

SECTION VI.

SPORTS AND AMUSEMENTS.

IN an enquiry in which I have attempted to give something like a civil history of the country, the sports and amusements of our ancestors form a subject of interesting research ; although here, as on almost all other similar points, we have to lament the extreme scarcity of authentic materials. The chivalrous amusements of Scotland appear to have been the same as in the other feudal countries of Europe. Hunting and hawking, the tourney or play at arms, the reading of romances, the game of chess, masques and feasts, minstrelsy and juggler's tricks, with the licensed wit of the fool, filled up the intervals of leisure which were spared from public or private war.

With regard to hunting, the immense forests with which, as we have already seen, our country was covered during this period, gave every facility for the cultivation of this noble pastime ; and there is ample evidence, that, at a very early period, the chase formed one of the principal recreations of the kings and the barons of Scotland. David the First recounted to Ethelred, Abbot of Rievaulx, an anecdote regarding

Malcolm Canmore his father, which illustrates this in a minute and striking manner. Malcolm had received private information that a plot against his life was laid by one of his courtiers in whom he placed great confidence. The king took no notice of the discovery, but calmly awaited the arrival of the traitor with his vassals and followers at court; and when they came, gave orders for his huntsmen and hounds to prepare for the chase, and be waiting for him on the first dawn of the morning. "And now," says Ethelred, "when Aurora had driven away the night, King Malcolm assembled his chief officers and nobles, with whom he proceeded to take the pastime of the chase in a green plain, which was thickly surrounded by a wood. In the middle of this forest was a gentle eminence, profusely covered with wild flowers, in which the hunters, after the fatigues of the chase, were accustomed to repose and solace themselves. Upon this eminence the king stood; and, according to that law or custom of the chase, which the vulgar call the *trysta*, having allotted certain stations to the different nobles and their dogs, in such a manner that the game should meet death wherever it attempted to make its escape, he dismissed them, but requested the traitor to remain alone with him, whilst the rest departed. When this was done, the king took him aside to a more remote part of the wood, and drawing his sword, informed him that he knew well the whole of his treachery. 'We are alone,' said he, 'and on an equal footing, as becomes brave men; both are

armed, both are mounted; neither of us can receive assistance. You have sought my life: take it, if you are able.”¹ It is hardly necessary to add, that this heroic conduct of the king was followed by the immediate contrition and pardon of his heart-struck vassal. The use of the term *trysta* in this passage, enables us to throw some additional light upon the ancient customs of the chase in Scotland. The law of *trysta*, which Ethelred here alludes to, was one by which the king’s vassals, when he took the pastime of the chase, were bound to attend the royal rendezvous at the ground appointed, with a certain number of hounds; and the phrase yet used in Scotland, to “keep tryst,” seems to be derived from this ancient practice in wood-craft.² In the Highlands at this day, the mode of hunting by a tenkle is very similar to the *trista* held upon this occasion by Malcolm Canmore. David the First appears to have been no less fond of hunting than his father Malcolm. Indeed, we may believe that his intimate connexion with England, previous to his coming to the throne, must have given him an additional love for an amusement which the Normans then followed with an enthusiasm which transformed it from a recreation into a science. Accordingly,

¹ Ethelredus de Genealogia Regum Anglorum, p. 367. Inter x Scriptorum Twysden, vol. i.

² Ducange, voce *Trista*, who quotes Coke, part iv. Institut. p. 306. In a Charter of Edward III. Monast. Anglican. vol. ii. p. 827, we find, “Et sont quieti de Henedpenny, Huckstall, et Tristis.”

when Robert de Brus, previous to the great battle of the Standard, in which David was so cruelly defeated, employed his eloquence to persuade the king, his old friend and brother in arms, to desist from his unjust invasion of England, he not only mentions the mutual perils and labours which they had shared, but especially alludes to the delight which they had experienced in the chase, and the pleasures of hawking and hunting ;¹ and in that beautiful and touching eulogium which Ethelred has left us of the same monarch, who was his friend and patron, we find this testimony alike to his humanity and his love of the chase. “ Often with these eyes have I seen him draw back his foot when it was already in the stirrup, and he was just mounting to follow the diversion of the chase, should the voice of any poor supplicant be heard petitioning for an audience ; the horse was left, the amusement for that day given up, and the king would return into his palace.”²

Whether William the Lion, or Alexander the Second, the immediate successors of David the First, were much addicted to this healthy and heart-stirring exercise we have no ground to determine ; but Alexander the Third certainly kept a falconer, and the sums of money expended in the support of his hawks and dogs, appear in those valuable fragments of the Chamberlain's Accounts of this early reign, which have been

¹ Ethelredus de Bello Standardi, p. 345.

² Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 940.

already so often quoted. In 1263, this monarch enjoyed the sport of hawking at his palace of Forfar, where, along with his queen and nobility, he held his court for twenty-nine weeks; and the expenses of the king's horses, of his falcons, and even of a bitch with seven pups, are minutely recorded.¹ Besides the grain consumed by these winged and four-footed favourites, the king had to pay the sum of eight pounds, twelve shillings, and sixpence, to his falconer, William de Hamyll; and that of four pounds, seven shillings, to the grooms who kept his horses.² It appears to have been the custom of our monarchs to remove their court at different seasons to the different palaces, estates, or manors, which they possessed in private property; and on such occasions, as well as when the exigences of the state required the personal presence of the sovereign in any part of his dominions, the hounds of the royal household formed part of the equipage which accompanied him.³ About the same period, the preservation of the game; the enclo-

¹ *Comptum E. de Montealto Vicecomitis de Forfar*, pp. 12, 13. "Redditus farine ordei de illo anno de Forfar et glammes, ix celd. v boll. farine ordei. Expens. in servicio regis iii celd. ii bol. et i firthelota. Item in servicio regine novem boll et dimidium. Item in expensis septem catulorum et eorum matris prehendingancium etc. iiii celd. x lib. . . Item in expensis Willielmi de Hamyll prehendingantis apud Forfar cum falconibus dni regis per xxix septimanas et duos dies anno 1263. viii C. et dimidium celdre, et tres partes unius boll. Item in expensis Equorum dni regis prehendingancium apud Forfar usque ad diem hujus computi xiiii C. et vi bol. prebende." *Ibid.* p. 38, we find the four falconers of Dunipace.

² *Ibid.* pp. 13, 14.

³ *Ibid.* p. 20.

sing the parks or chases round the royal castles by strong wooden palings; the feeding the does during the winter; the employment of park-keepers, whose business was to guard the forest from waste or intrusion; and of fox-hunters, who were hired to destroy the beasts of prey and noxious vermin, are all occupations which appear in the Chamberlain's Accounts, and evince a sedulous attention to the sports of the field.¹ In the Romance of Sir Tristrem, which may be quoted as good authority for the manners of Scotland in the days of Alexander the Third, we meet with some fresh and characteristic pictures of the sports and amusements of the times; and amongst these the chase holds, as might be expected, a most conspicuous place. The hero is the very king of hunters, and his profound acquaintance with the mystery of wood-craft is dwelt upon with a fond minuteness, which proves how high was the place which the science occupied in what were then considered the accomplishments of a brave and gentle knight. Tristrem, in travelling through a forest, encounters a company of huntsmen, who are returning from the chase with their hounds in leash, and the game which they had slain. He is scandalized at the awkward and unsportsmanlike manner in which they had broke up the venison; and on upbraiding them for their want of science, an unflayed hart is thrown down before him, and he is courteously requested to give

