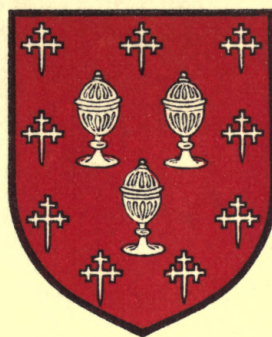
Sir Philip de Howbray



Sir William D'Encourt



Sir Alexander de Seton



Sir Giles de Argentin



Edward de Brus, Earl of Carrick



Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel

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to the south, where he attended assiduously to peaceful deeds of arms.¹ Edward de Balliol, King of Scotland, went to the town of St. John,² where he held his Parliament at Scone and [received] the fealty of many [persons] of Scotland. The whole of Scotland was in subjection to the King of England and to him, except the castle of Dunbarton, whence King ^{MS.} David de Brus, who was still a youth, was removed to Chateau Galliard in France, where he and his wife, the King's [Edward's] sister, remained a long time, until he was of such age that he might return. fo. 219

In the second year after the battle of Berwick, Edward de Bailliol returned to Newcastle-on-Tyne, and performed his homage to the King of England for his land of Scotland, according to the terms aforesaid; and then he retired into Scotland because certain people of that country had risen against him with the Earl of Moray, a youth approaching manhood.³ The said Edward was at Stirling with his forces, where there arose some disagreement out of jealousy between certain of his council, who suddenly took themselves off to their strongholds, wherefore the said Edward returned to England. Henry de Beaumont, at that time Earl of Buchan, through inheritance by his wife, went to Dundargue, a castle in Buchan, which he had fortified anew.⁴ The Earl of Athol betook himself to his own land, the others to their castles. Richard Talbot was beyond the mountains in the lands inherited by his wife, the daughter of John de Comyn. On receiving

¹That is, tournaments, jousts, etc.

²Perth.

³*Vn enfant parcru.*

⁴On the Moray Firth, near Aberdour. Once a great fortress of the Comyns, nothing remains above ground now except the entrance.

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news of this quarrel he set off for England, but was captured in Lothian, and John de Stirling also, by people in fealty to Edward de Balliol, who broke faith out of avarice for the ransom of these [knights]. Henry de Beaumont was besieged in Dundargue, and surrendered the castle on condition that he was to leave the country. The Earl of Athol made fealty to David de Brus and deserted his fealty to Edward de Balliol, being constrained to do that or to die, as well as most of the English knights in his company, who could not preserve their lives in any other way. At this time there remained in Scotland none of the King of England's adherents of any importance, except the Earl of March, who went to Newcastle-on-Tyne [in obedience to] summons from the King of England. In returning home he [March] was waylaid by some ruffians of Northumberland, coveting the money which the King had given him at his departure, and came near to being murdered. He caused his complaint to be laid before the King of England, who had then come to Roxburgh, where in winter he caused the castle, captured and dismantled in the time of his father, to be fortified. The council, which was at that time with the King, would not consent to his exacting such reparation from the said evil-doers as reason demanded, so it seemed to him [March] as a warning against such misdeeds; wherefore he renounced¹ his homage to the King by a letter when he [Edward] came near Dunbar after a journey which

^{MS.}
fo. 219^b he had made into Lothian from Roxburgh in very bad winter weather, letting it appear in the said letters that he could not maintain himself in security any longer.

¹ *Si rendy sus soun homage a le roy.*

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At the same time the King's kinsman, Edward de Bohun, was drowned in the Water of Annan, in attempting to save a valet from a flood. He seized him [the valet] by the shoulders, but he [the valet] pulled him out of the saddle beneath him. The knight perished: the valet was saved.

The said castle of Roxburgh having been fortified, the said King of England moved to London and prepared for the coming summer, when he marched to Scotland in great force. He sent with Edward de Balliol the Earls of Warren, Arundel, Oxford and Angus, the lords Percy, Nevill, Berkeley and Latimer, and a great army, which entered [Scotland] by Berwick. He himself entered by Carlisle with all the rest of his chivalry, having with him the Count of Gueldres, who afterwards became marquess and then duke, with a strong column of Germans. The two armies came near each other on the Water of Clyde, the King of England [being] in one place [and] Edward de Balliol with his army at Glasgow, where there occurred a great conflict in the army on account of an esquire who carried the surname of de Gournay,¹ whom the people of the Marches killed because it was alleged that one of that surname had been a party to the death of the King's father.

The two armies formed a junction at the town of St. John,² and on their march thither they took the castle of Cumbernauld by assault. At the said town of St. John the Earl of Athol, Godfrey de Ross, and Alexander de Moubray, with others, returned to the King's peace, and the Steward of Scotland there began to treat. At the same time, while the

¹ Gurney.

² Perth.

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King lay at the town of St. John, came the Count of Namur to Berwick, with other English knights who had not been ready to march with the King. They now foolishly undertook to follow the King and to travel through the country to him at the town of Saint John, when they were surprised at Edinburgh by the Earl of Moray¹ and forced to take [refuge on] the rock of the dismantled castle. There they defended themselves one night, and next day, until they x received terms, [namely] that the said Count of Namur should swear that he would not bear arms from that time forward in the quarrel with David de Brus, and that the English there should remain prisoners held to ransom.² The said Count of Namur returned to Berwick, whence he went by sea in company with the Queen of England to [join] the King at the town of Saint John. About the same time the Earl of Moray was taken by William de Presfen in an affair upon the Marches.

In the same season the Earl of Ulster was murdered by his own people in Ireland, which Earl was son and heir of one of Gloucester's daughters, and a near kinsman of the King of England. Afterwards Lionel,³ son of this Edward ^{MS.} fo. 220 the third after the Conquest, married the daughter and heir [of the Earl of Ulster].

The King of England left the town of Saint John and marched to Edinburgh, where he caused the castle to be fortified; and there Robert the Steward of Scotland,⁴ who

¹ Whom the chronicler stated above had been killed at Halidon Hill.

² *Pur vn some de argent.*

³ Duke of Clarence.

⁴ Founder of the Stuart dynasty. Crowned in 1371.

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was son of Robert de Brus's daughter, and nearly all the commons, came to his peace. The King caused a strong garrison to be placed in the castle, and repaired to England. In the winter following, the Earl of Athol, who had been appointed by the King guardian beyond the sea of Scotland,¹ was slain, having fought against Andrew de Moray, and the Earl of March, and William de Douglas, and with the people engaged on the side of David de Brus. And in the same season Thomas Rosslyn was slain in another encounter as he was landing from the sea near Dunnottar; but his people gained the victory.

In the next summer after, the King of England (who had sent to the town of Saint John in support of Edward de Balliol some of the greatest men of his realm, [including] his brother John, Earl of Cornwall, who died there a peaceful death²), having received intelligence that the Scots were assembling to fight with his people near the town of Saint John, came suddenly upon the March of Scotland with scarcely more than fifty men-at-arms. He took the March men who had been sent home to defend the country, and hastily set out to go to the town of Saint John, having with him not more than five score men-at-arms. He arrived at the said town so unexpectedly that all his people marvelled at his coming, and that he should have dared to act in such manner.) Thence he rode beyond the mountains, where he rescued the Countess of Athol,³ who was besieged in

¹ *I.e.* beyond the Forth.

² *Morrust de bele mort.*

³ She was a daughter of Henry de Beaumont, and widow of the Earl who had been Edward Baliol's Governor of Scotland, slain at Kilblene in the same year, 1335.

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Lochindorb; and there for a while he suffered great scarcity of provender in his army; but all were supplied by the foraying of Robert de Ogle and other men of the Marches; and so he went to Stirling, where he caused the castle to be fortified, and thence he marched to Bothwell, where also he caused the castle to be fortified during the winter, and caused a strong garrison to be placed therein. The Lord of Berkeley escorted the convoy to Bothwell from Edinburgh, and one night defeated William de Douglas,¹ who lay in wait for him.

337
x The King soon afterwards lost all the castles and towns which he had caused to be fortified in Scotland for want of good government in the prosecution of his conquest. The said King repaired to London for his Parliament, where his eldest son, the Earl of Chester,² was made Duke of Cornwall, Henry of Lancaster was made Earl of Derby, William de Bohun [was made Earl] of Northampton, William de Montague [was made Earl] of Salisbury, Hugh de Audeley [was made Earl] of Gloucester, Robert de Ufforthe [was made Earl] of Suffolk, William de Clinton [was made Earl] of Huntingdon.

MS.
fo. 220^b Upon which earls and other good men of his the King bestowed so liberally of his possessions that he retained for himself scarcely any of the lands appertaining to the Crown, but was obliged to subsist upon levies and subsidies, which were a heavy burden upon the people. He received a considerable share of the tithe of Holy Church, the fifteenth penny of the laity, and 47s. 8d. for every wool pack. This subsidy was granted by the Commons for a term, but it out-

Taxes x

¹The Knight of Liddesdale and 'Flower of Chivalry,' c. 1300-1353.

²Edward the Black Prince, aged at this time five years.

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lasted the time fixed. During two years he received the ninth sheaf throughout his realm.

At this same parliament it was decided by the King's Council, [acting] on advice of the clergy, that he should no longer refrain from pressing his right and [his] claim to the Crown of France, on which account war was declared, homage was renounced to Philip de Valois, King of France,¹ who withheld the King's right, and defiance was also sent. Envoys were sent from the King of England to Germany to make alliance with the Emperor, the Bavarian,² who had espoused the other sister of the Count of Hainault. The expenses of these lords cost enormous treasure, without profit. The envoys were Henry de Borwase, Bishop of Lincoln, and the Earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon, who returned to the Parliament of London with the reply to their mission.

Soon after this time Andrew de Moray, Guardian of Scotland for King David, who [Moray] happened to die soon after,³ wrought great havoc in the county of Carlisle, whence he marched and besieged the castle of Edinburgh, at that time in the hands of the English. The Marchmen, hearing of their coming, hastened to the rescue. The Scots raised the siege and came to meet them at Clerkington, the English being at Crichton, where at Crichtondene there was a fierce encounter between them, many being slain on both sides, but the English lost most. The Scots moved off, threatening to

¹ *Au roy de France*, misrendered *du roy* in *Maitland Club Ed.* Beginning of the Hundred Years' War, A.D. 1337.

² Ludovic V. who, before his election, had been Duke of Bavaria.

³ He died in the following year, 1338.

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make an inroad upon England, and encamped at Galashiels. The English posted themselves before them, beyond the Water of Tweed, where they remained two days; and on the third night the Scots broke up and went their way.

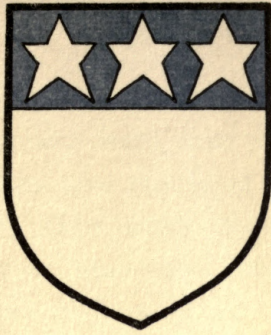
✓
Soon afterwards, the Earl of Salisbury, who at that time was one of the most trusted of the King's Council, was of opinion that the alliance they had formed with the Germans was not likely to lead to profitable result, and that the King would not be able to bear the expense of the conditions which they demanded. Perceiving their greed, he laid his charge to Parliament¹ before the King and went off to Scotland so as to avoid [responsibility for] this policy. He went with the Earls of Arundel and Gloucester and the Lords Nevill and Percy to besiege Dunbar, where the King came near them at Whitekirk² to take their opinion about his affairs, on account of which he could not remain at the siege at that time.

MS.
fo. 221 They lay at this siege throughout Lent and until Pentecost, when the Bishop of Lincoln and the Earl of Northampton and the others who had conducted the treaty of alliance with the Germans had come back to London, having achieved a gallant passage of arms in returning from this mission, for they defeated the Flemish in the Isle of Ragent,³ where Guy de Flanders was taken by the people of Walter de Maunay.

¹ *Son charge moustre a le parlement enchois au roy.* The meaning is ambiguous. *Enchois*=*ainchois*, *ainçois*, avant, aupaavant.

² In East Lothian. This was the siege made famous by the defence of the castle for five months by Black Agnes of Dunbar.

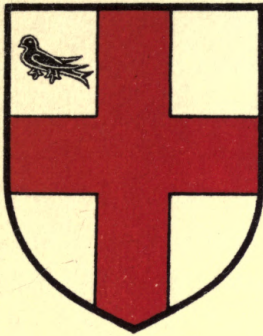
³ *En lile de Ragent.* It is Cadsand, part of the mainland. The affair is graphically described by Froissart, Book I., chap. 31.



Sir James de Douglas



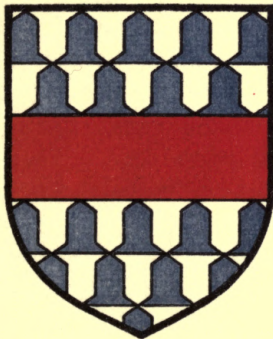
Sir Thomas de Richmond



Sir Andrew de Harcla, Earl of Carlisle



Sir Richard de Horsaey



Sir William Harmion



Hugh le Despenser, Earl of Winchester



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It was said that some of these envoys on their return declared to those who were then in attendance upon the King, that any persons who interfered with the King's journey in accordance with their treaty should forthwith be held as traitors, and that he need take nobody with him except Giliot de la Chaumbre, for he would be strong enough with his allies over there to conquer his heritage of France.

On hearing this news at Dunbar, the lords there, who were on the point of [receiving] the surrender of the castle, made truce and raised the siege; for they dared not remain longer lest men might blame them for interfering with the King's expedition, seeing that matters had gone so far.¹

The King, [acting] on the advice of those who had set their heart upon this alliance, crossed the sea and arrived at Antwerp, where he lay for fifteen months without making any war, only jousting and leading a jolly life; and here was born Lionel, the King's son.²

At this time the English Marchmen, who were left to keep the March in rear of the Warders and chieftains who had ridden in force into Scotland, were defeated at Presfen,³ Robert de Maners was taken, and all the others were either slain or [taken] prisoners, having, on account of imprudent, angry talk, broken their ranks and hotly⁴ engaged upon unsuitable ground.

¹ A plausible excuse for failure: but Black Agnes, having made good her defence for five months, might have maintained it for fifteen, for Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie ran the blockade of the English fleet and threw provisions and forty men into the fortress.

² 29th November, 1338; afterwards Duke of Clarence.

³ Near Wark-on-Tweed.

⁴ *Enyousement.*

THE 'SCALACRONICA' OF

1238 ✓
The King, within the first two months of his landing, went to the Emperor Louis at Coblenz, where he held a high court,¹ and the right of the King of England to the crown of France was proclaimed in open consistory and acknowledged in that court. Although they [Emperor Louis and King Edward] had married two sisters, yet the King received no support there except from people who never would be got together but for money, saying that for their part they would serve him willingly, but that was for such an unreasonable sum as it would have made it impossible for him to come to terms [with them].²

In the same season that this King Edward was in Brabant, the French came out of their galleys at Southampton, took the town by assault and destroyed it, but did not remain there long. In the same season the galleys of France took four of the larger ships of England off Middleborough, which were lying there awaiting the King's pleasure, in case he wished anything from them, he being at that time at Antwerp.