¹ *Compotum Patricii de Graham Vicecomitis de Strivelin. Chamberlain's Accounts, p. 61. Ibid. Compotum de ballia Com. de Carrik, p. 162.*

them a lesson. This he performs in a manner so masterly and admirable, that the huntsmen are in ecstasies ; and this new and superior mode of carving the buck is communicated to the king of the country, who esteems himself fortunate in having lived at an era when knowledge was destined to make so important a step towards perfection.¹ From the whole adventure, it is evident, that to break up a stag, or, in the language of Sir Tristrem, to “ dight the erber,” according to the most scientific method ; to give his rights to the forester, the nombles to the hunters and spectators, the quarre to the hounds, and the expected corbin bone to the raven ; to allot the due portion to himself as carver ; to tie up the paunch with the grease ; to preserve the gurgiloun ; and, lastly, to recite the appropriate rhyme, and blow the tokening or death-note, were considered matters of deep study and of no very easy attainment, which in those early ages formed a material part of a chivalrous and noble education, and which, it must be observed, constituted only a small portion of the complicated science of wood-craft. It is evident that Robert Bruce, who seems to have been accounted one of the most accomplished knights of his time, was an adept in the mysteries of the chase. He winds his horn in so masterly a way, that Sir James Douglas instantly pronounces that blast to be none but the king’s ; and the strength with which he draws the bow, and the un-

¹ Romance of Sir Tristrem, pp. 31, 32, 33. Fytte i. stanza 41 to 49 inclusive. Notes, p. 277.

erring aim with which the shaft is directed, are particularly mentioned by Barbour. Indeed, for many months, when he led the life of a proscribed and wandering fugitive, he and his followers were driven to support themselves by the chase;¹ and there is evidence in the Chamberlain's Accounts, that his dogs, his falcons, his horses, and his huntsmen, were afterwards subjects of considerable care and expense.²

At a very remote period, indeed, we find that the Scottish stag-hounds and wolf-dogs were exceedingly prized in foreign countries;³ and, under the reign of David the Second, the character of the Scottish dogs and falcons stood so high, that they became an article of export;⁴ while in the charters of the island lords, the eyries of falcons are particularly mentioned.⁵ The hawks of Norway, however, for strength and flight, were the most famous in the world; and there is a curious early notice in Sir Tristrem, which shows that the Norwegian merchant-ships imported them into Scotland.

¹ Barbour, pp. 40, 55, 80, 107.

² "Gilisio Venatori ex dona dni regis p. lram. 13sh. 4d." *Comptum Constab. de Cardross*, p. 39. *Chamberlain's Accounts*. *Ibid.* p. 40. "Item pro emendatione et tectura domus cuidam pro falconibus ibidem, cum constructione cuidam sepis circa ipsam domum 2 sh." *Ibid.* p. 44. "Item Gilisio venatori capiente boll. per iii. septimanas," &c.

³ Sir James Wares' *Antiquities of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 166. Edition by Harris.

⁴ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, p. 891. 20th May 1365. "Salvus' Cond pro Scutifero Godefridi de Roos Canes, et Falcones e Scotia ducturo."

⁵ Robertson's *Parliamentary Records*, p. 89, "*Una cum æriis falconum.*"

“ Ther com a schip of Norway
 To Sir Rohante’s hold,
 With hawkes white and grey,
 And panes fair y fold.”¹

In the Chamberlain’s Accounts, the falconer of John of the Isles appears bringing falcons to David the Second;² and, from the enthusiasm with which the sport of hawking is described in the early romances, and the gravity with which its mysteries are explained, we may conclude, that in Scotland, as in the other countries of Europe, it was esteemed one of the most fascinating of feudal pastimes. It is easy, indeed, if we carry our mind back to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, to imagine how imposing and delightful must have been those field sports of our ancestors. Let us for a moment dwell on the picture. We see the sun just rising upon a noble chase, or park, with breezy slopes and gentle undulations, variegated with majestic oaks, and getting wilder and more rugged as you approach the mountains that surround it. His level rays are glancing on the windows of a baron’s castle, and illuminating the massy grey walls, till they look as if they were built of gold. By and by symptoms of busy preparation are seen: horses are led into the court; knights, squires, and grooms, are booting and mounting, and talking of the coming sport; the huntsmen

¹ Sir Tristrem, p. 25, notes p. 274. Wares’ Antiquities of Ireland, in his works by Harris, vol. ii. p. 172.

² Chamberlain’s Accounts, p. 282. “Cuidam falconario Johannis de Insulis portant. falcones dni regis 13 sh. 4 d.”

and the falconer stand ready at the gate ; and the ladies' palfreys, led by their pages, are waiting for their fair mistresses. At last, these gentle dames descend from their bower, and each, assisted by her favourite knight, "lightly springs to selle;" the aged baron himself is gravely mounted, and leads the way ; and the court of the castle rings with hoof and horn as the brilliant and joyous cavalcade cross the drawbridge, and disperse themselves through the good green-wood. There are few who could resist a wish to join in the pastime.

Within doors, and when not occupied by war or the chase, we are apt to believe that the time must have passed somewhat heavily with our ancestors. Yet here, too, they had their resources. In the first place, their solemn feasts and banquetings were on a great scale, occupied much of their attention, and were not speedily concluded, if we may form an opinion from the variety and quantity of the viands.

All great occasions of festivity or solemnity, such as baptisms and marriages, the installation of bishops, or other dignified churchmen, the recurrence of Christmas and the new year, the birthday of the king or the prince, it was the custom of those ancient times to commemorate by feasts and banqueting ; and the Chamberlain's Accounts of our early monarchs afford ample evidence of the scale upon which these entertainments were conducted. Immense quantities of beef and mutton, of pork and poultry ; large and constant supplies of salmon, herring, hard-fish and white fish, besides sturgeons, lampreys, eels in great

abundance ; large importations of white and red wine, with a great variety of spiceries and sweetmeats, besides figs, raisins, oil of olives, gingerbread, wax, vinegar, verjuice, and porpoises, form the anomalous and multifarious articles which swell the account of William de Buthirgask, clerk of the kitchen to the good King Robert.¹ These were the articles of usual and daily consumption ; but on occasions of solemn banquetings and unusual festivity, the entertainments were in the last degree extravagant and expensive. At the feast given at Canterbury, on the installation of Ralph, Abbot of St Augustine, six thousand guests sat down to a dinner of three thousand dishes ;² and this was far exceeded by the splendour of the marriage banquet, when the Earl of Cornwall espoused Cincia, the daughter of the Count of Provence, upon which occasion thirty thousand dishes were served up to an immense assemblage of guests, who had arrived from the remote parts of England, as well as from Scotland.³ In the feast which was given by the Archbishop of York, upon the marriage of Alexander the Third, sixty stalled oxen were slain to furnish out the first course, and the rest of the entertainment was on an equal scale of magnificence. It was the custom, at these feasts, to bring in the boar's head with great state ; sometimes the whole boar himself, stuffed, and standing on his legs, surrounded by a fortification of pastry, from the battle-

¹ Chamberlain's Accounts, p. 74 to 85.

² Chronica. W. Thorn, p. 2010.

³ Math. Paris, p. 536.

ments of which little flags and banners waved over the grisly savage, was ushered in, carried by the master of the feast and his servants, with the trumpets sounding before him. In like manner, the peacock, the swan, and the heron, were greatly esteemed in those times, and brought in, with their plumage unbroken, upon immense plateaus richly gilt, and with a net-work of gold thrown over them; whilst between the courses the guests were entertained by a species of opera, acted by little puppets of paste, in which Arthur, and his Knights of the Round Table, Godfrey of Bulloign, or some such heroes, performed their parts, amidst magic islands, captive ladies, turbaned pagans, fiery dragons, and all the superstitious machinery of the middle ages. When this was concluded, the company again resumed the feast, which was continued till a late hour, and often prolonged for many days.

These were the solemn banquets of the middle ages; but even their ordinary meals, when the baron, in his feudal hall, feasted his vassals twice a-day, were conducted with rude plenty and protracted hospitality. They dined very early, and, from the quantity of wines and spices imported into the country, there is reason to believe they sat late.

In the reign of Alexander the Third, the famous Thomas the Rhymer, and the Earl of Dunbar, in whose castle he lived, sat down to dinner before twelve o'clock;¹ and, between the diversion afforded by the licensed wit of the fools, who were kept

¹ Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 131.

by the king and the higher nobles; the hours spent in the game of chess, then exceedingly popular; the listening to the lays of the harpers and minstrels, and the reading romances of interminable length, the day glided away.¹ We are to remember, also, that much time was spent in the devotions of the Catholic church; that the labours of the needle and embroidery filled up many hours of a lady's life; whilst the older knights and barons, who received into their castles the sons of the nobility, for the purpose of superintending their chivalrous education, devoted much of their leisure to this occupation. In the speech which Walter Espec addresses to the English barons before the battle of the Standard, chess and dice are alluded to as the games in which the youthful knights passed their time; while the reading works of history, or the listening to the gests of their warlike ancestors, are considered as the more appropriate employments of an aged baron.²

At an early period in our history, the system of chivalry made its way into Scotland, and gave that romantic and heroic tone to the character of the people which its usages, in a greater or less degree, communicated to every country in Europe. The early intercourse of our country with Scandinavia, the possession of the Western Isles and of part of the mainland by the northern nations, and the circumstance

¹ Rotuli Compotorum, Temp. Alex. III. p. 4. Compotum Constab. de Cardross, p. 41. Sir Tristrem, fyfte i. sect. 29, 30. Compotus Camerarii, p. 96. Barbour, pp. 49, 54. Sir Tristrem, notes on fyfte ii. p. 306.

² Ethelredus de Bello Standardi, p. 339.

that the Gothic tribes, at a very remote period, had extended themselves over the whole of the Lowlands, were singularly fitted to create a predisposition in favour of this system of manners; for the first rude germ of chivalry is undoubtedly to be found in the habits and the character of this heroic race of men. Their unshaken and generous courage; the high and dignified station occupied by their women; their love of enterprise and adventure; their consideration for their scalds and minstrels, and their passion for marvellous and romantic fictions, are just so many features which, with a slight change, we find in chivalry under its more advanced and artificial shape. We are not, therefore, to wonder that, even as early as the end of the eleventh century, when Duncan, assisted by the Norman knights and soldiers of William Rufus, expelled Donald Bane from the throne, the light of chivalry is seen beginning to dawn in Scotland;¹ but the subsequent expulsion of the Normans and English, by the Celtic population, was unfavourable for a time to its further progress.²

Under Alexander the First, and during the reign of that wise and excellent prince, David the First, some faint and uncertain traces of chivalrous manners and education are perceptible in the education of Henry of Anjou, at the court of the latter monarch, and in the ceremony of the young prince receiving, from the hands of David, the order of

¹ Chron. Sax. pp. 199, 200. Duncan was knighted by William Rufus.

² Simeon Dunelm. p. 219.

knighthood, when he had completed his sixteenth year.¹ Under Malcolm the Fourth, and his successor in the throne, William the Lion, the thirst for knightly renown, and the existence of chivalrous manners, are distinctly seen. It was not till Malcolm had gained his spurs in France, by fighting at the siege of Thoulouse, under the banner of the King of England, that this monarch, in the city of Tours, girded the youthful king with the belt of knighthood. During the same reign, we have an example of a baron accused of treason appealing to his sword, and perishing in single combat; and the spirited speech of William the Lion, when he, and a body of his barons, were surprised and taken prisoners before Alnwick, "Now it will be seen who are good knights," is perfectly decisive as to the progress of chivalry in Scotland during the twelfth century.² Indeed, the warm attachment of Richard Cœur de Lion,

¹ Chron. Thom. Wikes, p. 29. From this author, as well as from Hoveden, p. 490, there is little doubt, I think, that Henry was educated at the court of David. After his military education was completed, he appears to have gone over to Normandy, and upon his return from that country to England, he repaired to David at Carlisle, and was knighted; I differ here from Hailes, who pronounces it to be certain, that Henry had no more than an occasional interview with David, and founds his opinion upon Gervas, p. 1366. W. Neubrig. p. 75; and J. Hagulstad, p. 177. If the reader will examine these passages, he will at once perceive that they by no means support such an assertion.

² Fordun a Goodal, vol. i. p. 450. Chronicon Sanctæ Crucis, p. 33. Editio Bannatynian. Gervas, p. 1381. Gulielm. Neubrig. p. 237. "Illico ferociter arma concutiens, suoque verbo simul et exemplo accendens, modo inquit, Apparebit quis miles esse noverit."

the most chivalrous of kings, to William the Lion, and the constant friendly intercourse which subsisted during this reign between the two countries,¹ could not fail to have its influence in disseminating the principles of a system which, in England, had taken such a hold both upon the monarch and the nation. Accordingly, when William, in 1186, married Ermengarde de Beaumont, part of the dower stipulated in the marriage contract consisted in the feudal services of forty knights;² and the virtues of this monarch, as they are enumerated by Winton, his tenderness and fidelity in friendship, his generous emulation and companionship with Richard in deeds of renown, his courtesy and generosity, are all of them chivalrous. A passion for religious war, and a thirst for the glory which was gained against the Infidels, was the only ingredient wanting to complete the chivalrous character of the country; and this last principle is to be seen in the conduct of David, Earl of Huntingdon, the brother of William the Lion, who assumed the cross immediately after his marriage, and departed for the Holy War, in company with Richard the First.³

Not long after the departure of the Earl of Huntingdon for the Holy Land, William Malvoisine, the

¹ Fordun a Goodal, vol. i. p. 507. Winton, vol. i. p. 339.

² R. Hoveden, p. 632.

³ It ought not to be concealed, however, that this crusade of the King's brother rests only on the apocryphal authority of Boece, and is not to be found in the more authentic pages of Fordun or Winton.

Bishop of St Andrews, in a great council of the clergy, held at Perth, preached a crusade, and deputed many emissaries throughout Scotland to enforce the same holy warfare in their sermons and addresses to the people; but, although multitudes of the middle and lower classes were infected with the mania, and assumed the cross, they were joined by few of the rich and the powerful in the land.¹

The tournaments we find an established amusement in Scotland under Alexander the Second. This monarch himself received the belt of knighthood from John, King of England; and, under the reign of his successor, we see, in the remarkable debate which arose on the subject whether the youthful monarch could be crowned before he was knighted, how strong a hold the system and institutions of chivalry had taken of the national mind. When Bisset was accused of the murder of the Earl of Athole, he instantly appealed to his sword. The marriage of Alexander the Third; the feasts and music; the sumptuous dresses and magnificent largesses; the future progresses of the youthful king and his consort to visit their father's court, were full of all the pomp and circumstance of chivalry. The character of Alan Durward, celebrated as being the flower of Scottish knighthood; the solemnity with which we find this order conferred by the sovereign upon the sons of the nobility at the palace of Scone; the increasing passion for the crusades; and the departure of many of the Scottish

¹ Fordun a Goodal, vol. i. p. 534.

nobles for Palestine, confirm this opinion ;¹ but it is chiefly under the reign of Bruce and his son, David the Second, that we discover the complete introduction of chivalry into Scotland.