The King of England received commission as Vicar-General of the Empire, so that all those of the Empire should be at his service. The King repaired to Antwerp, expecting aid from his allies and treating with them continually, which availed him nothing, until, in despair from such long delay, he resolved that he would wait no longer. So he sent to

¹ *Ou il teint coustoir plener*, apparently the same as *cour plenièr*, which differed by its greater magnificence and solemnity from an ordinary court.

² In the *Maitland Club Edition* certain words in the original have slipped out of the text. They are printed in Roman type in the passage as follows: *Vngor le roy nauoit illoques autre eide fors com de gentz qe ia ne seruount ensaule de argent qi disoient que pur le soen ils ly seruiroint volountiers, mais, etc.*

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inform his cousin-german, the Duke of Brabant, and to the Duke of Guelders, who had married his sister, and to the Marquess of Juliers, his brother-in-law, and to his other allies who had taken his part,¹ that, on a given day, he would be on the frontier of France, where he would test his fortune; therefore, as the Emperor's Vicar, he summoned them to be ready on the appointed day. Whither came some of the King's allies, unable, for very shame, to keep away, and rode with him into France before Saint-Quentin² and into Tierache; in which expedition the English with the Germans assaulted the town of Hennecourt, but they did not take it; in which assault Thomas de Poyning and many other good Englishmen were slain. King Philip of France came suddenly to Vironfoss within a league of the said King of England, without the knowledge of the King's army. The said King [Edward] waited for him [Philip] on the morrow in open field nearly all day, then towards evening he marched to Avesnes, because the army was not victualled, where they remained all next day. King Philip of France pursued no further. In the evening at Avesnes there took place such a fierce encounter between the English archers and some of the Germans that the English men-at-arms were under arms all night. Some of the Germans fell upon a detachment³ of the English army in a hamlet outside the army, killed all the English common [soldiers], and stole horses and harness, and made off, each his own way.

The King marched into Brabant to Antwerp, where the Council of Flanders treated with him, and by their homage

¹ *Quoaint pris de souu.*

² In Picardy.

³ *Cheierent desus une pane.*

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and oaths made submission to him as to their sovereign lord the King of France; and he, by their advice, assumed the title and arms of King of France at Ghent, where the King's son John, Earl of Richmond, was born.¹ He [the King] travelled to England in order to strengthen his array, when he underwent great danger from storm in crossing the sea. He left the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk as Guardians of Flanders, who by their want of prudence in a foolish reconnaissance were surprised before Lisle and [taken] prisoners and taken to the fortress of Paris. The Earl of Warwick [then] MS.
fo. 222 became Guardian of Flanders for the English King.

The other earls having been taken, the King of France besieged the castle of Thin-l'Evêque in Cambresis which the English had taken; to relieve which went the Duke of Brabant and the commons of Flanders, and the Count of Hainault, who had sent the King of France a fresh defiance on account of outrage which he [France] had caused to be done to him. They took the English out of the castle, who, having given hostages, [thus] forfeited them, and then burnt the castle in the sight of the King of France.

In the mean time, while these people were in the field at this [work of] relief, King Edward of England was on his way to Orwell with his army to join his allies, and had embarked his horses, when news reached him that the Admiral of Normandy, with the whole navy of King Philip of France, lay off Sluys to blockade Flanders by sea, so that no victuals nor merchandise should reach them by sea, and in order to oppose the King's passage. Upon hearing this news he

¹ Better known as John of Gaunt, father of Henry IV., b. 24th June, 1340.

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[Edward] caused his horses to be disembarked, and put to sea with the people of his army; so that on the vigil of St. John, at midsummer, he arrived off Sluys by sea, and on the morrow, St. John's day,¹ attacked this great navy of France, and, by the grace of God, defeated it. All the ships were taken, and the admiral, Hugh Keret, was killed, with such a multitude of Frenchmen as was beyond measure wonderful.

The King arrived at Sluys, whither came to him the lords of Brabant, of Guelders, of Jüliers, and of Hainault, and the councillors of the great towns of Flanders; when, by their advice, the King marched to Ghent, whence within eight days he moved before Tournay, which he besieged. He divided the army of Flanders in two, taking with him the troops of Ghent to Tournay, and sending those of Bruges and Ypres to Robert of Artois, who at that time was his adherent, because of the wrong that Philip de Valois, who claimed to be King of France, had done him in respect of the county of Artois, which he [Robert] claimed by inheritance; for Robert had his [Philip's] sister to wife, and submitted to the said King of England as rightful King of France.

The King sent his letters to Philip de Valois offering him choice either of pitched battle, force against force,² in a suitable place and on a day to be fixed, or of one hundred knights against one hundred upon proper conditions, or of personal duel of their two bodies.³ The Council of France declared

¹ June 24, 1340: the twenty-fifth anniversary of Bannockburn.

² *Batail arest. Poair coudre poair*; the last two words are omitted in *Maitland Club Ed.*

³ *Personal darrein de lour ii. corps*: i.e. *deraisne*, a term of law for trial by battle

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that they knew not to whom these letters should go, because they made mention of Philip de Valois, and him they held to be King of France, feigning excuse for [not] answering definitely upon the specific point.

^{MS.}
fo. 222^b The said Robert [of Artois] marched with the whole of the English and with the aforesaid men of Flanders [to a position] before Saint Omer, where the Count of Armagnac and Duke of Burgundy were quartered, who made a sortie in two columns. Robert of Artois with the English and the men of Bruges attacked and repulsed the column of the Duke of Burgundy, and very nearly entered the said town with them, so close was the pursuit. The Count of Armagnac with his column attacked and routed the rear-guard of the said Robert—the men of Ypres—and pursued them hotly a long way. Upon the return of Robert of Artois in the evening, the Count of Armagnac returned towards Saint Omer, and [the two forces] encountered each other; but [as] this happened during the night, each party stood on the defensive without doing any more. Upon the return of the said Robert to his quarters, they found that their other column of Ypres [had been] defeated and put to flight; wherefore they [Robert's column] broke up that same night, and on the morrow marched to Tournay to the King of England, who had invested that town, within which were the Comte d'Eu, Constable of France, and the Comte de Foys, with fifteen hundred foreign men-at-arms.¹

¹ Or 'armed men.' *Genz darmis* and *homs darmis* are sometimes used to express 'armed men,' and sometimes, more specifically, 'men-at-arms,' who were fully armed heavy cavalry, each man with his valet or groom.

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The King had lain at this siege for eleven weeks, when King Philip of France came with his great army within a league of Tournay, when negotiations began, which the King's allies compelled him [to open], because they would remain there no longer. So they took their departure upon a truce for one year, prisoners on both sides being released, the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk of the English, and the Lords of Montmorency and other Frenchmen who had been taken at Tournay.

The Flemings were released from the interdict under great penalties laid upon them by the Pope in the Court of Rome in the time of Philip le Beau, King of France, that they should never rebel against the Crown of France; [and this was done] at the instance of this Philip de Valois, who now proclaimed himself King of France, according to the conditions agreed upon in the truce of Tournay for all time coming.

At which time of the siege of Tournay Benedict [XII.] was Pope next after John [XXII.]. He had been named previously Cardinal Blanc, and was of the Cistercian Order. He was strictly conscientious. He made stricter by his constitutions the rule of the Cistercian Order than it had been before his time. He took an active part in the peace by mediation of the Cardinals between this King Edward the Third after the Conquest and Philip de Valois, King of France; but he could not have achieved his purpose, had he not been no adherent of either party.

In the mean time, during this siege of Tournay, the Earls of March and Sutherland came to take booty on the mar. . .

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*** It is at this point, just as the narrative returns to Scotland and the chronicler enters upon the period of his own greatest activity and adventure, that we have to deplore the loss of several folios. Luckily, John Leland (1506?-1552), the father of English antiquaries, had access to a complete copy, and made an abstract in English of the whole work. That portion which covers the missing part of the original is given here in order to preserve the thread of the chronicle.*

Whil the king was at the sege of Turnay, the erles of Marche and Sothirland made a rode yn to England, and were discomfited by Thomas Gray¹ there.

Robert Maners and John Coplande, with the garrison of Roxburg, then yn the Englisch mennes handes, but after won by covyne of the Scottes on Ester day, at the very hour of the Resurrextion. But al they that were capitayne of this covyne dyed after an il death. Alexander Ramsey, capitayne of this deade, dyed for hunger, put in prison for very envy that Wylliam Duglas² bare hym.

King Edward repayrid into England, and was in yeopardy of drowning at the Tamys mouth, and at his arrival caussid his treasurers to be arrestid, by cause he was so il furnisid of mony: the which was the great cause of leving of his sege at Turnay.

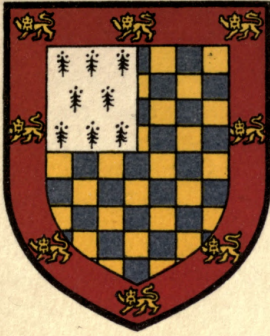
The wynter after the sege of Turnay, King Edward went to Melros, and rode thorough part of the forest of Etrik in a very il season, and cam to Melros agayne, wher Henry, erle of Darby, sunne and heyre to Henry counte of Lancastre, justid with Wylliam Duglas by covenaunt yn the Kinges syte.

The King Edward, taking a trews, departid from Melros half in a melancholy with them that movid him to that yornay.

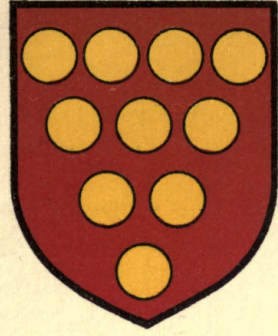
The counte of Derby went to Berwik, and there were justes of werre by covenaunt with yn the toune of many knightes and esquiers: and ther were killid ii. Englisch knightes.

¹Old Sir Thomas Gray died in 1343: this encounter took place in 1339-40, and the victor may have been the chronicler himself.

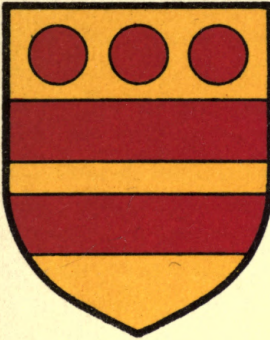
²The Knight of Liddesdale.



John de Breux, Earl of Richmond



William, Lord de la Zouche



Thomas de Wake, Lord of Liddesdale



Sir Robert de Maners



Henry, Lord Percy



Henry, Lord de Beaumont

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This season David Balliol cam out of Fraunce, and yn the wynter after, about Candemas, made a roode in to the Englisch marches, and brent much corne and houses: and yn somer after he made a rode yn to Northumbreland on to Tyne.

The same yere debate rose in Britayne,¹ by the death of John duke there, betwixt the counte Montforte, brother by half bloode to duke John, and Charles de Bloys, that had to wife the daughter to the counte of Penthuvir, brother to duke John by father and mother.

Counte Montfort escapid out of prison in Fraunce, and cam to King Edward as king of Fraunce, and Edwarde mayntenid his quarel, and sent Walter Mauney yn to Britayne, as his lieutenant, with Robert of Artoys, that dyed ther on fayr death.

The counte of Northampton faught with the barons of Britayne and great pour of Fraunce at Morlays, and discomfitid them, wher Geffray de Charny was taken.

King Edwarde cam yn to Bretayne, and assailid the toune of Vanes, wher ii. cardinales cam to make treuse betwene the kinges, and the toune was delyverid to them; but King Eduarde wan it afterwarde.

King Edwarde with great peril of tempest, and ther he gave his eldest sonne the principalite of Wales.²

The countes of Saresbyri and Southfolk, that had been prisoners yn Fraunce, and were deliverid for the counte of Murref³ in Scotland, and 3000 poundes sterlinges, with many other knightes of England, toke their yornay into Spayne to the frontier of Granate to the sege of Algesirs, a great toune of the Saracenes upon the straites of Marok, that the good king Alpponsus had besegid, and after wan it by famyne.

King Edward made a great fest at Wyndesore at Christemes, wher he renewid the Round Table and the name of Arture, and ordenid the order of the Garter, making Sanct George the patrone thereof.

King Edward sent an army yn to Flaunders by the meane of James Arteville,⁴ capitayn of the communes of Flaunders, of which when they saw the army [at Sluse] they [of Gaunt⁵] cutte of Arteville's hed.

¹ Brittany.

² The Black Prince, created Prince of Wales in 1343.

³ John Randolph, 3rd Earl of Moray, captured in 1335 and released in 1341.

⁴ Jacob van Artevelde.

⁵ The people of Ghent.

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King Edward sent to the counte of Derby, the erle of Lancaster's sunne, with many gentil men yn to Gascoyne, wher he discomfitid his ennemyes at Albaroche. Ther the erls of Lisle and Valentinoys wer taken, and ther they did many great feates of armes beside.

The baron of Staforde, that after was erle, and many other Englisch men, were besegid yn Agiloune yn Gascoyne by John duke of Normandy, eldest sunne to Philip king of Fraunce: but he left the sege becummyng of King Edwarde yn to Normandy.

King Edward sent the counte of Northampton and Oxford, with counte Montfort in to Britayn,¹ that claymid to be duke there, and that shortely after dyed there of fayr death. The aforesaid counte assegid the toune of Kemperkaretyne, and at the laste toke it by assaute.

Charles de Bloys cam with great pour to rescue the toune, and the aforesaid erle cam foreward to fight with them; but yn dede they fought not to gither.

The counte of Northampton rode through the cuntery, and wan the toun of Rochedirien by assaut, and so returnid yn to England with yeopardy of tempest. Thomas Dagworth sent warden yn to Brytaine,¹ anone after this fought with Charles de Bloyse, and put him to flyte. A nother tyme he layd wayte for Charlys de Bloys, where he had assegid Rochedirien, and toke hym, and sent hym prisoner yn to England. And at this tyme were many of the barons of Britayn slayn.¹ Abowt this season King Edwarde landid at Oges in Normandy, and wan the towne of Cane² by force, wher the counte of Owe,³ the conestable of Fraunce, and Tankerville the chambreyne wer taken and sent yn to Englande.

King Edward went up to Lenght yn Normandy apon the ryver of Sene, wher at the bridges wer broken, and made the bridg of Pontoyse, wher many French men wer slayn. Then went King Edwarde thorough Beauvoisin and Pykardy to the water of Sowme,⁴ wher a great sorte of Frenchmen, wylling to stop the passage, wer slayn. Philip Valoyse cam with his great hoste to have stoppid King Edward at the passage of Soum, but he was over or he cam.

King Edward, passing the forest of Crescy, was sodenly beset with Philip Valoys great hoste: but yet he chase a plott of ground equal

¹Brittany. ²Caen. ³Le Comte d'Eu. ⁴Somme.

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to fight yn, and wan a great victory of hym;¹ wher wer taken John king of Boheme, the duke of Loreyne, the counte of Alaunsun,² the brother of Philip Valoys that caullid hym self king of Fraunce, the counte of Flaunders, and many other countes.

King Edward went thens to Calays, wher he lay a whole yere at the sege.

King Davy of Scotland, yn the mean while, wan agayne, part by strenght, part by treason, part by famyne, al the holdes that King Eduard had yn Scotland, saving the only toun of Berwik. And the tyme of the ii firste monithes of the assege of Calays, he enterid ons in somer in to the parties of Cairluelsir;³ and a nother by Sulwath,⁴ and after assaylid the pile of Lidel and wan it by assaute, and then cut of the hedde of Walter Selby capitayne there, that afore had benee of the covyn of Gilbetert Midleton, that kept Mitford Castel and Horton pile agayn King Eduarde. Davy king of Scottes went forth in to the bisshoprik,⁵ and there did much hurte, wher the archbishop of York, the counte of Angous, the lorde Percy, the lorde Neville, and lord Moubray, with other marchers, wan the batelle,⁶ and John Coplande toke hym prisoner. The countes of Murref and Strathern wer killid and also Morice Murref, with many barons, banerettes and knightes wer killid. The counte of Marche and the seneschal of Scotland fled. The counte of Marche was taken, and the counte of Menteth, that shortely afterwards was hangid and drawen at London. Wylliam Duglas, that had greatly help the quarel of King David, was restorid to his castel of the Heremitage, apou conditions that he never after should bere wepen agayn King Eduarde, and alway be ready to take his part. This Duglas was sone after slayn of the lord Wylliam Duglas⁷ yn the forest of Selkirk.⁸

Many lordes, knightes and esquires of Scotland, taken yn batayle with theyr King David, wer sodenly ransomid, the which, after they cam yn to Scotland, made great riottes agayn. After this batayle cam to the king of Englands peace the countes⁹ of Berwik, Roxburg,

¹ 26th August, 1346.

³ Cumberland around Carlisle.

⁵ Of Durham.

⁷ William, 1st Earl of Douglas.

⁹ Usually Leyland writes 'counte' for 'earl,' but here it means counties.

² Alençon.

⁴ Solway.

⁶ Nevill's Cross, 17th Oct., 1346.

⁸ August, 1353.

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Peblys and Dunfres, with the forests of Selkirk and Etrik, the valleis of Anand, Nide, Esk, Euwide, Muffet, Tevyot, with the forest of Jedworth. The castelles also of Roxburg and Hermitage wher delyverid in to the Englisch mennes handes.

King Edwarde lay stille afore Calays, and these the counte of Flaunders practisid with hym to have his daughter Isabelle.

King Philip of Fraunce to the borders of Calays to remeve the sege; but he prevailid not.

Calays beying over cum with famyne, the capitayne and burgeses of the toune cum with halters about theyr nekkes, submitting them self to King Edwarde: the which put a right strong garrison yn the toune, and so cam yn to Englande.

Then cam to King Edward messengers from Rome to treat for peace for viii. yeres folouing.

About this tyme the electors of the empire sent to King Edward, offering hym there voyces to be emperor, Lowys of Bavar being deade. But he for his other great afferes refusid it, and then was electid Charles king of Boëme, sun to King John that was killid at the batail of Crescy. This Charles electid emperor fled at the batail of Crescy.

Henry duke de Lancastre chalengid at the coronation of Charles themperor at Rome a greate part of Province, the which by deathe of his ancesters was fallen to hym, by reason of his fathers mother queen of Navar.

King Edward had prepared to¹ armyes, one at Sandewiche and a nother at Orwelle, to go yn to Flaunders, to thentent to help them of Gaunt and Ypers, the which wer at debate with them of Bruges for his quarel. But trewse taken betwixt them brake this yorney.

King Edward, knowing a pryvy practise that a Genuoyse of the garnison of Calays had for a great summe of mony with the French king for delyveraunce of Calays, cam very secretly thither, and causing as many of the French men to be let yn as might be welle over cum, slew them, and brake al their purpose; and there was taken Geffray Charnay very prive of the French kinges counsel, and a great cause of thys conspiracy. Geffray Charnay delyverid for raansom toke in a castel the aforesaid Genuoyse, whom King Edward had made knight, and for he had bene cause of his taking he put the Genuoyse to great tormentes.

¹Two.

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King Edward faught with a navy of the Spanyardes cummyng from Flaundes (by cause they had afore done hys navy greate hurte) and vanquishid them, taking many great shippes of Castelle.

The Englisch men of the garnison of Calays toke the castel of Gisnes. The Englischmen toke a great parte of the counte of Bretayne, wher Thomas Dagwort they capitayne, a man to hy a corage to fly, was slayne yn a skirmouche of the French menne. This Thomas Dagworth had often tymes over cum the French menne. Gualter Bente was gardian of Britain after Dagworth: did wondrous feates yn Britayne; but after he was put yn the tour by fals suggestion, as it was said.

King Edwarde and his counsel wher much occupied by the space of a peace of viii yeres, procurid, as it was spoken of afore, by the messagers of Rome; and for the delyveraunce of King David of Scotland, and Charles de Bloys, duke of Bretayn, the which had beene, in these space of viii. yeres, yn divers castelles on England yn prison. In this tyme was a very great pestilence yn England, and many noble men dyed of it, beside the communes. In this season at a parlament was Henry counte of Lancastre made duke, and Rafe Stafferd counte.

Henry duke of Lancastre made after a rode¹ to Boloynes. And this Henry was at a nother tyme yn the wynter in Spruce:² but his jorney faillid to fight with the infideles. Henry went thens to Cracow, whither the Tartares enterid, and were departid a litle afore his cummyng. Henry, at his cummyng to Coylane, fel by chaunce at hy wordes with the duke of Brunswik, that gave hym gage of bataile, and receyvid it, and had leve of King Eduarde to try it. The bataille was apointid at Parise before John king of Fraunce; and there they were armid an a horse bak redy to fight, but King John toke up the quarel. Henry laborid sore for the peace of viii yeris afore spoken of, yn so much that, at the last, by great difficulte, it was concludid apou conditions at Avinion afore certayn cardinales and the counsel of Fraunce. But this peace cam to right smaule effect.

About this tyme John Beauchamp, that was capitayne or Calays, was taken aboute Arde goyng owt of Calays: wher the syre Beauin, capitayne of the French band, was slayn; but the French men, beyng iiiii tymes doble as many as the Engliche men, had the victory.

¹ Raid.

² Prussia.

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Clement was bisshop of Rome after Benedict. This Clement was a monk of Cluny ordre and archbishop of Roam,¹ and had beene before prior of a celle of the French ordre in Englande. He was a good clerk in divinite.

In the mean whyle that King Davy was prisoner, the lordes of Scotland, by a litle and a litle, wan al that they had lost at the bataille of Duresme; and there was much envy emong them who might be hiest; for every one rulid yn his owne cuntery: and King Eduarde was so distressid with his afferes beyound the se, that he toke litle regard to the Scottisch matiers.

At this tyme a baronet² of France caullid Garenceris³ cam with 50. men of armes yn to Scotland, and brought with hym xm. markes of the French kinges treasor to be gyven emong the prelates and barons of Scotlande, apou the condition that they should breke their trewis with the king of England, and mak werre apou hym.

About this tyme in playne parlament the jugement of Mortymer, that was erle of March by King Eduard's gift, was revokid at London; and so was the sunne of the sunne of Roger Mortymer restorid to therledom of Marche and to al his possessions, by the meanes of his great frendes, that allegid Mortimer dyed with oute answering to such thynges as were layid agayne him.

About this tyme King Edward was long deteynid by reason of a treatice of alliance betwixt the king of Navar, that was the sunne of the erle of Eworous, and hym. The which alliaunce by tretice afore was offerid, when Henry duke of Lancastre was at Avinion. Apou the which King Eduarde was with his navy apou the costes of Gascoyn the hole somer for performance of this alliaunce. But his jorney faillid. For the king of Navar thought to have more avantage at the French kinges hand.

King Edward went with his hoste to Calays and rode thorough Artoys and Pykardy, destroying 700. paroches. And apou this King John of Fraunce, sumwhat to redubbe the rebuke of King Eduardes actes in his reaulme, sent his marescal to King Eduarde, that he should apoint

¹ Rouen.

² ? Banneret; or perhaps a minor baron. Baronets, in the modern meaning, had no existence till the seventeenth century.

³ Garcenières.

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a day by gages. And King Edward assignid the place in the marches of Calays; but King John cam not nere it by viii. lieus. At this season Eduard the prince of Wales was sent by King Edward with a 1000. men of armes, and the erles of Warwike, Oxford, Saresby and Sothfolk, yn to Gascoyn, the which, with the Gascoynes, rode over the hilles of Langedok with yn 2 dayes yorney of Avinion, and brennid the suburbes of Narbone, and destroyed Karkason, and the counteries about; and yn returning to Burdeaux rode over the counte of Ermeniak¹ and cam to Burdeaux with out batail. In the same tyme the Englischmen that wer in Britayne vanquishid the vicounte of Roan and the syre Beaumaners. This Beaumaners had afore faught with the Englischmen by covenant 30. to 30. The Englischmen at the begynning had the better; but at the ende they were vanquishid.

The lordes Percy and Neville, gardians of the Englisch marches, toke trewis with the lorde William Duglas at the tyme that he had conquerid the landes that the Englisch men had won of the Scottes.

Patrik erle of March, that was patised with Garaunceris the baron of Fraunce, King John of Fraunce agent ther, wold not consent to this trews, and so with other cam yn roode to the castel of Norham, and imbuschid them self apou the Scottisch side of Twede, sending over a banaret with his baner, and 400. men to forage, and so gathering prayes drove them by the castelle.

Thomas Gray² (conestable of Norham, sunne to Thomas Gray that had beene 3. tymes besegid by the Scottes in Norham castel yn King Edward the secunde dayes), seing the communes of England thus robbid, issuid out of Norham with few mo the 50. menne of the garnison, and a few of the communes, and, not knowing of Patrikes band be hynd, wer by covyn he set both before and behind with the Scottes. Yet for al that Gray with his men lightting apou foote set apou them with a wonderful corage, and killid mo of them than they did of thenglich men. Yet wer ther vi. Scottes yn numbre to one Englisch man, and cam so sore on the communes of England, that they began to fly, and then was Thomas Gray taken prisoner. Patrik of Dunbar, counte of Marche, and Thomas le Seneschal,

¹ Armagnac.

² The chronicler himself, who thus, in the summer of 1355, entered upon his imprisonment, which he beguiled by writing *Scalacronica*.

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that caullid hym self counte of Angus, one and twenty dayes after this preparid them self apon a nighte with scaling laders cumming to Berwik, and with yn vi. dayes after tok by assaute one of the strongest toures of Berwik, and enterid the toun. This tydings was brought to King Edwarde at his very landing at Calays yn to England. Wherefore he taried at his parlament apointid at London but 3. dayes, and with al spede cam to Berwike, and enterid the castel, and then the burgeses tretisid with hym, and the toune of Berwik was redelyverid ful sore agayn the Scottes wyлле to King Edwarde.

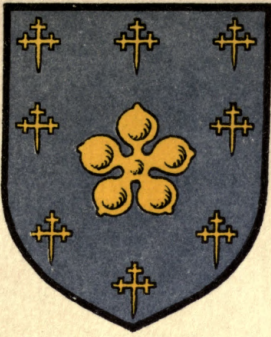
King Edward went to Rokesburg, and there the xxvi. day of January, anno D. 1355¹ Edward Bailliol king of Scottes resignid his corone, and al his title of Scotland, to King Edwarde, saying, that the Scottes were ful of rebellion; and be cause he had no heyre, nor ane very nere of his linage, and that he was of King Edwardes blode: wherefore, he said, he could not telle wher better to bestow his title and the corone of Scotlande, better than apon hym. Apon this King Edwarde went be yond hambremore in hownes, destroying the countrey on to Edingburg. Then he repayrid yn to England, and left the erle of Northampton gardian of the marches, which toke a trews with the Scottes that was not wel kept.

John king of Fraunce toke by covyne the king of Navar, that had afore treatid with King Eduard for alliaunce.

*** The narrative, interrupted by the loss of certain folios, is here resumed in the middle of a sentence. The matter referred to is the capture by stratagem of Charles II. the Bad, King of Navarre, by John II. the Good, King of France.*

MS. . . . of France by treachery, as he was seated at table, the
fo. 223 Dauphin of Vienne, eldest son of the King at that time, having invited him to dine. The Comte d'Harcourt and other lords of Normandy [were] beheaded on a charge of being party to his [Navarre's] misdoing. And note that at this

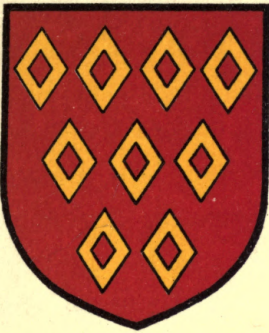
¹N.S. 1356.



Robert de Ampthrville, Earl of Angus



Sir Richard Talbot



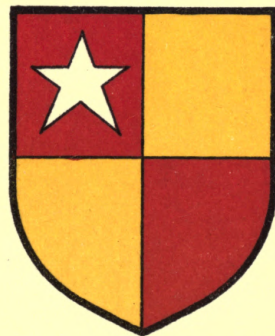
Sir Henry de Ferrers



Sir Robert de Lander



Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell



De Vere, Earl of Oxford

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time the eldest son of the King of France was Dauphin of Vienne, which Dauphiné Philip the father of this John of France had purchased for the Crown of France, wherefore this King John gave it to his son.¹

In the year of grace 1355, and in the thirtieth year of the reign of King Edward of England the Third after the Conquest, Edward, the eldest son of the said King of England and Prince of Wales, who throughout the year had remained in Gascony at his father's war, as has been described above, moved in force out of Bordeaux into France on the 6th day of July.² He held his way to La Rule, through Agonac and Perigueux and Limoges and into Berri, where several fortresses were rendered to him. He came to Romorantin, a town in *Saloigne*, where the Seigneur de Croun and Monseigneur Bursigaud, an experienced knight, were sent to him by the King of France, who was not far off, to ascertain the strength and condition of the Prince's army. Which town the said Prince took by storm. The town having fallen, the Seigneur de Croun and Monseigneur Bursigaud shut themselves up in a strong tower which was there and held it; [but] surrendered it and the town, and sixty knights and esquires, to the Prince's mercy.

Thence he [the Black Prince] moved to the river Loire, intending to cross it in order to form a junction with the King his father, whom he believed would have arrived in the parts

¹ Humbert III., last sovereign lord of Dauphiné, being childless, bequeathed his province in 1343 to Charles of Valois, King of France, grandson of Philip VI., on condition that the eldest son of the King of France should always be known as Dauphin of Vienne.

² The first instance of the chronicler dating by the day of the month instead of by the ecclesiastical calendar. The 6th July is the feast of St. Columba.

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of France or Normandy in [pursuance of] his conquest of his heritage, France, or else that Duke Henry of Lancaster might have marched towards him (the said Duke having charge of Brittany, and having been sent by the King of England in that same summer) if he had found a passage by ford or bridge; though all were broken from Orleans to Tours, when he [the Prince] directed his march before Tours. In which march at this time were taken nearly two hundred men-at-arms of the French army, from some of whom the Prince obtained sure intelligence that King John of France was drawing near him with the royal army; so he crossed the Loire at Blois. To the Prince came the Cardinal Perigord craving for treaty, to whom answer was courteously made that he [the Prince] would be ready always to receive and offer negociation. The said Prince in his marches moved across the river Vienne, and received information through prisoners that the King of France would cross the said river near Poitiers; so that, after the said Prince had spent all night at the castle Arraud-le-Sumail, he marched in great haste with his three columns in order of battle across country, intending to intercept the King of France's passage of the said river at the bridge of Chauvigny; but long before he could reach the said place, he perceived that the King had crossed. However, a great mass of the French were in rear and on the flanks, with whom the Prince's people had to do, and defeated them; where there of the French were captured the Comtes d'Auxerre and de Joigny, and with them more than one hundred men-at-arms, knights and esquires, the rest being driven back to Chauvigny. This day's work was on Saturday, the 17th day of September, the tenth week of this expedition.