The work, indeed, to which this great king devoted his life, was of too serious a nature to be often interrupted or encroached upon by the splendid and fantastic trifling of chivalry. Yet, in personal prowess, and the use of his weapons, Bruce was accounted one of the best knights in Europe ; and in Ireland we find the king halting the army, when retreating in circumstances of extreme difficulty, on hearing the cries of a poor lavandere, or washerwoman, who had been seized with labour, commanding a tent to be pitched for her, and taking measures for her pursuing her journey when she was able to travel ; an action full of the tenderness and courtesy so especially inculcated by chivalry, yet springing here, perhaps, not so much from the artificial feelings of a system, as from the genuine dictates of a brave and gentle heart. Bruce, and Douglas, and Randolph, it may be said, were too good soldiers and patriots to be diverted from their objects by the pursuit of personal adventure ; but, from the nature of the long war with the English, feats of individual prowess, and gallant “ points of arms” performed by a handful of brave vassals and partisans, were often the only efforts which kept up the desponding spirits of the nation ; and the spirit of chivalrous adventure, and of useful

¹ Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 72, 73, 80, 112, 113.

patriotic exertion thus became simultaneous and compatible in their operation. The battle of Bannockburn, it has been said by a historian of chivalry, was not a chivalrous battle.¹ In one respect it assuredly was not similar to Poitiers and Cressy, which the same writer has dwelt on with justifiable enthusiasm; for the laurels of Cressy and Poitiers were barren as to every thing but glory, while at Bannockburn, the freedom of a whole people was sealed and secured for ever. But it would be difficult, either at Cressy or Poitiers, to select two finer examples of chivalrous daring than the defeat of Clifford by Randolph, and the single combat between Bruce and Bohun in the presence of the two armies; and the courtesy of Bruce to his noble captives, is more natural than the overstrained generosity of the Black Prince to his royal prisoner King John. The well-known incident in the triumphant entry of the Black Prince into London, when he himself was mounted on a little palfrey, whilst the person of the King of France was displayed upon a noble horse in gorgeous trappings, had something in it too ostentatious and condescending to merit the high encomium which has generally been bestowed on it. It is not to be forgotten also, in estimating the comparative influence of chivalrous principles upon the character of Bruce, when compared with that of the First and Third Edwards and the Black Prince, that during the whole reign of the Scottish king there does not occur, even in those mo-

¹ Mill's History of Chivalry, vol. i. p. 402.

ments when most exasperated by personal injuries, and when he possessed ample power of giving loose to a spirit of revenge, a single instance of cruel or vindictive retaliation, while the massacre of Berwick, and the imprisonment of the Countess of Buchan, by Edward the First; the intended sacrifice of the six citizens of Calais, the penurious economy with which the captive king and the Scottish prisoners were treated after the battle of Durham, by Edward the Third; and the massacre of Limoges by the Black Prince, remind us that these heroic men, although generous in the use of victory, could sometimes be irritated by defeat into cruelty and revenge. But while Bruce was true to his chivalrous faith in kindness, courtesy, and humanity, he permitted not the love of personal adventure to interfere with that strict military discipline which he rigidly maintained; and on one memorable occasion, in his Irish campaign, the king with his truncheon nearly felled to the ground a young knight named Sir Colin Campbell, for daring to break the array, that he might revenge an insult offered him by one of the skirmishers of the enemy.¹ We have already seen what a rich glow of chivalrous devotion was shed over the last scene of his life; and in the whole history of this singular system, which

¹ Barbour, pp. 315, 316. See, for a duel in 1329, Chamberlain's Accounts, p. 136. "Et vic de Edinburgh pro factura Parci juxta Edinburgh ubi milites pugnabant, et in quo miles Anglie fuit devictus, vi lib. xiii sh. iiii d." And again, in 1364, under David the Second, Chamberlain's Accounts, p. 427, "Et Simoni Reed pro factura palicii pro duello."

for so many centuries possessed such an influence over European manners, it will not be easy to point out a more striking event than the death of the good Sir James in his first battle against the Moors in Spain.

In this enquiry we have not yet made any remarks upon the dress, the arms, and the warlike accoutrements of those remote times; and yet the subject, although of inferior interest to many other branches of the history of manners, is of considerable importance in estimating the civilisation of the period. Ascending, then, to that period under David the First, when, as we have already seen, his people were of a mixed race, including the tribes of Celtic original, as well as the Saxons and Normans, we find that the first-mentioned race were in dress and arms far inferior to his subjects of Gothic origin. They were armed with long spears pointed with steel, but so blunt as to be incapable of doing much execution, and which not unfrequently broke at the first thrust;¹ they bore also darts or javelins, and made use of a hooked weapon of steel, with which they laid hold of their enemies; their shields were formed of strong cow hide; a rough mantle or outer coat of leather, tanned with the hair on, was thrown over their shoulders, which, on occasions of show or ceremony, was exchanged for a scarlet robe; and their under vestment was so short, that from the knee downwards the leg was wholly bare.² They allowed their hair and

¹ Ethelredus de Bello Standardi, p. 340.

² "Hispidam Chlamydem, Crus intectam." Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 82.

beards to grow to such a length, that their countenances were almost covered. Even their nobles and leaders appear to have been strangers to the steel armour of the Saxons and Normans; for we know that the Earl of Strathern, on the eve of the battle of the Standard, reproached David the First for trusting too much to the steel coats of his Norman subjects; and boasted that, unarmed as he was, he would precede Alan de Percy in the onset.¹ This dress and these weapons were common to the whole race of the Celts, and are evidently the same with those used by the Irish, as we find them described by one of the ablest antiquaries who has written upon the subject.² The Galwegians appear to have been generally mounted; but they were accustomed to act, according to the emergency, either on foot or horseback, and, by the fury of their charge, which they accompanied with loud yells of "Albyn! Albyn!" they not unfrequently succeeded in throwing into disorder, and eventually cutting to pieces, the more disciplined troops which were brought against them.³ They understood also the art of defending their mountain passes by barriers of trees, which they felled and placed transversely so as to impose an almost impenetrable barrier to an invading army. But although brave to excess, and, according to their own rude degree of knowledge,

¹ Ethelredus de Bello Standardi, p. 342. Ralph de Diceto, p. 573.

² Sir James Ware, *Irish Antiquities*, vol. ii.

³ Benedict. Abbas, p. 447. Rog. de Hoved. p. 813, quoted in Ritson's *Ann. of Caledonians*, vol. ii. pp. 293. Richar. Prior. Hagulstad, p. 322. Ethelred de Bello Standardi, p. 345.

skilful in war, their manners were cruel and ferocious, and the picture left us, by a faithful contemporary, of their excesses, is too revolting to be dwelt upon.¹

Different in their dress, superior in their arms and warlike accoutrements, and far more civilized in their manners, were the races of Gothic extraction, whom we find composing a great part of the army of David the First in the battle above alluded to, and which we can discern, from the time of Malcolm Canmore, gradually gaining upon and pressing back the Celtic population of Scotland. In the beginning of the eleventh century, Eadulph-ludel, a Saxon earl, surrendered to Malcolm the Second all his right to the territory or province of Northumberland. Previous to this, the extensive district then denominated Cumberland, including the modern shires of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and part of Lancaster, had been acquired by the Scottish princes as feudatories of England; and the marriage of David Earl of Cumberland, afterwards David the First, to the daughter of Earl Waltheof, procured as an appanage to the Scottish crown a part of the ancient kingdom of Northumberland, then known by the name of the Earldom of Northumberland. All that fertile and extended tract of country which was formed by the union of these successive acquisitions, and which comprehended the greater portion of the south of Scotland, was peopled by the Saxons and the Normans, whose dress and arms, at the period of which

¹ Ethelredus de Bello Standardi, p. 341.

we now speak, assimilated much to each other, the superiority in the richness of the stuffs, and in the temper of the armour and the weapons of offence, being on the side of the Normans.