MS.
fo. 223^b

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On the Sunday following, the Prince marched upon Poitiers ; on the way thither his scouts came to inform him that the army of the King of France had arrived in array of columns within the distance of an English league ; whereupon the Prince immediately dismounted and put his columns in array.

In this place the aforesaid Cardinal returned once more to the Prince, imploring him for God's sake to halt his troops until he [the Cardinal] had spoken to the said King of France for the saving of Christian blood, and [assuring him] that by the help of the Almighty he would cause him to have peace consistent with his honour. The Prince replied that he would listen most willingly to reason. The Cardinal departed, and soon returned to find that the Prince had marched on foot in order of battle nearer by a quarter of a league, so that there was scarcely more than half an English league between the two armies. The said Cardinal begged that he would appoint nine of his people to treat with nine others of theirs, midway between the two armies, about a reasonable way to peace ; which was arranged and performed ; but it took no effect. Now this was not done with the intention that appeared, but the Cardinal acted entirely for [the French] advantage, so as to test the purpose of the said Prince, and to prolong the affair to the detriment of the said Prince, [who should] run short of provisions and other munition, while their forces [the French] should be increased [by reinforcements] continually arriving. Negotiations were prolonged throughout the night ; next morning at sunrise the Cardinal returned, ever anxious to put off the battle, pressing for a long truce, during which lasting peace might be arranged. The Prince continued to tell him that he would

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agree willingly so far as was in his power, but that he would not go beyond that. The Cardinal said that he would go back to the King of France and let him know at once how much he might expect. He [the King] promptly returned word to the Prince that the matter could not be settled in any other way, but that each one should do his best.

The Prince, who was ready in battle array, caused all his people to mount their horses. They [moved] towards the flanks of the columns of the King of France, so as to choose better ground for engaging. The French thought that they were in retreat, and made great haste, and especially their advanced guard under two marshals, who, as was said, were
ms. fo. 224 at variance because of bitter words [which had passed] between them. The Prince's advanced and rear guards engaged with the marshals and defeated them. The column of the Dauphin, eldest son of the King of France, engaged with the Prince's column, and was very soon repulsed. And also the column of the Duc d'Orleans, brother of the King of France, which joined the King's column after its repulse, and, having dismounted, advanced with it gallantly to attack the Prince's column. The aspect [of Orleans' attack] was so formidable that a large number of the Prince's people retired beyond a hedge into another field, joining the other columns which had repulsed their enemy. These [other columns], when they perceived the check [sustained by] of the Prince's column, its plight and the conflict [it had to sustain], hastened to his support, and formed upon his flank with such cheering as greatly reassured their friends, and caused
x much alarm to the enemy; so that, by the special grace of the Almighty, victory remained with the aforesaid Prince.

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At this battle of Poitiers King John of France was taken prisoner, and his son Philip, and thirteen counts and an archbishop, and of barons and bannerets sixty-six. The number of men-at-arms taken was two thousand. And there were slain, in the battle and in the pursuit the Duc de Bourbon and the Duc d'Athènes, Constable of France at that time, and the Maréchal de Clermont, and a bishop, and several viscounts, barons and bannerets, and about three thousand men-at-arms. Now the number of men-at-arms with coat armour in the army of France was eight thousand, and in the Prince's army but nineteen hundred, and fifteen hundred archers.¹

William Lord of Douglas, desiring to make pilgrimage beyond the seas, left Scotland and arrived in France at the time when King John of France was marching in force against the said Prince in Gascony. He joined the said King, received knighthood at his hands, escaped from the battle and returned to his own country [leaving] several of his knights slain in the battle. This William became Earl of Douglas soon after the liberation of King David of Scotland.² This David de Brus at this time created William de Ramsay Earl of Fife, chiefly, as people said, by persuasion of his [Ramsay's] wife,

¹ The term *gentz darmys* means more than mere rank-and-file. Men-at-arms were of rank intermediate between esquires and common fighting men. They are usually called *homs darmys*, and I should have considered that the reference was to the rank-and-file, were it not that they are specifically described as bearing coat armour—*gentz darmis od cotis armours*. Froissart gives the total strength of the French army as 48,000.

² William, son of Sir Archibald Douglas 'the Tineman.' He undertook this pilgrimage in expiation of his slaughter of the Knight of Liddesdale. Among the prisoners taken at Poitiers was Archibald 'the Grim,' Lord of Galloway, afterwards 3rd Earl of Douglas.

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whom he loved *paramours*. Which earldom the King declared was in his right to bestow owing to the forfeiture, as he said, of Duncan Earl of Fife in the time of Robert de Brus, his father, for the slaying of an esquire named Michael Beton, ^{MS.} fo. 224^b whom he had caused to be slain in anger at a hawking party, wherefore the said [King David] alleged that the said earl, in order to obtain from the king remission of the forfeiture, had by indenture devised the reversion of the earldom to the said king his [David's] father, in the event of his [Duncan's] dying without heir-male, which he did. But the said earl had a daughter by his wife, the King of England's daughter, the Countess of Gloucester.¹ This daughter was in England, and it was intended that she should be sold to Robert the Steward of Scotland,² but she married for love William de Felton, a knight of Northumberland, who was her guardian at the time, and she laid claim to the earldom which had been renounced by that contract.

This battle of Poitiers having taken place in the manner [described] two days before the feast of St. Matthew in the year aforesaid,³ the Prince marched to Bordeaux with the said King of France a prisoner, and with the others, to place them in sure ward until the King his father should make [known] his pleasure concerning them. He [King Edward] indeed ought to thank God for his grace, seeing that he had as prisoners at the same time two crowned kings [namely], the King of

¹ Mary, daughter of Rafe de Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, grand-daughter, not daughter, of Edward I.

² *I.e.* that Robert should pay for the privilege of marrying an heiress.

³ 19th Sept. 1356.

Edward's Son
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France, most puissant of Christians, and King David of Scotland, who at that time had been detained for ten years a prisoner in England.

In the same season, within two months after the battle of Poitiers, the city of Basle was all thrown to the ground by an earthquake, and a great number of citizens were killed by the fall [of houses], and several castles in the neighbourhood were thrown down.

In the same year, Duke Henry of Lancaster, who at the time was Guardian of Brittany for the aforesaid King Edward of England, besieged the city of Rennes from the feast of St. Michael until after that of St. John the Baptist in midsummer; which siege he raised in accordance with the truce struck between the said Prince of Wales, son of the said King of England, and the Council of France. The truce was to last for two years. But the Duke of Lancaster received a large sum of money from those in Brittany who were adherents of Charles de Blois for the expenses of said siege.

The said Prince of Wales brought the said King John of France to his father in England, which King John of France was for some time [kept] in London, and was then removed to Windsor.

At the feast of St. Michael following King David of Scotland was released for a ransom of 100,000 silver marks; his hostages were received at Berwick. The hostages were the Earl of Sutherland and the son of the said earl, who was the son of the sister of the said King David,¹ Thomas the Steward,

MS.
fo. 225

¹ William, 2nd Earl of Sutherland, who died in 1370, married Margaret, daughter of Robert I., and from them descended Elizabeth, daughter and sole

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who by the Scots was called Earl of Angus, Thomas de Moray Baron of Bothwell, with twenty others, sons of Scottish lords.

About this time a knight born in Languedoc, having caused himself to be styled the Archpriest,¹ gathered to himself young soldiers of several nations. They opened war in Provence and took some castles and towns in the neighbourhood of Avignon, whereby the Court of St. Peter, which at that time was established there, was sorely disturbed—which rising was greatly owing to the bribes² of Pope Innocent.

The Queen of Scotland, sister of the said King Edward of England, came in the same season to Windsor to confer with her brother the king, and to propose by negociation a larger treaty; and by the side of her mother, Queen Isabella, who died at Hertford in the same season,³ whom she had not seen for thirty years.

At which place of Windsor the said King Edward held his great festival of jousts and revels on St. George's day,⁴ as was customary; where King John of France was in prison at the time, and where Henry Duke of Lancaster was wounded. While he was jousting with one knight, another one crossed and wounded him with his lance very dangerously in the side, from which he recovered. To which jousts came the Duke of Brabant and [the Duke] of Luxemburg,⁵ who was brother

heir of the 17th Earl, who in 1785 married the second Marquess of Stafford, created Duke of Sutherland in 1833, great-grandfather of the present Duke.

¹ 'Sir Arnold de Cervole, more commonly called the Archpriest.' Froissart, Book i. cap. 176.

² The Pope gave the Anti-pope 40,000 crowns to go away.

³ 22nd August, 1358.

⁴ 23rd April.

⁵ *Lenburgh*. John Leyland interprets this as Lüneburg.

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to the Emperour Charles of Bohemia, to ask assistance against the Count of Flanders, who had waged war against him for some time for the town of Malines and other disputes between them. They had married two sisters, daughters of John Duke of Brabant, who had no son. But the said Duke of Luxemburg married the elder, the Countess of Hainault, wife of John, who died in Friesland, which duke had the duchy of his elder brother the emperor, according to custom of the Empire.¹

In the previous season to this came two cardinals, Perigord and Urogen, to England to treat for the release of King John of France and for peace between the kings. They remained a considerable time in London, and negotiated a way to peace which was accepted by the king's council in a form that he could recommend, on condition that it should be approved by the commons of his realm, by whose advice the challenge of his right to France had been undertaken and pressed. But the commons in full parliament in London disapproved of the terms of the said treaty, so that it came to pass that no conclusion was come to. Thus it was that the Pope annulled for himself and his successors all the contract which King John had yielded by indenture and attornment to the Holy See in the time of Innocent, and the Holy Father withdrew from a business in which at the time he had taken great pains. Which thing the English lawyers pronounced to be greatly to the disadvantage of the Crown, because at that very time the king's justices were personally excommunicated because of a process of judgment which they had given in the King's Bench against Thomas de Lisle, Bishop of Ely, who was of

¹ The Emperor Charles was Duke of Luxemburg before his election.

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the Order of Jacobins, and who did not answer formally to a charge of felony on which he was indicted by his adversaries, ^{MS.} fo. 225^b the counsel of the Lady of Wake, wherefore the said justices gave judgment according to their laws, and the king seized the temporalities of the said bishop, who went to Avignon after being arrested and bailed by the archbishop, and made thereof a great process, so that the Pope laid claim to the temporality to the detriment, as the aforesaid lawyers declared, of the regality of the king. Which representation was sent to the Holy Father, and in consequence of this transaction and other difficulties the said cardinals departed from England, despairing of an agreement, notwithstanding that they had so nearly accomplished it that the two kings had embraced each other as a condition of a treaty of peace, which could not be kept by the French within the limited time set for its accomplishment.

In the same season, truce having been struck as aforesaid, numbers of Englishmen who lived by the war invaded Normandy, plundered castles, seized manors, and carried on such warlike operations in the country by help of those of the English commonalty, who flocked to them daily against the king's prohibition. It was astonishing how they went in bands, each on their own account, without an appointed chieftain, and wrought much oppression in the country. They levied tribute from nearly all Normandy and the borders of the neighbouring lands, securing for themselves good fortresses in Poitou, Anjou, and Maine, and into fair France [itself]¹ within six leagues of Paris. They were scattered in so many places over different

¹ *Deuers douce France*: printed *toute France* in *Maitland Club Edition*.

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parts of the country that no body could recount the combats and deeds of arms which befel them during this time; but they so acted that all Christian people were filled with astonishment. And yet they were but a gathering of commons, young fellows who hitherto had been of but small account, who became exceedingly rich¹ and skilful in this [kind of] war, wherefore the youth of many parts of England went to join them.

~~The villagers and labourers of the commonalty of France gathered in crowds after their King John was taken at Poitiers, despising the gentle folks and doing violence to those whom they could reach, throwing down their houses and declaring that gentle folks were of no use except to oppress the commonalty and poor people by their extortions. They slew in some places the wives and children of gentlemen, wherefore the gentlemen gathered together and defeated them and put them to flight, and put down this rising.~~

In the same season the commonalty of Paris, having chosen themselves a leader, and named him Provost of the Merchants, rose suddenly and went to the palace of the king, where the king's son, who was called Duke of Normandy and Dauphin of Vienne, was in council. They broke open the doors of his chamber, killed in his presence the Maréchal de Clermont, brother of him who died at Poitiers, and beheaded sundry MS. fo. 226 others there, accusing them of having wasted by living in great towns the treasure of France taken from them [the commonalty] without any intention of making war upon the

¹ *Durement deuindrent pussauntz dauoir.* *Durement* seems to be merely an intensive, as we might say, 'they became awfully rich.'

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enemy, notwithstanding that the said maréchal in that very season had [inflicted] a defeat upon the English in Normandy, where Godfrey de Harcourt was killed,¹ who in former times had adhered to the English.

The said Provost of the Merchants² clapped a cap of his colours³ on the head of the king's son and brought him before the commons, where he [the Dauphin] entered into covenant to conduct himself according to their wishes; which promise he did not keep; [but] escaped as soon as he could, and raised force against them. Wherefore the said commonalty kept in custody the King of Navarre and any English who happened to remain in Normandy.

This King of Navarre was imprisoned by the King of France, as aforesaid, and was rescued by the Seigneur de Piquigny and his other friends, who took by night the place where the said king was imprisoned and brought him into Normandy.⁴

The said king, with a number of English, joined forces with the aforesaid commonalty of Paris [and] was within the city, whence the English sallied and seized a bridge of boats which the Dauphin had caused to be made anew across the Seine a couple of leagues above Paris. [Their object was] to intercept the supplies. Here the Maréchal was waylaid and captured with a fourth part of his knights and brought to Paris by the said English, who were well received there and

¹ The battle of Coutantin, see Froissart, Book i. cap. 171.

² Etienne Marcel, to wit.

³ Marcel had caused all his followers to wear caps of one design; one writer says *mi partie bleu*, another *partis de pers et de rouge le pers à droite*.

⁴ See Froissart, Book i. cap. 179.

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entertained, until they raised violent riots by their extortions in the city. Wherefore the commons rose against them, drove them out of the city, and followed in force those who escaped to the open country. The English, who had seized and fortified Poissy and other fortresses in the neighbourhood, had sallied forth towards Saint Cloud; hearing the noise [of the fight] and meeting the fugitives, they took a course towards the people who had come out of Paris, charged them and put them to flight, driving them back mercilessly into their city, many of them being killed and drowned in the Seine.

The King of Navarre escaped from Paris, [and] because of this disturbance the said commons on that very night rejoined the Dauphin, the king's son, who was near at hand in force. They beheaded without delay their Provost of the Merchants, whom they had raised as their leader, and with him several others among his supporters; wherefore the said King of Navarre and the aforesaid English who had settled in Normandy came before Paris in force, summoning the Dauphin to fight, but he would not come out. In marching thence they took the town of Creil by assault.

MS.
fo. 226^b

The King of Navarre had laid a plan with the people of Amiens, who at nightfall had seized two or three gates of the town and had left them open, intending that at the sound of a trumpet the said king, having approached near to the town, should enter. But, as it happened by fortune of war, on that same night the Count of Saint-Pol had entered the town at evening with four hundred men-at-arms. He heard the affray [made by] those who were in the plot and were expecting the immediate entry of the said king. But either

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he [the king] was not ready or he had not heard the signal; so they raised a riot and scattered for plunder, while the said Count and his people went to the gates, found them open, closed them, attacked the conspirators and overcame them.¹

The said king, disappointed in his plan, destroyed the suburb and marched into Normandy. The English seized and garrisoned several fortresses, of which one lay between Beauvaisin and Picardy and bore the name of Mauconseil; which place the Bishop of Noyon² and the Lord of Dawnay besieged. The Lord of Piquigny with four hundred men-at-arms of the said English went to relieve the said place, captured the said bishop and four barons and fifty knights with him, and defeated the others.³

Many a pretty feat of arms befel the English in this season in divers parts of the realm of France, which are not recorded here for reasons aforesaid. Since the beginning of the war these English had established themselves on their own account in many places throughout the realm of France, and, being young fellows gathered from different parts of England [and therefore] unknown to each other,⁴ many of them beginning as archers and then becoming some knights, some captains, their expeditions could not all be recorded at the time they took place, because of the diversity of them. And forasmuch as it was forgotten to write down in making this book, which was not yet written, many notable doings in

¹ See Froissart, Book i. cap. cxc. for a fuller account of this affair.

² *Nogoun.*

³ See Froissart, Book i. cap. 189.

⁴ *Qi gentz estoint de coillet, jeunes, mesconuz* [printed *mes counz* in *Maitland Club ed.*] *de diuers countres Dengleterre.*

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the order they happened, it is right that the rest of them should [now] be described.

First [then, as to] the campaign of Gisors in Gascony, when Hugh of Geneva was commander in the war for the same aforesaid King of England, Edward the Third after the Conquest, in the year of Grace 1333, at the beginning of the war of his claim upon France, when the seneschals of sundry districts for the King of France had laid siege to the Abbey of Gisors, which the Anglo-Gascons had fortified. To the relief of which the said Hugh, with some other Anglo-Gascon barons and about four hundred men-at-arms and eight hundred soldiers and archers, came before the French, who numbered more than a thousand men-at-arms, arrayed in the field. The river Ille was between them, the English being drawn up at the ford of the said river. The English who were besieged in the said fortress made a sortie and skirmished so briskly in attacking the said enemy, that, without consent or wish of officers of the said English,¹ nearly all their soldiers² crossed the said river shoulder high without being observed, and dashed in with the others with wonderfully bold spirit and enterprise. The French, thinking that they were too much among the hedges, moved off and fell back to take up a more open position, whereupon the English, perceiving this, undertook to cross the said river. The said soldiers of the English, seeing their lords coming and the French retreating, shouted with one voice and daring—‘At them! At them! they are defeated!’ where-

MS.
fo. 227

¹ Namely, the officers of Hugh of Geneva's relieving force.

² *I.e.* private soldiers.

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upon the said Frenchmen made off in confusion as fast as [their] horses could gallop.

And then, a good while after this, some twelve years, more grand exploits happened in Gascony after the departure of the Duke of Lancaster, who was the King's Lieutenant in those parts, as was said before,¹ and before the coming of the King's son, the Prince of Wales, into the said country. Such was the affair of *Lymeloinge* at the relief of Lusignan, when the English knight Thomas Coke was seneschal after the departure of the said Duke; which Thomas, with the Anglo-Gascon barons, numbered five hundred lances. In marching [to Lusignan] there came upon them suddenly fifteen hundred French lances, seneschals of the country, in three troops. The advanced guard of the French avoided the lance points at the first encounter, moving round the ranks of the English, who had dismounted, [but] coming so close that every Englishman who chose to strike slew a horse with his lance, the Frenchmen being thrown out of their saddles to the ground.²

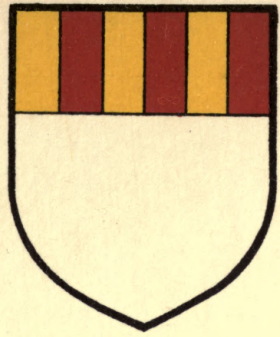
The second troop of the French charged the English on horseback. Many of the English who were overthrown rose up and rallied on foot, having killed many of the Frenchmen's horses as they passed; and these Frenchmen, thrown from their horses, ran with the others, their comrades of the advanced guard who had been thrown already, to the English-

¹The interpolation of a full stop here in the Maitland Club edition makes this passage unintelligible.

²The sense is very obscure. *Lauauntgard as Franceis eschuerount au point dez launces le about assembler glasserount a reys des Engles qi descenduz estoient a pee, costautz si pres qe chescun Engloys*, etc.



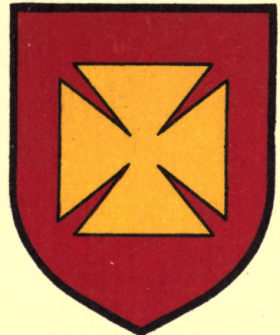
Rafe, Lord de Revill



Sir William de Reith



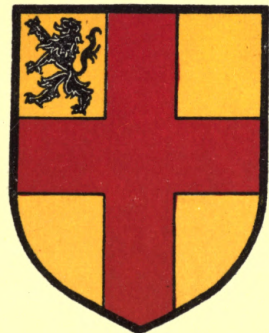
Thomas, Lord Berkeley



William, Lord Latimer



Thomas The Steward, Earl of Angus



Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Ulster

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men's horses, nearly all of which they took and mounted. The English posted themselves on their knees behind a low wall of Antain. The rearguard of the French halted in front of them and remained there all day on horseback, and moved off at night. The English, having nothing more to do, marched afoot, lance in hand, four leagues through the country to an English fortress. MS.
fo. 227^b

Outside this castle of Lusignan many a pretty feat of arms had happened to the Lord of Montferrand while he was captain thereof after it had been taken by assault by the English,¹ which castle was afterwards betrayed out of their hands by a castellan.

And then there were other times, as in the expedition on St. George's day for the relief of Saint-Jean-d'Angeli, where John de Cheverstoun, an English knight and seneschal of Gascony, with the barons of the country and nine hundred men-at-arms, fought with the French, who, being twelve hundred men-at-arms, left the siege to come against them. They dismounted and engaged hotly, the mellay lasting a considerable time. The French were defeated with great loss, the Maréchals de Niel and de Oudenham, French commanders, were taken there, and many others slain and taken. This Maréchal de Niel was soon afterwards killed in battle by the English in the war of Brittany, at Moron, near the wood of Onglis, where several barons of Brittany were slain, one of the most wonderful affairs that happened in the war of Brittany, always excepting the affair of Lankaderet, where Thomas de Dagworth, an English knight, admirably defeated

¹ It was taken by the Duke of Lancaster in 1346.

THE 'SCALACRONICA' OF

the barons of Brittany. Many affairs took place in that war, whereof all cannot be recorded.

But after truce had been concluded in Gascony by the Prince of Wales, son of the said King of England, the aforesaid English of the commonalty continued the war, as has been partly described above, in many parts of the realm of France.

Now as all the events are not recorded in order as they occurred, there remain to be mentioned the people who had gathered into companies in consequence of this truce, doing so in the quarrel of the King of Navarre, who was already delivered from prison in the castle of Crêvecœur, and for the reason above mentioned was at war with the French. This king, as is mentioned more fully above, laid waste several districts in France, chiefly by means of the said English, whereby the said English recovered many fortresses in many parts of France, levying ransom on the country by parishes and having many a combat, with loss at one time and with gain at another. Near Nevers, the Englishman John Waldbouf having his half-hundred of English men-at-arms, fought from the castle of Corvol-Orgeilleuse with the Arch-priest¹ who was captain of the district of Nevers and had two hundred men-at-arms, and defeated them, taking prisoner the said Arch-priest and many others.

MS.
fo. 228

This Arch-priest was allowed to go free on parole, as true prisoner to Waldbouf; but never after would he come in endeavouring to make quite another agreement with the said Waldbouf, offering to enlist under the English king and

¹ See page 128, *supra*.

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hand over to the said Waldbouf a fine fortress which he had. But he [the Arch-priest] would never afterwards meet him [Waldbouf] without hostages during these negociations.

The said Waldebouf rode after other enemies, and fought a duel with a Frenchman from the castle of Nôtre-Dame-de-Coucy on the challenge of the French. They engaged with sword and dagger, and the said Waldbouf beat the Frenchman and took him prisoner. Waldbouf had such assurance in the deceitful parole of the said Arch-priest that he trusted himself to his good faith, and accepted his humble invitation to dine with him in a castle of his,¹ which castle he was held bound to surrender under the conditions agreed on. Waldbouf was betrayed and kept prisoner there for some time and then was murdered in prison, on the pretext that he had meant to seize the said castle by concert with the other English prisoners, [namely,] the hostages who had been given for the said Arch-priest and who were kept prisoners in the same manner.

In the same season the English before Troyes were defeated through their own bad management by Count Wadmound, who sallied from the city before which the English were in ambush, having sent their scouts to the barriers of the said city, placing them unskilfully, so that the enemy, unperceived by them, sent some light horse into the middle of the ambush, which was in a village, where they [the English] were dispersed in the houses, so that they could not rally, but it was each one for himself. Some were taken; [but] the knight John de Dalton and others withdrew in good order;

¹ *A prendre oue by la soup*—misrendered *souper* in *Maitland Club* edition.

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most of which English, with other garrisons, gathered together out of Brittany and Normandy and the other fortresses which they had through the country, and took by night the city of Auxerre, where they found very good booty, and remained there a considerable time. The citizens, with the consent of the lords of the country, made terms with them [under which] they [the citizens] were to pay them a large sum of money to evacuate the said city without setting it on fire; to which ^{MS.} fo. 228^b they [the English] having agreed, threw to the ground a great deal of the city wall, and went off to their fortresses in the neighbourhood, which seemed more convenient to them than the city, because they could not well live together, as each one claimed to be master. Wherefore they took assurance for the money.

And so soon as they had departed in this manner, the country people and townfolk hired German soldiers and foreigners for the same money as they had caused to be collected and levied from the commonalty for the use of the English under the said agreement. Thus very soon they brought in a great force of soldiers and caused the said city to be fortified anew more strongly than before, [all] with the same money, without paying anything to the English.

Another time, a hundred English lances [marching] to the relief of the castle of Brienne, which was in English hands, defeated in Burgundy a great force of soldiers of the country—five hundred men-at-arms—attacking them on foot several times in a heavy field of corn, the French being mounted.

John de Fotheringhay, with other English captains, [coming] out of the town of Creil, attacked a fortress and an abbey

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which the French had fortified between the said Creil and Compiègne, carried the palisade and the fosses with the base court, [when] those within treated for their lives with those without. The captain of the garrison came out and surrendered to the pennon of one of the English commanders, whereat one and another of the English took offence, wrangling for a share in his ransom, so that in the strife he was murdered among them. He to whom he [the captain] had surrendered went off straightway in a rage, telling them that it served them right.¹ Those within the fortress, seeing that they were bound to die, with one consent descended a vaulted stair with such din, shouting and clattering of shields and staves, with other noises, yelling the different war-cries of the chief men of the country, that the English who had remained fell into such a sudden panic, believing that they had been betrayed, partly because of the departure of the said captain who had gone off in a rage in the manner [described], partly by the bold front and spirit of the enemy, that they fell back in disorder, each man falling over the others in the deep water of the ditches, where five or six English knights and several others were drowned. Others who could get on horseback fled, and thus the people of the fortress were saved, being for the most part, only brigands² and common folk of the band of Jacques Bonhomme.

¹ *Le bien leur encouenait.*

² *Brigauntz*—literally, a soldier armed with a light cuirass, but the term received a secondary signification during this rising. ‘Originaires on nommoit brigands les soldats qui portoient cette armure ; et comme ceux que la ville de Paris soudoya en 1356, pendant la captivité du roi Jean, commirent une infinité de vols, on désigna ainsi depuis les voleurs et coquins. C’est ainsi qu’en latin *latro*, qui signifioit soldat, désigna par la suite un voleur, parce que les soldats en faisoient le métier.’—[Roquefort, *sub voce* ‘brigandine.’]

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^{MS.}
fo. 229 From Epernay, the fortress which the Englishman James de Pipe had won, English knights and esquires, under command of John Griffith, made a raid near Cher,¹ where Bek of the French serfs² advanced with eighty men-at-arms and forty archers to attack seven men-at-arms and twelve archers of the English, who were separated from their column. The said English defeated the said French, and captured Bek and twenty French knights and esquires by the aid of some of their comrades who had been separated from them and who came up at the moment when the enemy was defeated. The said Bek was captured several times during this war.

In the same season of the year of grace 1359 the English had stormed and won the town of Saint-Valery, and lost it when besieged by the Comte de Saint-Pol, by the Lord of Fiennes, who was Constable of France at that time, and by the lords of that district.³ Monseigneur Philip de Navarre, brother of the said King of Navarre, and a liegeman of the King of England, came from Normandy and other parts with six hundred English lances [drawn] from the English garrisons to relieve the said Saint-Valery, but found it had fallen.⁴ They rode into the district of Vermand, where, near Saint-Quentin, the Comte de Saint-Pol with those of the lords [who had been] at the said siege and were not yet dispersed, and with fifteen hundred lances and three thousand armed commons, came near before the said English—scarcely further off than the range of an

¹ *Pres de Cherres*, perhaps Chercy near Sens.

² *Vileins*.

³ The sense of this passage is destroyed in the *Maitland Club Ed.* by a comma here instead of a full stop.

⁴ See Froissart, Book i. cap. cxiv. for a fuller account. Froissart says the siege lasted from August till the following Lent.

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arblast—and lay before them all day without fighting. In the evening the said English billeted themselves in a village near at hand, and marched off towards noon¹ on the next day, in the direction of Soissons, burning the country without any interference from the said French.

In the same season a company of English stormed the town of Vailly in the vale of Soissons, whence they took the town of Pontarchy. Riding from this place to relieve the castle of Sissonne, where their German comrades were beleaguered, they encountered of a sudden a hundred Breton men-at-arms, and both sides dismounted. The Bretons were defeated, many of the English were wounded, some of which English remained on horseback without doing anything to support their comrades until the affair had been settled.

The said English abandoned their intention of relieving [Sissonne], wherefore the place was surrendered.

There were many occasions during this war when the French ^{MS.} fo. 229^b came in presence of the English and the two parties separated without fighting. On one occasion in Auvergne, near Nôtre-Dame-de-Puy, the French were 20,000 fighting men, of whom 4000 were knights and esquires, Thomas de la Marche being their commander. They came before 900 English lances under Hugh de Calverley, [but] they separated without fighting.² Next day they followed them and again approached so near that they threw stones [at each other]; [but] once more they moved off without any engagement except a skirmish.

¹ *A haut hour.*

² The punctuation of the *Maitland Club Ed.* greatly confuses the sense of this passage.