The sword of the Scoto-Saxons was, in all probability, exactly similar to that of the Anglo-Saxons, a long straight weapon, double-edged, and fitted both to cut and thrust. A late able English antiquary, in his deductions and delineations from ancient illuminated manuscripts, has thrown much light upon the subject; and, following his authentic descriptions, we find that the shield was of a middle size, always convex, formed of wood covered with leather, and commonly armed in the centre with a strong sharp-pointed cone of iron.¹ At a very early period, the Saxons do not appear to have used armour for the body, but to have gone into battle with a short upper coat of leather, which was girded round the loins, and beneath which are seen the folds of the under tunic worn close to the skin, and reaching to within a little of the knee.² In persons of rank, the tunic and the coat were ornamented with rich borders round the edges, and the legs clothed in hose composed of twisted rolls of woollen, reaching to the middle calf, while the feet were shod with buskins. Besides the shield and the sword, they carried a long spear with a sharp steel point, sometimes armed with a barb, and the battle-axe; but we do not

¹ Meyrick's *Ancient Armour*, Introduction, vol. i. p. 62.

² *Ibid.* p. 62.

find either the cross-bow or the long-bow originally employed by them. These last weapons were brought in by the Normans, who used them with fatal and murderous effect, and from whom the Saxon soldiers borrowed them in the course of years. The head of the common soldier was protected by a species of conical cap not unlike the Kilmarnock nightcap, which appears to have been made of the skin of some animal, with the hair turned outwards. This headpiece, however, in persons of rank, was formed of steel or brass, and frequently ornamented with a broad gilded border, or even set with precious stones; whilst in the dress of kings and princes it gave place to a crown itself, or to a small circlet of gold. The sword-hilts and scabbard, the shields and headgear, of the kings and nobles, were often richly ornamented, studded with precious stones, or inlaid with gold; they animated their troops with the sound of a long horn or trumpet, whilst there were carried before them into battle rich banners, upon which the figure of a white horse, of a raven, or a fighting warrior, were curiously wrought in gold, and not unfrequently decorated with jewels. In the battle of the Standard, the royal Scottish banner was embroidered with the figure of a dragon, around which rallying point, when the day was going against them, the flower of the Scottish army crowded in defence of their sovereign. The era, however, of the arrival of the Normans in England, and of the subsequent gradual and useful progress of this remarkable people from England into Scotland, till they fixed their Norman names and Norman cus-

toms even in the remote provinces of the north, is the era also of a very perceptible change in the dress, and arms, and warlike inventions of the Scoto-Saxons. The shirt of mail was probably known to the Saxons in its first rude state. It was composed of small pieces of iron sewed in rows upon a leathern jacket, overlapping each other like the scales of a fish, and seems to have been early introduced. An experiment was next made to form something like the same piece of body armour, by twisting or interweaving strong wires with each other, so as to create a species of iron wicker, which must, however, have proved particularly stiff and disagreeable to the free motion of the body. Probably for this reason it was not attempted to be carried lower down than the bottom of the stomach, and a short way below the shoulder, so as to leave the arms and limbs full room for action. In time, however, these rude beginnings were superseded by more correct and skilful imitations of the armour of the Normans; and as hitherto the chief force of the Scottish army had consisted in infantry, it is curious to trace the gradual departure from this system as early as the reign of David the First, and the few feeble efforts which were then made to imitate the Normans, whose chief force consisted in cavalry. As early, for instance, as in the battle of the Standard, the Scottish horsemen make their appearance, although bearing no proportion to the infantry; and it is singular, that on both sides, the leaders made the cavalry dismount and fight on foot. Yet, under the reign of Alexander the Second,

when that monarch invaded England, we have already seen the encomium pronounced by Matthew Paris upon his cavalry, which, although mounted on neither Spanish nor Italian horses, made a splendid and martial appearance; and in the battle of Largs, in the subsequent reign, the destruction of the Norwegians who had landed, was completed by a Scottish army in which there was a body of fifteen hundred horsemen, the knights and leaders of which were mounted on Spanish horses, armed, both horse and man, from head to heel in complete mail, and the rest on the small active horses, whose chests were protected by a steel breastplate. Besides this select body of cavalry, we find that the foot soldiers were well accoutred, and in addition to the long spear of the Saxons, they now carried the Norman bow.¹

The principal arms of the Normans are well described in an ordinance, or assize of arms, of Henry the Second, preserved by Hoveden, in which it is declared, that every man possessed of goods and chattels to the value of one hundred pounds, is to provide, for the king's service, a horse and a soldier completely armed in mail; whilst every man possessed of any sum, from forty to twenty-five pounds, was to have for his own use, an albergellum, or haubergeon, an iron helmet, a lance, and a sword. This refers to the Norman dominions of the king. In England, the same monarch commanded every man who held a knight's fee, to furnish a soldier completely

¹ Norse Account of the Expedition, pp. 93, 94, 95.

armed in a coat of mail and a helmet, with a lance and a shield ; every freeman who possessed goods and chattels to the value of sixteen merks, was in like manner ordained to have a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance ; every freeman possessed of the value of ten merks, to have a haubergeon, an iron cap, and a lance ; and lastly, every burgess and freeman whatsoever, to furnish himself with a wambais, an iron cap, and a lance, which, on pain of severe penalties, he was not to sell or pawn.¹ In the time, therefore, of Henry the Second, in the year 1181, which is the date of this assize, the principal armour for the body was of three kinds, the lorica, or entire coat of mail, the albergellum or haubergeon, and the wambais ; the first worn by the richest knights, the next by the higher order of yeomanry or gentry, and the last by the burgesses and freemen in general. What was the description of these particular kinds of body armour it is not difficult to ascertain, and it is certain that they were used promiscuously both in Scotland and in England. The lorica, or coat of mail, is to be seen distinctly on the seals of the First and Second Henry. It appears to have been formed by rings of steel or iron sewed, or fixed closely together, upon a leathern coat, reaching from the neck, which it covers, to the knee, not unlike our modern surtout. In other instances, however, the neck and head were protected by a separate piece, called the chaperon, or hood of mail, which could either be drawn over the

¹ Hoveden, p. 614. Rerum Angl. Script. a Saville.

head in time of action, or after battle thrown loosely on the shoulder, so as to give the weary warrior air and refreshment. Over the chaperon the helmet was placed ;¹ and of this graceful costume, some beautiful examples are to be seen in the recumbent monuments of the knights which we frequently meet with in the English churches, and more rarely in Scotland. The sleeves of the coat, as seen in the seals of these two monarchs, cover the whole arm down to the wrist, leaving the hands bare and unprotected ; but an elongation of the coat of mail was soon after introduced, so as to form a mailed glove, which completely protected the hands ; and yet from its pliancy, being formed of the same rings of steel quilted on a simple leather glove, left them free room for action. Over this mail-coat, which, under Richard the First,² was so formed as to cover the whole body from head to heel, it became the fashion, during the reign of the Third Henry, for the knights to wear a surcoat, formed of cloth or linen, which at first appears to have been a mark of distinction, and which, latterly, during the fourteenth century, was ornamented with the arms of the knight, richly embroidered. Surcoats in England, although found at an earlier period abroad, were not worn before the reign of Henry the

¹ See Strutt's *Dress and Habits of the People of England*, vol. i. plates 43 and 45. The seals of Henry the First and Henry the Second, will be found beautifully engraved in the new edition of the *Fœdera*, vol. i. pp. 6, 19.

² See the seal of this monarch, *Fœdera*, new edition, vol. i. p. 48.

Second, did not become general till the time of John, and bore no armorial bearings till the period of Henry the Third.¹

The *albergellum*, or *haubergeon*, in its early form, afforded less protection to the whole person than the coat of mail, and was evidently a less costly article of body-armour. It appears to be exactly the same piece of armour with the *halsberga* of Ducange, and was originally intended, as we learn from its component words, *hals-berg*, for the protection of the neck alone; but it probably soon came to cover the breast and the shoulder. It was formed of the same ringed mail, quilted on leather,² and is particularly mentioned in the assize of arms passed by Robert Bruce. The *wambais* was nothing more than a soldier's coat-of-fence, made of leather, or cloth, quilted with cotton, which, although it afforded a security inferior, in a great degree, both to the mail-coat and the *haubergeon*, gave considerable protection against a spear-thrust or sword-cut.³ It is well known, that while the great force of the Saxons consisted in infantry, the Normans fought on horseback; and that, from a little after the time of William the Conqueror, the power of the Norman cavalry became so formida-

¹ Meyrick's *Ancient Armour*, vol. i. p. 21.

² So, in an old German anonymous poem quoted in Ducange, *voce Halsberga*.

“Geh and bring mir doch here,
Mein halsperg und mein schwerd.”

And in the Will of Duke Everard in Miræus, c. 21, “*Et helmum cum halsberga.*”

³ *Ibid.* p. 67.

ble, as to be celebrated and dreaded throughout Europe. The horses were armed in steel as well as the men, and both being thus impenetrably protected, the long spears of their enemies might, to use an expression of Hoveden, "have as well struck against a wall of iron."¹ Under the Conqueror himself, indeed, and judging from the costume in which he is seen upon his seal, this horse-mail does not appear to have been used at all; and the same observation is applicable to the seal of Henry the First, and to those of Richard Cœur de Lion, John, Henry the Third, and Edward the First. Upon the seal of Henry the Second, however, we find his horse armed with the chamfreyn, or steel frontlet; and the disappearance of it upon the seals of the monarchs who succeeded him, was evidently a caprice of taste, either in the artist or the sovereign; for we know for certain, that the steel-clad steeds, or *Equi Cooperti*, formed the principal force in the battle of the Standard, fought in the reign of Stephen, against David the First; and we have already seen, that the Scottish cavalry at the battle of Largs was composed partly of Spanish steeds in complete armour, and partly of horses with breastplates; a very convincing proof how completely the Norman habits and arms had been adopted in Scotland under Alexander the Third.²

The offensive weapons of the Norman knights and higher soldiers, consisted of the sword, which was in

¹ Hoveden, p. 277. Strutt's *Manners of the People of England*, vol. i. p. 99.

² Norse Account of Haco's Expedition, p. 95.

no respect different from the Saxon sword, and the lance with a streamer or pennon ; whilst the arms of the lower classes of the infantry, not including the archers, were the club and mace, denominated, in the Norman French of Wace, “ *Pilx et Macheues.*”¹ The arms of a higher baron, or count, in the time of the Conqueror, are most accurately pointed out in an ordinance of this prince, which directs “ that every count shall be bound to bring to the assistance of the king, eight horses saddled and bridled, four hauberks, four helmets, four lances, and four swords.”² These were termed by the Normans free arms, *libera arma*, as being those peculiarly appropriated to men of high and noble rank ; but, in the course of time, the short dagger, the *gis arma*, or bill, the cross-bow, and battle-axe, were introduced amongst the Norman weapons of offence, and borrowed by the Scoto-Normans from their countrymen.³

The minute attention which has been paid to ren-

¹ Wace, in describing the Duke of Normandy’s summons to the “ vilains :”

Par la contrée fit mander
Et a vilains dire et crier,
Que a tiex armes, com il ont
Viengnent a lui ains quil porront,
Lors voissiez haster vilains,
Pilx et macheues en lor mains.

² “ De relief al cunté, que al rei afeist. viii chivalz, selez et enfrennez, les iiii halbers, et iiii hammes, et iiii escuz, et iiii lances, et iiii espes.” *Leg. Gulielm. 1, c. 26.*

³ *Strutt’s Manners and Customs of the People of England, vol. i. p. 98.* So Wace, speaking of the Norman infantry :

“ Et vous avez lances aquis,
Et quis armes bien emollues.”

der this description of the Saxon and Norman armour clear and authentic, will not be deemed superfluous, when it is understood that the Scottish armour used during this period appears, with a few alterations, borrowed in all probability from the Norwegians, to have been the same as that worn by the Saxons and Normans. The battle-axe, the mace of iron, and the short dagger, were adopted by the knights, and, along with the other arms of the lower ranks, borrowed by the Scoto-Normans from their countrymen, and introduced into Scotland. Thus, on the seal of Alexander the First of Scotland, who succeeded Malcolm Canmore, and whose sister Matilda married Henry the First of England, we find the scaled mail-coat composed of mascles, or lozenged pieces of steel, sewed upon a tunic of leather, and reaching only to the mid thigh. The hood is of one piece with the tunic, and covers the head, which is protected with a conical steel cap, and a nasal. The sleeves are loose, so as to show the linen tunic worn next the skin, and again appearing in graceful folds above the knee. The lower leg and foot are protected by a short boot armed with a spur. The king holds in his right hand a spear, to which a pennoncelle, or small flag, is attached, exactly similar to that worn by Henry the First. The saddle is peaked before and behind, and the horse on which he rides is ornamented by a rich fringe round the chest, but altogether unarmed.¹

¹ Seal in the *Diplomata Scotiæ*, plate viii, and the plate in Dr Meyrick's *History*, p. 29, plate x.

Another curious specimen of the Scottish armour of the twelfth century is to be seen on the seal of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion. It is of the species called, by the contemporary Norman writers, the "trellised," and consists of a cloth coat or vest, reaching only to the haunches, and with sleeves extending to the wrist. This is intersected by broad straps of leather, laid on so as to cross each other, but to leave intervening squares of the cloth, in the middle of each of which is a round knob or stud of steel. The chaperon or hood is of quilted cloth, and the under tunic, of linen, covers the knee, and hangs in folds over the saddle, which is highly peaked, in the shape of a swan's neck. His shield is rounded at the top, and he holds a long spear, ornamented by a gonfanon, on which a rose is embroidered. His helmet is the conical one, plain, and worn over the hood, and the horse has neither armour nor trappings.¹ It was this David, Earl of Huntingdon, who, having embarked for the Holy Land with Richard Cœur de Lion, is said to have been shipwrecked on the coast of Egypt, and sold as a slave to a Venetian merchant. His master brought him to Constantinople, where he was fortunately recognised by some English merchants, redeemed, and sent home.²

¹ Meyrick, vol. i. p. 11. Anderson's *Diplomata*, plate x.