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Soon after this, because the councils of the said Kings of England and Navarre could not come to an agreement, the said King of Navarre made peace with the Duke of Normandy (who was called Dauphin of Vienne, son of King John of France, and in the absence of his father was called Regent of the country), and chiefly for the deliverance of Queen Blanche, sister of the said King of Navarre, who was beleaguered in Melun. She had been wife of King Philip of France, his uncle. Also in order to recover his fortresses which were kept from him and to obtain greater ease as a change. All this had been accorded to him in treaty on a former occasion before Paris, sworn to on God's body and broken by the said Regent, as the said King [of Navarre] declared. In accordance with which agreement, Poissy-sur-Seine, which had been captured¹ and was held by the English, and many other fortresses in several parts of the realm of France were evacuated and given up by the English. Nevertheless the said King of Navarre had hardly done any injury to the English throughout the following season.

On account of the same convention, the knight Thomas de Holland, who was in Normandy for the King of England, caused a fine fortress at the church of Barfleur to be strengthened, and remained therein to control Cotentin. This Thomas afterwards died in the country, the King's Lieutenant in the conquered districts, being Earl of Kent through inheritance by his wife.

¹ *Qenforce estoit.* The verb *enforcer* carried two technical meanings in warfare, 'to capture by force' and 'to fortify.' It is not always easy to distinguish in which sense it is used. In the following paragraph it is applied to the church of Barfleur, and seems to mean 'to fortify.'

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This King of Navarre a short time before had helped to put down a great rising and conspiracy of the base commons, who had risen under Jacques Bonhomme whom they had made their leader to fight the gentry, which they did, as has before been more fully described.

In the same season Rainald de Gulioun, a French knight and Governor of Paris, was defeated and captured near Estampes by the English under Gilbert de Rodom, who was killed in that affair. The English were not more than fifty-three lances and eighty archers; the French were 700 men-at-arms and 400 brigands and armoured archers. This Rainald de Gulioun, before he had paid his full ransom, declared that he was discharged, so that his keeper, a false Englishman, went off with him; wherefore the said Rainald was challenged to a duel. This same Rainald had been taken prisoner formerly near Poitiers, where he was commander at the time, by a Gascon soldier, who, with thirty comrades defeated 200 French men-at-arms at the taking of the said Richard. [This happened] in the season a little before the battle at the said place.

In the same year after the Incarnation, 1359, the aforesaid King Edward of England, the third after the Conquest, led an expedition out of England with all the great men of his realm, his envoys having returned from the Pope, and arrived at Sandwich on his way to the war in France on the [feast of] the Nativity of our Lady. He was grievously delayed for want of ships, wherefore he could neither land [his forces] all at once nor at the place he intended. So he divided the crossing, sending the Duke of Lancaster with his retinue to Calais, to bring out of that town the Marquis de Metz with

MS.

fo. 230

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all his Germans who had gone there to support the said King [Edward]. This he did, and took the field with them, riding beyond the river Somme and attacking the town of Bray-sur-Somme,¹ where they crossed the ditches, shoulder deep in the water, to the foot of the walls.² Having suffered severely [in the attempt], they failed to take the said town, losing some of their knights in the assault, and returned towards Calais to get intelligence of the coming of the said king.

The Earl of March,³ who had crossed the sea six days before the said king, made a raid beyond Boulogne, burnt Étapes, and so returned.

The King arrived at Calais on Monday next, before All Saints, where he remained eight days. He divided his army into three [columns]; one he kept with himself, another column he gave to his eldest son the Prince of Wales; the third column he intended for the Duke of Lancaster. He marched from Calais on the Monday before Martinmas, when the said Duke of Lancaster met him on the Sunday, having spent five weeks afield in much want of bread and wine.⁴

The three columns marched by different routes. The said king kept the way by Saint Omer, near Arras, past Sambrai, through *Terrages*, *Loignes* and Champagne, to before Reims. The Prince, son of the said King, held the route by Montreuil, from *Hedyn* through Pontives and Picardy, across the river Somme, by Neuil and *Haan* into Vermandois, near which a knight, Baldwin Dawkin, master of the arblasters of France,

¹ Miswritten Dray in original.

² Cf. Froissart, Book i. cap. ccv.

³ The English Roger Mortimer, not the Scottish Dunbar.

⁴ Cf. Froissart, Book i. caps. ccv. and ccvii.

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was captured at that time, with other French knights of the Prince's,¹ attempting a night attack on the quarters of the Earl of Stafford, who defended himself gallantly.

About this time the Anglo-Gascon Vicomte de Benoge, who was entitled Captain of Busche,² came out of his district [passing] from one English garrison to another, crossed the river Seine under safe-conduct from the King of Navarre, and came to Creil which was then held by the English, from which town he took the Castle of Clermont in Beauvaisis. An English knight, John de Fotheringay, held this town of Creil in keeping for the King of Navarre, on sworn condition to deliver it on notice from the said king. He often³ received summons [to deliver it], but refused to do so failing a large sum of money which he declared that the said king owed him, which money he received from the French in discharge of the said debt and handed over the said town to them. MS.
fo. 230^b

The said John de Fotheringay strengthened at this time another fine fortress at Pont-Saint-Maxence, on the river Oise, where he remained.

The Prince [of Wales] held his aforesaid way by Saint-Quentin and by *Retieris*,⁴ where the enemy himself fired the town to obstruct his crossing. [But] the prince's people forced a passage at Château-Porcien, whence he marched through Champagne to join his father's column before Reims.

¹ *I.e.* the Dauphin's.

² *Qi dit estoit capitain de Busche*, but the famous Sir Jehan de Grailli, fifth knight of the Garter, was commonly known as Captal de Buch, from the Latin *capitalis*. This Captal was so loyal to his English sovereign that he chose to die a prisoner in Paris in 1397, rather than win his freedom by deserting his allegiance.

³ *Souent*, printed *souen* in *Mairland Club Ed.*

⁴ ? Martiers.

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The Duke of Lancaster followed a route between the king and his son, and the three columns formed a junction before Reims, lying all around the city in hamlets for a month at Christmastide.¹ From the column of the said prince the town of Cormicy was taken by escalade and the castle won, the keep being mined and thrown down by the people of the said prince.² On the challenge of the French in Reims, Bartholomew de Burghersh, an officer of the Duke of Lancaster's army, fought there *à outrance* by formal arrangement, where one Frenchman was killed and two others wounded by lance-point.

From the king's column, the Duke of Lancaster and the Earls of Richmond and March captured two fortified market towns, *Otre*³ and *Semay*,⁴ on the river Aisne and the border of Lorraine.

Lords and knights of the king's column made a raid from Reims nearly to Paris. They ambushed themselves and sent their scouts up to the gates of the city. They made such an uproar in the suburbs that those within the city had not the courage to come forth.

The bands of English were scattered in sundry places, those who had remained on their own account before the coming of the king being in different bands. One band was called the Great Company, which had remained in the field throughout the year in Burgundy, in Brie, in Champagne and in *Dairres*,

¹ The omission of a full stop here in *Maitland Club Ed.* makes this passage unintelligible.

² See an interesting account of this in Froissart, l. i. c. ccix.

³ ? Attigny.

⁴ ? Signy-l'Abbaye.

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and wherever they could best find provender. This Great Company had taken the city of Chalons in Champagne by night escalade; but the people of the said city rallied in the middle of their town on the bridge of the river Marne, which runs through the city, and kept them by force out of the best quarter of the city; wherefore they [the Great Company], finding it impossible to remain, were compelled to evacuate [the place]. This company disbanded soon after the coming ^{MS.} fo. 231 of the king, and sought refuge for themselves.

There were other bands of English, one of which took by escalade the town of Attigny in Champagne at the time the said king came before Reims.

The said King of England afterwards broke up from before Reims, and marched towards Chalons, where he made a treaty with the people of Bar-sur-Aube, but they broke it, so he dispossessed them of their lands.¹

An English knight, James de Audeley, took the fortress of *Chancu* in the vale of Saxsoun from the Bretons under Hugh Trebidige. The said James came from his castle of Ferte in Brie to the army of the said prince near Chalons in company with Captal de Buch, who came from Clermont.

The said king having caused the bridge over the river Marne to be repaired, and over other very great rivers also, marched to the neighbourhood of Troyes, whence the Marquis de Metz and the Count of *Nidow*, and other German lords who had come with the king, went off to their own country partly because of scarcity of victual and [partly] from respect for the approach of Lent. Due allowance was made to them for their expenses.

¹ *Alloigna lour paijs, i.e. eloigna.*

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The king crossed the river Seine near Méry-sur-Seine, and held his way by Sens and Pontigny into Burgundy. His son the prince followed him, and the Duke of Lancaster also; but for want of forage for the horses his said son left the route of his father, and quartered himself at Ligny-le-Châtel, near Auxerre, where the said prince's army suffered more from the enemy than in any other part of this expedition hitherto. Several of his knights and esquires were killed at night in their quarters, and his foraging parties taken in the fields, although the country was more deserted before them than in all the other districts,¹ so that they scarcely saw a soldier outside the fortresses.

Five English esquires belonging to the army of the said prince, without [defensive] armour except their basnets and shields, having only one coat of mail and three archers, were in a corn mill near *Regentz*, a fortress held by the English not far from Auxerre. Fifty men-at-arms, the troop and pennon of the Lord of Hanget, came to attack them; but the five defeated the fifty, taking eleven prisoners; wherefore Y even the French of the other garrisons called this in mockery the exploit of fifty against five.

The said king remained at *Golion*² near Montreal in Burgundy, to negotiate a treaty with the duchy of Burgundy; and here Roger de Mortimer, Earl of March and marshal of the army and most in the confidence of the king, died³ on the 24th day of February.⁴

Three years' truce was taken with Burgundy, on payment

¹ *Toutz autres parties: autres* omitted in *Maitland Club Ed.*

² ? Beaulieu.

³ *Se lessa morir.*

⁴ A.D. 1360.

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to the said King of England at three terms [the sum of] 200,000 florins *moutons*, the florin [being reckoned] at 4s. fo. 231^b ^{MS.} sterling.

The town of Flavigny in Burgundy, strong and well-fortified, which had been taken by the Englishman Arlestoun, was retaken from the hands of Nichol de Dagworth, being surprised at the time the negociations for a truce had just begun.

Near this town of Flavigny, the said Dagworth in the previous season had an affair with his thirteen English against sixty-six French lances. The English had occupied a narrow street at the end of a village, having drawn carts across the road before and behind them. They sallied from their shelter at their pleasure, wounding, killing and capturing some of the French. Norman Leslie, who had come from Scotland to help the French, was taken; the others were put to flight.

At the same time William de Aldborough, captain of Honfleur in Normandy, was taken by the French in a sortie, and his people were defeated. An English knight, Thomas Fog, who was in a fortress of his in the neighbourhood, hearing of this affair, threw himself into the said Honfleur, found it displenished of provender, and rode forth with other English garrisons in the neighbourhood, foraging in the country for supplies to the said town. They came suddenly upon 250 French men-at-arms and 200 archers and arblasters, who were ambushed on the English line of march, Monsire Louis d'Harcourt and Baudric de la Huse being in command of the French. The English, numbering

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forty men-at-arms and one hundred archers, had the protection of a hedge. Both sides dismounted and engaged smartly. The French were defeated, their two leaders being captured, and with them several knights and esquires, and several were killed in the mellay. Louis d'Harcourt soon afterwards was released by the same English who took him, and they became Frenchmen with him.

x At *Fregeuil*, an English fortress on the march of Beauce, a French knight who bore the name of the Chevalier Blaunche, challenged the constable of the said place to a personal encounter of two Englishmen against two Frenchmen. The encounter was arranged at a place agreed on. The Chevalier and his esquire were defeated by the two English, who were arrayed in scarlet, and were taken prisoners into the aforesaid English fortress.

x About this time the English knight John de Nevill, with thirteen lances, defeated near Estampes fifty French men-at-arms, of whom several were taken prisoners. Beyond the Cher, in Berry, the Gascons and English of the garrison of Aubigny met with a defeat, several of them remaining prisoners of the French.

At this time French, Norman and Picardese knights, with others of the commonalty, 3000 fighting men, made an expedition into England at the expense of the great towns of France, with a show of remaining there so as to cause the said King of England to withdraw from France, in order to relieve his own country. These Frenchmen arrived

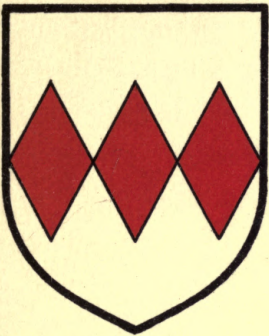
^{MS.}
fo. 232 at Winchelsea on Sunday in mid Lent of the aforesaid year, remained in the said town a day and a night, set



Henry de Lancaster, Earl of Derby



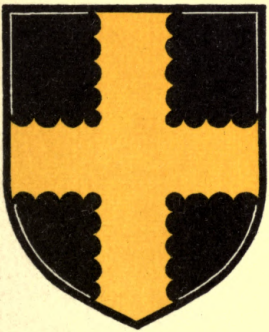
Edward, Prince of Wales



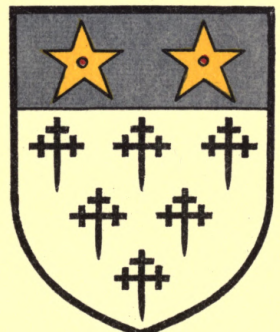
William de Montagu, Earl of Salisbury



Hugh de Audley, Earl of Gloucester



Robert de Alforth, Earl of Suffolk



William de Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon

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fire to it on leaving, and, in going off in their ships, they lost two ships which had taken the ground, and about 300 men [killed] by the commonalty who attacked them.

Near Paris Robert Le Scot, a knight on the English side, was taken and his people were defeated by the French, and his strengths were taken just when he had fortified them.

As the Prince of Wales, son of the said King of England, was marching through Gastinois,¹ five knights of the country with 60 men-at-arms and one hundred others, people of the commonalty, had fortified anew a country house in front of *Journelis*,² a fortress which the English held. The said prince suddenly surrounded these knights, bivouacking in the woods, and directed siege engines and assaults; wherefore the said knights, Monsire Jaques de Greuille and Hagenay de Bouille, with the others, surrendered unconditionally to the said prince.

The said King of England, coming from Burgundy, lost two or three German knights from his army. They were killed in their quarters at night by Ivo de Vipont, a French knight, and his company.

And as the said king was marching through Beauce, near *Turry*, that castle chanced to be set accidentally on fire by those within it; wherefore most of them rushed out and threw themselves on the mercy of the said king. The castellan held the keep for two days and then surrendered to the said king, who caused the walls of the said castle to be razed.

¹ In Anjou.

² Printed Fournelis in *Maitland Club Ed.*

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In the same season thirty lances of the English garrison of Nogent-en-Brie defeated on the river Marne one hundred men-at-arms of the French garrison of *Terry*, and captured sixty of them.