² Chron. Melross, p. 179. Hailes, vol. ii. p. 341. Dr Meyrick has accidentally mistaken this David, Earl of Huntingdon, from whose daughter Robert Bruce was descended, for his grandfather, David the First; but the error is a trifling one. Mills, in

The shield which was used in Scotland at this period was the kite-shaped shield of the Normans; and, although plain and unornamented at first, we find that, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, under Alexander the Second, the lion rampant of Scotland appears upon it for the first time. On the shield of Prince Henry, grandfather of William the Lion, who died about sixty years before the accession of that prince to the throne, there is no appearance of any heraldic blazoning; and the practice, which was first introduced by Richard Cœur de Lion into England, appears to have been adopted, during this interval, by our Scottish monarchs.¹ The strict friendship and constant intercourse which was maintained between William the Lion and Richard the First, and the attention which was paid by the latter monarch in Europe and in Palestine to every thing connected with the improvement of the military art, must have produced a correspondent enthusiasm in our own country, and these improvements would speedily be brought into Scotland by David, Earl of Huntingdon, and his companions, the brother crusaders of

an amusing but superficial work, which he has entitled a History of Chivalry, affects to despise the Critical Enquiry of Dr Meyrick. That there may be some few errors in an enquiry embracing so wide a range, none will deny; but, in point of research and historical interest, it is worthy of great praise. It is to be regretted that the valuable matter of the text should be shut up from most readers by the costly price, which the plates render indispensable.

¹ Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ*, plate xx. Meyrick's *Ancient Armour*, vol. i. p. 101.

Richard. This observation is accordingly confirmed by the fact just noticed, that Richard first bore the three lions on his shield, and that the same practice, formerly unknown, was adopted not long after in our own country.

Another change appears in the helmet of Alexander the Second, which confirms this remark; the aventayle, or visor, and the cylindrical shape, are seen in its construction for the first time; and these we know were brought in by Richard the First, although under a slightly different form as used by the lion-hearted king. This Alexander succeeded his brother William the Lion in the beginning of the thirteenth century. He appears clothed in a complete coat of masled mail, protected by plates at the elbows. The surcoat also, first worn in England by John, is thrown over his armour,—another proof of the progress of military fashions from England into this country; and his shield is hollowed, so as to fit the body and completely defend it. His horse, without any defensive armour, is ornamented with a fringed and tasselled border across the chest, and an embroidered saddle-cloth, on which the lion rampant again appears.¹

Under the succeeding reigns of Alexander the Third, Baliol, Bruce, and his son, David the Second, the military costume, the fashion, shape, and ornaments of the arms, and the science of war, appear to have been almost exactly the same in both countries. Alex-

¹ Seal in Anderson, plate xxxi. Meyrick's Armour, vol. i. p. 101.

ander the Third wears the cylindrical helmet, with the perforated aventayle; there is a superior richness and splendour in the ornaments of his armour, and the horse is covered from head to foot with flowing housings, on which the lion rampant is richly embroidered, within a bordure set with fleurs de lis. A plume of feathers surmounts the helmet, and the same ornament is seen on the head of his horse.¹ Little difference is discernible in the military costume of Robert Bruce, except that his steel casque is surmounted by a royal crown, which we have seen him wearing at the battle of Bannockburn.

As the arms and military costume of both countries appear to have been exactly similar, so we may, with equal truth, apply the same remark to the science of war itself. The superior genius of Bruce soon indeed perceived, that to cope with the English in cavalry was impossible, and he accordingly directed his principal attention to perfecting the arms and the discipline of his infantry,—a system taught him by the example of Wallace; but this was chiefly occasioned by the poor and exhausted state of the country. Previous to the long war of liberty, which drained away its wealth, and arrested it in its career of improvement, the cavalry of Scotland, as we have seen in our former allusions to the battle of the Stand-

¹ Anderson's *Diplomata*, plate xxxvi. See Chamberlain's *Accounts*, Temp. Alex. III. p. 35, "In reparacione lorice dni regis 18 sh." etc. Ibid. p. 38, "In mundacione armorum dni regis 13 sh. et 8 d." Ibid. p. 45, "Item in 14 targis bene munitis sciltarga pro 5 sh. 70 sh. In emendacione 3000 querellis 5 sh."

ard and the battle of Largs, held a principal place in the composition of the army. The disastrous defeat which David experienced in the first of these actions was, in all probability, occasioned by his being compelled to place the ferocious and half-armed Galwegians in the first line ; and, even after their undisciplined conduct had introduced disorder and flight, the day was nearly restored by a successful charge of the Prince of Scotland, at the head of his men-at-arms, who, to use the expressive phrase of Ethelred, “ scattered the English army like a cobweb.” In the battle of Largs, the appearance of the Scottish knights on Spanish horses, then considered of high value, and which were clothed in complete mail, evinces that, under Alexander the Third, the cavalry of Scotland was equal in equipment to the sister country. We learn, from the Chamberlain’s rolls of the same monarch, that, in the preparations which were made for defence and security in the different castles about the time of the expected invasion of the King of Norway, the warlike engine called the balista was in use ; and that there was an officer in the castle of Aberdeen called Balistarius, who was allowed twenty shillings for the purchase of staves, and other necessaries which belonged to his office.¹

¹ Chamberlain’s Rolls, Temp. Alex. III. p. 19, “ Item, Willelmo ballistario ad emendum baculos, et alia que pertinent ad officium suum 20 sh.” Ibid. p. 9, “ Item, Balistario de illo anno 2 Marcas et dimidiam.” Ibid. p. 10, “ Idem comes petit sibi allocari costas de xi^{xx} petris ferri et fabricam de mille septingentis et septuaginta querellis et fabricam de ix^{xx} ferri ;” and again, p. 47,

At an earlier period still, when David the First, and his son, Prince Henry, invaded England in 1138, they attacked the castle of Werk with balistæ, and other warlike engines ;¹ and we have every reason to believe that the science of war, and the attack and defence of fortified places, must have been the same, with very slight variations, in both countries. It is evident, from the history of the Bruce and Baliol wars, and the most remarkable sieges which took place during their continuance, that, in whatever terms of wonder these warlike machines for the battering of the walls are described by the contemporary historians, they were truly very clumsy and inefficient inventions ; and that a strong-built castle, if well victualled, and tolerably garrisoned, could defy, for many months, the whole efforts of a very numerous army, with its balistæ, mangonels, tribuchets, sows, and rams playing upon it without intermission.

During the reigns of Edward the Second and Third in England, and the corresponding period occupied by the latter years of the reign of Robert Bruce, and the whole of that of David the Second in Scotland, the plate-armour began gradually to supersede the mailed coat ; and various improvements and new inventions, both in the strength and in the ornamental parts of the equipment of knights and soldiers, were introduced, which, from the constant in-

“ Item quod die hujus computi remanserunt in custodia ipsius, H. 12 lorice, 2 honbergell, unam par calligarum ferrearum, 14 targyss, et 12 bipennes.”