At Christmastide preceding an English knight, James de Pipe, was surprised in the tower of Epernon which he had won from the French. He was so confident in the strength and height of the keep that he did not set a proper watch; and, having caused a low window to be built up, the fortress was lost through the said window, by the wile of a French mason who built it up dishonestly. The said James was taken in his bed, and also the knight Thomas de Beaumont, who had come to lodge the night with him as he was travelling from one district to another on safe conduct. Both of these, and their property, were under safe conduct of the Regent, the king's son. Now the said James had not discharged his ransom for the other time that he was captured in season before, having been taken near *Graunsoures*, as he and the English knight Otis de Holland were travelling from the King of Navarre at Evreux, when the said Otis was wounded and died thereof. From which former captivity the said James was rescued from the hands of the enemy by his well-wishers the English, who were in

^{MS.}
fo. 232^b garrison throughout the country. [Having espied that, at a certain hour of the day, he was accustomed to go and ease himself outside the castle of *Auneuyle* where he was detained, they concealed themselves near at hand, found him at the place, took him away, and declared that he was rescued. Those who had captured him and in whose keeping he was

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a prisoner maintained that this was not a proper rescue, but contrary to his parole, inasmuch as he had assured them he would observe ward loyally without deceit, collusion or evil design. They blamed him for this and charged him with it openly, telling him that the said English had arranged this ambush against the laws of loyal chivalry [acting upon] his instigation, information, procurement, command and design. In consequence whereof they afterwards agreed upon a sum of ransom, of which he had provided and laid by much with him in the said tower. X

In the same season about the feast of the Purification, an English knight, Robert Herle, who was Guardian of Brittany for the King of England, was in the field against the Welsh Bretons¹ near *Dowle*, where there was a river between him and his enemy; and when the English were descending, thinking that they might find a bridge (but this was broken for there was a great flood in the river), an English knight, Robert de Knollys, coming on the other side [of the river] out of Brittany [leaving] his fortress on the command of the said Guardian, descried his friends, and with seven of his comrades, spurred forward rashly without the rest of his people being aware of it, judging by the descent which he saw the English making that the said Guardian had crossed the river, and so he was unhorsed and captured by the enemy. But without delay he was rescued by his people when they came up, who were furious

¹ *Bretouns Gallows*, a term applied to the Welsh or Cymric people of Brittany to distinguish them from the French Bretons. It occurs in Froissart. 'Si chevaucha le Connestable premierement Bretagne bretonnant, pourtant qu'il la sentoit toujours plus encline au Duc Jehan de Montfort que Bretagne gallot.' L. i. folio 438.

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when they perceived the mishap of their leader. They attacked with the remainder of the force, defeated the enemy and rescued their master.

This chronicle does not record all the military adventures which befel the English everywhere during this war, because of the [great] variety of them ; but [it records] only the more notable ones. To relate everything would be too lengthy a business.

Be it known that, in Passion week of the same season, the said King of England marched through Beauce, where the monasteries were almost all fortified and stocked with the provender of the country, some of which were taken by assault, others were surrendered so soon as the siege-engines were in position, whereby the whole army was greatly refreshed with victual.

At this time the Captal de Buch¹ went by permission of the said King of England to Normandy with 22 English and Gascon lances, to interview the King of Navarre to whom he ^{MS.} fo. 233 was well-disposed. Near Dreux he fell in suddenly with four and twenty French men-at-arms, knights and esquires, who were lying in ambush for other English garrisons. Both sides dismounted and engaged smartly ; the French were defeated, and Bèque de Villaines their leader was taken with four of his knights, the others being taken or killed.

The said King of England took up his quarters before Paris on Wednesday in Easter week in the year of grace 1360, [namely] in the villages adjacent to the suburb of Saint-Cloud, across the Seine above Paris. He remained there five days,

¹ *Dusch* in original.

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and in departing displayed himself in order of battle before the King of France's son, who was Regent of the country and was in the city with a strong armed force. The Prince of Wales, eldest son of the said King of England, who commanded the advanced guard, and the Duke of Lancaster with another column, marched close under the faubourgs from sunrise till midday and set them on fire. The king's other columns kept a little further off. A French knight, Pelerin de Vadencourt, was captured at the city barriers, where his horse, being wounded by an arrow, had thrown him. [Certain] knights of the Prince's retinue, newly dubbed that day, concealed themselves among the suburbs when the said columns marched off, and remained there till some [knights] came out of the city, then spurred forth and charged them. Richard de Baskerville the younger, an English knight, was thrown to the ground, and, springing to his feet, wounded the horses of the Frenchmen with his sword, and defended himself gallantly till he was rescued, with his horse, by his other comrades, who speedily drove back into their fortress the Frenchmen who had come out.¹

Then the Comte de Tankerville came out of the city demanding to treat with the Council of the said King of England, to whom reply was made that their said lord would entertain any reasonable proposal at any time.

The said king marched off, spreading fire everywhere along his route, and took up quarters near Montereau with his

¹ Froissart gives the names of the French knights in this encounter, and admits that they were defeated, and that ten knights were made prisoners. [Book i. cap. ccxi.]

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army round him. On Sunday the 13th of April it became necessary to make a very long march toward Beauce, by reason of want of fodder for the horses. The weather was desperately bad with rain, hail and snow, and so cold that many weakly men and horses perished in the field. They abandoned many vehicles and much baggage on account of the cold, the wind and the wet, which happened to be worse this season than any old memory could recall.

About this time the people of Monsire James d'Audley [namely] the garrisons of Ferté and Nogent-en-Brie, escaladed the castle of *Huchi* in Valois, near Sissonne, after sunrise, when ^{MS.} fo. 233^b the sentries had been reduced. This [place] was very well provisioned and full of gentle ladies and some¹ men-at-arms, knights and esquires.²

And eight Welsh Archers of Lord Spencer's retinue had a pretty encounter in Beauce when the said king's army was billeted in the villages. These archers, having charge of the millers in a corn mill outside the lines near Bonneval, were espied by the French garrisons in the neighbourhood, who came to attack them with 26 lances and 12 French Breton archers. Both sides dismounted and engaged smartly; the French were defeated, three of their men-at-arms being killed and nine made prisoners, every man on both sides being wounded nearly to death. Some of the said English had surrendered on parole to the said enemy during the mellay, but were rescued by the said Welshmen, who behaved very gallantly there.

¹ *Undz*, misprinted *yndz* in *Maitland Club MS.*

² The *Maitland Club Edition* gives a comma here, which makes nonsense of the passage.

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The said King of England remained in Beauce, near Orleans, fifteen days, for a treaty of peace which the Council of France proposed to him, the Abbé of Cluny and Monsire Hugh de Genève, envoy of the Pope, being the negociators.¹ The English of the said king's army had encounters, some with loss and others with gain. Certain knights in the following of the Duke of Lancaster, disguising themselves as brigands or pillaging soldiers, without lances, rode in pretended disarray in order to give the enemy spirit and courage to tackle them, as several of their foragers had been taken during the preceding days. Some of whom, the knights Edmund Pierpoint and Baldwyn Malet, overdid the said counterfeit to such an extent in running risks from the French that it could not be otherwise than that they should come to grief; thus they were taken and put on parole.

Sir Brian de Stapleton and other knights of the Prince's army and the Earl of Salisbury's retinue, while protecting foragers, had an affair with the French near Janville, and defeated them, taking some [prisoners].

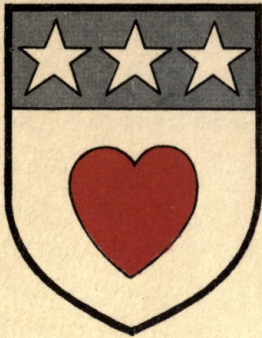
In reprisal for the raid which the French made upon Winchester, the admirals of the Cinque Ports and the English northern squadron landed in the isle of *Dans*, attacked and took the town of *Lure* and burnt it, and would have done more had they not been stopped by command of their lord the king on account of the truce.

People ought to know that, on the 7th day of May in the aforesaid year, a treaty of peace was made near Chartres and agreed to by the said King of England and his Council around

¹The head of this mission was Montagu, cardinal bishop of Thèrouenne.

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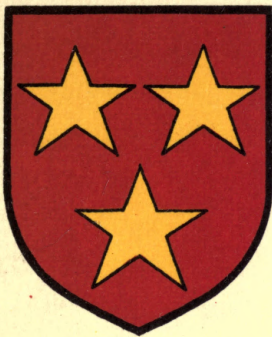
X him on the one part, and by the aforesaid Regent and Council of France and the commons on the other part, to the following effect. All actions, claims and disputes to be extinguished and
MS.
fo. 234 relinquished; the aforesaid covenants to be carried out, to wit, that the aforesaid King of England should have the whole Duchy of Guienne within its ancient limits, and the province of Rouerge, the countships of Ponthieu, of Guines with its appurtenances, Calais with the lordship adjacent, utterly, without hindrance, conditions, appeals, evasions, demands or any subjection to the crown of France, freely with all the crown royalties for all time; and that he should receive three millions of gold as ransom for the King of France; and that the aforesaid kings should be sworn under pain of excommunication as allies by common assent against all nations; and that the action and dispute for Brittany between Montfort and Charles de Blois should be adjudged by the discretion of the said kings; and should this not be agreeable to the said parties, [then] neither these kings nor their heirs should take any part by aid or countenance. The King of France was utterly to give up the alliance with the people of Scotland, and the King of England was to remove his hand from the people of Flanders, and the two kings were to be absolved by the Pope from their oaths under the said alliance; for the fulfilment of which covenants it was agreed that the eldest sons of the two kings—the Prince of Wales on one part and the Duke of Normandy on the other—should be sworn by the souls of their fathers and on the body of God. And the King of Navarre and twenty other personages of France, and the Duke of Lancaster and twenty others of England, were to be sworn also.



William, Earl of Douglas and Mar



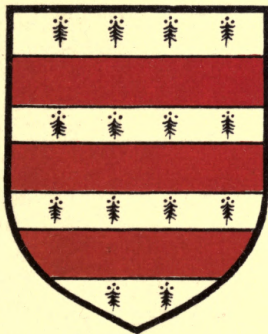
Sir William de Ramsay



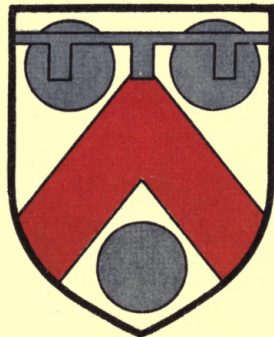
William, Earl of Sutherland



Sir Thomas Coke



Sir John de Fotheringay



Sir Richard de Baskerville

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The two eldest sons of the said kings by their oaths upon the body of our Blessed Saviour confirmed the treaty which had been agreed to, drawn up and engrossed. The Duke of Normandy and Regent of France, being laid up with an imposthume, swore to it in Paris in the presence of valiant English knights sent thither for the purpose, by whom the said Regent transmitted to the said Prince of Wales exceedingly precious relics of the most holy cross, of the crown of thorns with which God was crowned upon the cross, with other precious jewels, signifying that our Lord, when on the cross with the said crown upon His head, had brought peace, salvation and lasting tranquillity to the human race. X

The said Prince of Wales took this oath in the great minster of Louviers on the 15th day of May, in the aforesaid year, in presence of noble French knights sent thither for that purpose. The King of Navarre would not take the oath, but came to speak with the King of England near *Nemburgh*, whence the said King of England took his way towards Honfleur, where he embarked for England, his sons and many lords being with him, leaving the Earl of Warwick¹ in Normandy as guardian of the truce.

The Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Stafford, with ^{MS.} fo. 234^b the rest of the English army crossed the Seine at Pont de l'Arche on the way to Calais. They were partly recovered from the grievous labours of this campaign, which had lasted nine months, in which they had traversed as much of France as they were able, courting combat to maintain

¹The original has *duk de Warwyk*, *duk* being partly erased and 'count' written on margin in a different hand.

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the right of their lord, finding nowhere encouragement in this task, but subsisting all the time upon [the resources of] the country, sometimes in plenty, at other times according to what they could find in a country wasted and raided before their coming by the above-mentioned English. So that they had carried on the war to admiration on their own account.

And thus the three English armies marched away¹ in good hopes of peace, truce having been settled to last for one year from the following Michaelmas, during which time the *pourparlers* might be confirmed, and so the war be stopped on the day and in the year aforesaid, which war had lasted four and twenty years.

In the same season of the year of grace 1360, about the feast of St. John,² Katharine de Mortimer, a young lady of London, had become so intimate with Monsieur David de Brus, who was called King by the Scots,³ through the friendship he had contracted with her while he was a prisoner, that, in the absence of his wife, the King of England's sister, who at that time was residing with her brother, he could not dispense with her [Katharine's] presence. He rode continually with her, which display of favour was displeasing to some of the Scottish lords. A Scottish youth,⁴ named Richard of Hull, at the instigation of certain great men of Scotland, pretended to speak with the said Katharine upon the King's affairs as they were riding from Melrose near Soutra, and struck her in the body with a dagger, killing her and

¹ *Departiz*, omitted in *Maitland Club Edition*.

² 24th June.

³ *Qe des Escotis fu dit roy*.

⁴ *Vn vadlet Escotois*.

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throwing her from her horse to the ground. Richard, being well mounted, escaped. The deed having been done in this manner, the said king, who was [riding] in front along the road, returned on hearing the outcry, and made great lamentation for the cruel loss he had sustained in his mistress. He caused her to be taken to Newbottle, where he afterwards caused her to be honourably interred.

About this time the King of Spain,¹ who was son of the good King Alfonso, was ruled by the Jews. He did not love his wife, but loved a Jewess *par amours*, for love of whom he made Jews knights and companions of the Bend, which order his father had instituted to give encouragement to chivalry; for in his day none carried the Bend who had not proved himself a [good] knight against the Saracens. Wherefore certain Christian knights of the said order took offence that the Jews should thus be favoured on an equality with Christians, deeming that this was contrary to their ancestral custom. They therefore told the said king that it was an unworthy thing that such dogs as these should be companions of such a fair, honourable and dignified ^{MS.} order. fo. 235

The king answered them in wrath, saying that they were as much men as others, and not dogs, but were their equals. 'Very well,' replied the knights, 'we are ready to test that by our bodies at once.' 'By God!' exclaimed the king, 'and so let it be. We shall see to it that you do so.'

The Christians were thirty, the Jews sixty-two [in number]; with the said king's consent and in his presence they engaged

¹ Pedro 'the Cruel.'

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upon a plain with good swords, but without armour. The Christians cut down all the Jews to death, at which the king was most furious. He gave himself up entirely to youthful excess, wherefore many of his people attached themselves to his bastard brother with whom he was at war, for he had caused his other bastard brothers to be slain.

The said King of Spain had been at war with the King of Aragon,¹ but this was composed between them by a treaty of peace, and the King of Spain went off to his own country and lived in a dissolute manner, so that without his knowledge the war with Aragon was suddenly renewed more fiercely than before.

Wherefore, albeit peace in itself is the earthly possession most to be coveted by all reasonable natures as the sovereign blessing of the age and the thing to be encouraged by a ruler, yet the manner thereof gives much cause for reflection. When the basis and motive of peace are derived honestly from virtue and [a desire] to please God, without being inspired, strengthened or constrained by any [other] influence, especially by no wish for ease nor carnal desire, but virtuously and righteously for the common weal, such peace cannot but be profitable and good. But when there is a double motive and the matter is undertaken in opposition to the said virtues, there is not so much value in it, but the result of the affair is greatly to be suspected; as when one is conscious of his right and yet fails to maintain it through indolence and a desire to avoid discomfort, wishing and hoping to find more

¹The war was between Pedro 'the Cruel,' of Castile and Pedro IV. 'the Ceremonious,' of Aragon.

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pleasure in another direction]; or as when one abandons [his right] through want of means, or through the weariness of people's hearts in persevering, or through growing old—this [manner of] putting an end to a war is not often profitable in the outcome; for many people intending only to warm themselves set themselves on fire; and the chances of time are so uncertain that, in thinking to avoid one trouble, one involves himself in a greater one. And if it is not apparent that war can be avoided by means of wealth, should not kings despair of sufficiency of treasure? and, unless virtue dissuade him [from war, what assurance has he that], failing to obtain aid from one he may not find others to aid him? That is to say—want of prudence, of hardihood and of [means for] liberality. Want of prudence—as when one does not inquire whether God will show him grace in advancing his cause and does not press the same in reasonable measure through the willing accord of his people, and with such hardihood as shall not be daunted at a crisis by fear of disaster or of damage to property during war; endurance of which things in a bold way, [brings] honour, profit and cheerfulness, so that the hand shall be liberal in rewarding those who deserve it, for the encouragement of others to do the like—the one thing in the world most helpful in waging war.]

Let him who seeks to stop a war otherwise than it pleases God consider that the dice may turn against him just when he expects to reap advantage. And if it were possible that God would not allow that man should enjoy his blessings, except on account of heinous sin, just as he prevented Moses entering upon the Promised Land, because out of vain-glory

MS.

fo. 235^b

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he received worship from the people of Israel,¹ who assigning to his own power the miracles which God showed them at his hands, in which he glorified himself, wherefore he forfeited [the privilege of] the said entry [into the Promised Land], the thing which, above all others, he desired.

Wherefore would kings do well to attribute their benefits to God and to the good behaviour of their people, in whose welfare consists their treasure; [for God holds kings in due governance as the executive government of their people.] For the people often suffer for the sins of kings; wherefore they [kings] ought to take good heed lest their actions bring about general and wide spread disaster, as has been often seen; so that their [high] estate should be regulated towards God by virtue and towards the people by morality.

People ought to know that about Michaelmas in this same year of the Incarnation 1360, the said King John of France was released from his captivity by the King of England at Calais upon conditions afore mentioned. Which king having remained a prisoner in England for three years—at London, at Windsor and at Somerton, payed on leaving one million in gold, and left honourable hostages for the fulfilment of the remaining articles in the covenant, namely, his two sons, the Comtes d'Anjou and de Poitiers; his brother the Duc d'Orleans; his kinsman the Duc de Bourbon; the Comtes de Blois, d'Alençon, de Saint-Pol, de Harcourt, de Porcien, de Valentinois, de Brienne, de Wad-

¹*Il prist longa du poeple de Israel.* This strange word *longa*, printed *louga* in the *Maitland Club ed.*, appears to be a form of *louange*.

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demand, de Fores, and the Viscomte de Beaumont; the Lords de Coucy, de Fiennes, de Preux, de Saint-Venant, de Garencières, de Montmorency, de *Haunget*, and the Dauphin *d'Aineryne*; Messieurs Piers d'Alençon, William de Chinon, Louis de Harcourt and John de Ligny. And in addition it was agreed that if the sixteen prisoners taken at Poitiers with the said King of France would remain as hostages for the said occasion, that they should be released without ransom under the said treaty; and if not, that they should remain to be ransomed, other suitable [hostages] taking their ^{MS.} places; the names of which prisoners are Philip, Comte de Berry, son of the said king; the Comtes de Longueville, de Tankerville, de Joigny, de Porcien, de *Saucer*, de Dammartin, de *Ventatour*, de Salebris, d'Auxerre, de Vendôme; the Lords de *Cynoun*, d'*Ervalle*, the Maréchal de Oudenam and the Lord d'Aubigny. Also it was agreed that two of the leading burgesses of each of the best cities of France should remain as hostages to the King of England until the said treaty was fulfilled, that is to say, of Paris, of Amiens, of Saint Omar, of Arras, of Tournay, of Lille, of Douai, of Beauvois, of Rennes, of Chalons, of Troyes, of Chartres, of Orleans, of Toulouse, of Lyons, of Tours, of Rouen, of Caen and of Compiègne. These articles, conditions and form of peace having been settled in due form, were agreed to and confirmed by general assent of the nobles of both realms, proclaimed in parliament and ratified by the oaths of the two kings; for the execution and fulfilment of which treaty the knight John de Chandos was sent on the part of the King of England, fully

MS.
fo. 236

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empowered to deliver up the castles and strongholds which had been taken in various parts of the realm of France, which he did faithfully as he was instructed by the King of England, according to the conditions agreed on. The English who had continued this war with France on their own account, joined forces with [men of] divers nations and were called The Great Company. They left France by command of the King of England, took the town of Pont Saint-Esprit, and raised war in Provence, living wondrous well by rapine.

Duke Henry of Lancaster died in March in the year of grace 1361, and was buried at Leicester. This Henry was sage, illustrious and valiant, and in his youth was enterprising in honour and arms, becoming a right good Christian before his death. He had two daughters as heirs; the Duke of Bavaria, Count of Hainault, Zeeland and Holland, who became insane, married the first; John Earl of Richmond, son of the said King of England, married the second.

In this same year the said King of England caused a castle to be rebuilt¹ in the Isle of Sheppey at the mouth of the Thames.

In the same year aforesaid the King of Lithuania was taken by the lords of Prussia² who surprised him by stratagem on the departure of the Christian army from his country after Easter, when he was pursuing them impetuously.

¹Or 'caused a new castle to be built'—*fist edifier de nouvel un chastel*.

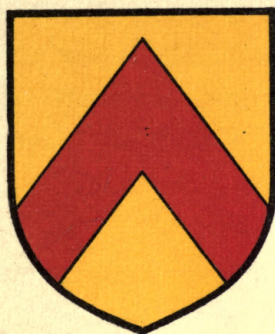
²The Letts or Lithuanians, a people of Indo-European race, were Pagans in the 14th century. They remain the only European people, except the Goidelic Celt, in whose language, as in Sanskrit, there are words beginning with *sr*.



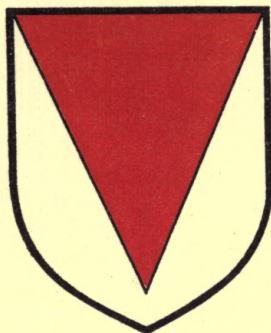
Sir Edmund Pierrepont



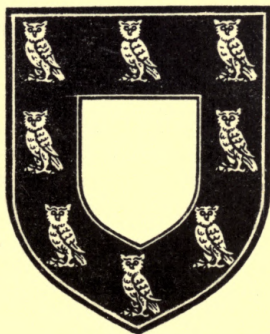
Sir Brian de Stapplton



Rafe de Stafford, Earl of Stafford



Sir John de Chandos



Sir Hugh de Calberley

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In this year there was a widespread mortality of people in England, lasting in one place and another more than a year, the second fatal pestilence which befel the people in the reign of this Edward the Third.

On Saint Bartholemew's day, in August of the same season, the King of Cyprus took by storm the town of Satalie, in Turkey, and garrisoned it with Christians.

MS.
fo. 236^b

Lionel, Earl of Ulster, in right of his wife and son of the King of England, went to Ireland in this same season to suppress the Irish, who were doing serious injury to the English of the country after their manner.

In this season the King of Denmark fought hard at sea with the Easterlings, who had retaken *Scon*¹ and much of Sweden from the King of Norway.

In this same year Edward, eldest son of the King of England, and at that time Prince of Wales, took to wife, under dispensation, the daughter of the Earl of Kent, his father's uncle. She had been married before,² and was a right charming woman, and the wealthy heiress of her father and of her uncle the Lord of Wake.

In the middle of January of this same year of grace 1361, there came a storm of wind in several counties around London which threw down churches and bell-towers, and trees in the woods and gardens, stripping houses in an extraordinary manner. The comet star appeared in this season.

In the same season the aforesaid King of Lithuania escaped

¹ ? Schoonen.

² First to William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and second to Thomas, Lord Holland, Earl of Kent.

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from prison by mining, with the collusion of a renegade Lett who had been reared with the said lords of Prussia; to remedy which escape the said lords in the following season made a great naval expedition to Lithuania, besieged the castle of Kovno on the Niemen, and took it by assault with pretty feats of arms.

In the same season a band of the Great Company, which had its origin during the King of England's war, defeated the power of France in Auvergne, most of the lords being retaken who had formerly been prisoners of the King of England. Jacques de Bourbon was killed, also the Comte de *Salbrog*, and many others in this affair.

In Lent of the same season, a band of Bretons, belonging to the Great Company, were defeated at *La Garet* in Limousin by William de Felton, an English Knight, at that time seneschal of the district for the King of England.

In the following season, the year of grace 1362, a band of Gascons belonging to the Great Company which had been scattered in search of means to sustain themselves, were defeated in Auvergne by the Bastard of Spain. The Governor of Blois defeated in Berry another band of Gascons of the same Company. A band of Englishmen under Robert Dyar were defeated in the same season near *Ho* in Normandy by Bertrand du Guesclin, a Breton.

About this time the duchy of Burgundy, with the countship [thereof], came to John, King of France, through inheritance from his mother, who was sister to the duke, the offspring of her brother being dead.

The said King of France made terms with the Great

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Company, which had disturbed his realm since the King of England's war had been concluded, that they should quit his realm on receiving a large sum of money; which they did, ^{MS.} fo. 237 betaking themselves into different countries where they found wars; many of them joining the King of Aragon against the King of Spain, who were waging war against each other.

In this season the said King of England granted the duchy of Guienne to his son Edward, Prince of Wales, to be held by him by high seignory, homage, jurisdiction and royal appeals.

About Michaelmas in the same year of grace, 1362, Pope Innocent died at Avignon; after whose death arose great dissension in the College of Cardinals about the election of a Pope. For a long time they could come to no agreement through jealousy [of each other], none being willing that any of the others should become Pope. At last they chose a black monk, a poor abbot of Saint Victor near Marseille, who was so much astonished that he thought that the messengers who brought him the news were making fun of him. He was consecrated and named Urban: he made a rule that no benefice of Holy Church should exceed one hundred pounds in amount, except for those who had taken a degree in the schools, and for these [the limit was] two hundred pounds; and doctors of civil law, of decretals and of divinity should not exceed three hundred pounds.

Joan, Queen of Scotland, and sister of the King of England, wife of David de Brus, died in this same season, and was buried beside her mother in the Minories of London.¹

¹ She had left King David because of his infidelity, receiving Hertford Castle from King Edward as a residence.

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After this same Martinmas, the said King of England held a general parliament in London, where it was ordained by statute that the law pleas of his realm should be conducted in English, having hitherto been so in French since the time of William the Conqueror.

At the same Parliament the said King created his two sons dukes—Lionel, Earl of Ulster, who was then in Ireland, being made Duke of Clarence; the other, John, Duke of Lancaster, [with remainder] to their heirs male. His third son, Edmund, he made Earl of Cambridge.¹ He fixed the wool staple at Calais, where, on the same day of Saint Brice² in the sixtieth year of his age,³ he remitted of his grace to his subjects all debts and arrears appertaining to his regality which they owed him, abandoning all process on account of party, treason or homicide. This [was done] in token of temporal grace, just as every fiftieth year from the Incarnation is the year of spiritual grace.

Before Christmastide in the same season a great battle took place in Gascony between the Comte de Foys and the Comte d'Armagnac. The Comte de Foys obtained the victory by the help of many English, a band of the great Company. The Comte d'Armagnac and the Sire de la Bret were taken, and many of d'Armagnac's side were killed and taken.

David, King of Scotland, in this same season besieged the castle of Kindrummie in Mar, because of the extortions which the Earl of Mar and his people had wrought upon the people ^{MS.} fo. 237^b of the district, as was alleged against him by the king. This

¹ Edmund was the fifth son, and was afterwards Duke of York.

² 13th November.

³ It should be 'fiftieth.'

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castle was surrendered to him [the king] and then was restored to the said Earl with the earldom for one thousand pounds, to be paid to the said king at the end of five years on pain of losing them. Which affair arose chiefly from an appeal to [trial by] battle which William de Keith delivered to the said earl in the said king's court; whereupon they appeared armed in the lists at Edinburgh, the quarrel being settled there under the king's hand,¹ who seemed more favourable to the said William than to the said earl, albeit he [the earl] was his near kinsman.

Soon after that, in the same season, there arose disagreement between the said David, King of Scotland, and William, Earl of Douglas, who had the sister of the Earl of Mar to wife, because of divers matters wherein it appeared to the said earl that the said king had not shown him such fair lordship as he would have liked. So he [Douglas] made a conspiracy, collected a large following, seized and garrisoned the castle of Dirlton, which castle was under ward of the king.

The said earl, with the concurrence of the Steward of Scotland and the Earl of March, who affixed their seals to a petition laid before the said king, complained that the said king had forced them to break² the conditions, to which they had sworn on the body of God before the King of England, about paying the ransom of the said king their

¹ *La querel illocques pr...n mayn du roi.* The word pr...n is blotted and illegible in the original. It was part of the law of trial by battle that the king might take the quarrel into his own hand, and stop the fight.

² *Rountre* : printed *vouutre* in *Maitland Club Ed.*

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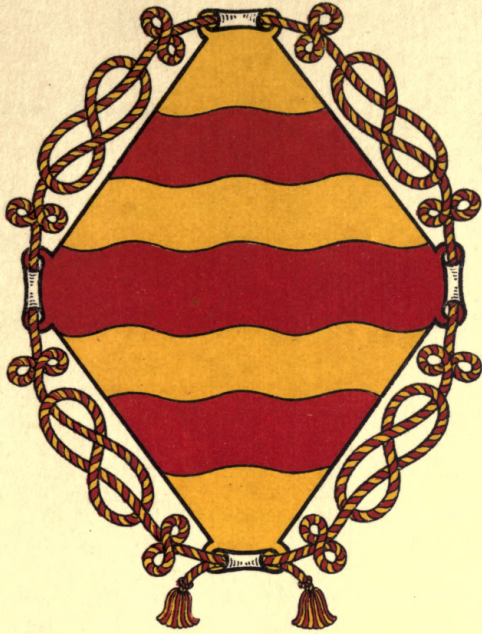
lord, which [ransom] had been levied by an impost on the commonalty and squandered by evil counsel, wherefore they demanded reparation and wiser government. For this reason the king marched against the said earl, and when the king was in one district the earl rode into another against those who were of the king's party, imprisoning the king's people wheresoever he could take them. He marched to Inverkeithing by night and captured the Sheriff of Angus with a company of armed men on their way to join the king, and sent them to prison in various places.

The said king marched by night from Edinburgh, and very nearly surprised the said Earl of Douglas at Lanark, where he had lain at night, but he escaped with difficulty, some of his people being taken.

The Steward of Scotland, without the knowledge or consent of his allies, made his peace with his lord the king; the Earl of Douglas did so also by himself, and the Earl of March did likewise.

And this rising having been thus put down for the time, the said David took to wife Margaret de Logie, a lady who had been married already, and who had lived with him for some time.

This marriage was made solely on account of love, which conquers all things.



Game Margaret Logie

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