¹ Rich. Prioris Hagulstad. p. 315.

tercourse between the two countries, were adopted simultaneously in both. In 1367, a duel was fought between Thomas Erskine, a Scottish knight, and James Douglas of Egmont, on some quarrel not now discoverable. Both champions obtained permission from Edward the Third to purchase their arms and body armour, on this occasion, in London; and the royal letters inform us of what pieces they consisted. A breast-plate and back-piece, a helmet, a habergeon, arm-plates, thigh-pieces, greaves for the legs, and iron gauntlets, formed the body armour. The weapons were, a dagger or short sword, a long sword, and a knife; and one of the knights requests to have body armour for two horses, whilst his antagonist contents himself with a chamfeyn or iron frontlet for one.¹

In the use of the bow, the English continued invariably to be superior to the Scots, and their bodies of mounted archers, and of cross-bowmen, who were not unfrequently armed in mail, often made cruel havock amongst the Scottish spearmen. It is a singular circumstance, that, although the importance of the long-bow could not fail to have suggested itself to such masters in war as Wallace and Bruce, and Randolph and Douglas, there does not appear to have been any very successful efforts made to introduce it as a national weapon. In remote times, indeed, we find the Scottish archers bearing a part in the battle of the Standard;²

¹ Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. pp. 916, 917.

² Ethelredus de Bello Standardi, p. 342, "Alteram aciem filius

but, at the subsequent battles of Dunbar, Stirling, and Falkirk, they do not appear. In the memorable defeat, indeed, which Bruce gave to the Lord of Lorn, in the pass of Cruachan-Ben, Sir James Douglas appears at the head of a body of archers lightly armed,¹ but they are not to be recognised in the muster of the army at Bannockburn; and although Bruce, in an ordinance of arms passed in 1319, commands every man possessed of the value of a cow to arm himself, either with a bow and a sheaf of arrows, or with a spear, the last weapon was evidently preferred by the Scottish yeomanry. Neither in the future expeditions during the reign of this monarch, nor in the disastrous battles of Dupplin, Halidon, and Durham, do we meet with a body of Scottish archers.² With regard to the first of these battles at Halidon, there is to be found, in the British Museum, amongst the Harleian Manuscripts, a most minute and curious account of the numbers, the arms, and the arrangement of the Scottish army, with the names of all the leaders;³ which proves that the Scottish army consisted of knights, and of heavy-armed and light-armed infantry, without either archers or cross-bow-

regis, et militis, Sagittarii que cum eo, adjunctis sibi Cumbrensibus et Tevidalensibus, cum magna sagacitate constituit."

¹ Barbour, pp. 190, 191.

² At the siege of Perth, however, under the Regency of Moray, Fordun mentions that Alan Boyd and John Stirling, "*duo valentes armigeri, rectores architenentium,*" were slain.

³ This interesting fragment is printed in the Appendix, letter D.

men. The same remark may be made with regard to the array at the battle of Durham; the knights armed *cap-à-pié*, with the *homines armati*, or heavy-armed infantry, formed the strength of the army; and besides this there was a very large body of half-armed foot.¹ The ordinance of arms which was passed by Robert Bruce in 1319, acquaints us, in sufficiently minute terms, with the arms then used by the Scottish army. An *acton* and a steel helmet, gloves of plate, and a sword and spear, were to be provided by every gentleman who had ten pounds value in land, or ten pounds of movable property. Those of inferior rank and fortune were bound to fit themselves with an iron jack, an iron head-piece, and gloves of plate; and the lowest class of all with a spear, or with a bow and a sheaf of arrows.²

The civil dress of those remote times, as it is seen in the illuminations of manuscripts, and in the reverses of the seals of our early monarchs, appears to have been exceedingly rich and graceful. A robe of purple velvet or scarlet cloth, richly lined and hooded with ermine, with a border of gold embroidery, and flowers of gold scattered over it; an under tunic of silk, or other precious stuff, made sometimes close to the figure, and at other times hanging in loose folds almost to the heel; hose and breeches in one piece; and laced sandals, formed the common state dress of the kings, princes, and nobles, their more ordinary

¹ Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 342.

² History, vol. i. p. 354. See Appendix, letter Q.

habits being nearly the same in shape, but of less costly materials.¹

During the thirteenth century, a fantastic fashion prevailed of clothing one-half of the figure in one colour, and the other half in another; and, where this was not done, of having one stocking red or blue, and the other green or yellow; so that the man had the appearance of having stepped into one half of his neighbour's breeches or hose. But the absurd practice did not long continue, and appears to have been at last abandoned to the exclusive use of fools and jesters.

The costume of the ladies at the same period was particularly elegant, but very various; and it is difficult, in any written description, to give an idea either of its beauty, or of the complicated grouping of its various parts. The upper part of the dress consisted of a jacket of rich broad cloth or velvet, with sleeves reaching to the wrist, and terminating in a border of gold-embroidery, which was made to fit close to the bosom and the waist, so as to show the outline of the female figure. It was fastened down the middle with a row of buttons of silver, gold, or

¹ Strutt's *Dress and Habits of the People of England*, vol. ii. plates 83 and 85. Chamberlain's *Accounts*, Temp. Alex. III. p. 13, "Augustino cessori per preceptum dni regis ad emendum pannum et furur. ad opus dni regis vi. marcas et dimidium." See *Ibid.* p. 17, "In empcionibus tam in panao serico et aliis, quam in peletria speciebus electuariis, et aliis minutis empcionibus, 10 lib. 8 sh. 1 d." *Ibid.* p. 43, "Item in duobus paribus ocrearum ad opus dni regis 12 sh."

precious stones, on each side of which was a broad border of ermine or miniver, and it reached considerably below the waist. Below this jacket appeared, in ample folds, an under robe or tunic of a different colour, and under all, a slip or petticoat of silk or linen. The tucker was high and modest, and made so as to leave only the neck and throat bare. The head-dress consisted either of the wimple, of the turban, or of a small circlet of gold, or garland of artificial flowers, from beneath which the hair sometimes flowed down the back, and sometimes was gracefully plaited or braided in forms of great variety. Over the whole dress, it was not uncommon, on days of state or ceremony, to wear a long cloak of velvet or other precious stuff, which was clasped across the bosom, and lined with ermine, martins, or gold lace. The golden girdle, too, worn round the waist, and sometimes set with precious stones, must not be forgotten. The extreme splendour of the civil dresses of this period, both in England and in Scotland, is alluded to in terms of reprobation by Mathew Paris in his account of the marriage of Alexander the Third at York; and as the monastic historian was himself present, his account is the more curious and authentic.¹ It proves very satisfactorily, that the dresses of the higher ranks in England, Scotland, and France, were the same. A passage, therefore, which we find quoted by Strutt, from an ancient MS. his-

¹ Math. Paris, pp. 715, 716.

tory of France, written in the fourteenth century, may be quoted as throwing light upon the extreme splendour of the dress of this period. It alludes to a sumptuous entertainment given at Paris in 1275, on the coronation of Mary. "The barons and the knights were habited in vestments of various colours; sometimes they appeared in green, sometimes in blue, then again in grey, and afterwards in scarlet, varying the colours according to their fancies. Their breasts were adorned with fibulæ or brooches of gold, and their shoulders with precious stones of great magnitude, such as emeralds, sapphires, jacinths, pearls, rubies, and other rich ornaments. The ladies who attended had rings of gold, set with topaz stones and diamonds, upon their fingers, their heads were ornamented with elegant crests or garlands, and their wimples were composed of the richest stuffs, embroidered with pure gold, and embellished with pearls and other jewels."

In the ancient French poem, the Romance of the Rose, which was completed by John de Meun in 1304, the poet has introduced the story of Pigmalion, and he represents the enamoured sculptor clothing his marble mistress in every variety of female finery. "He arrayed her," says he, "in many guises; in robes made with great skill of the finest silk and woollen cloths, green, azure, and brunette, ornamented with the richest skins of ermines, minivers, and greys; these being taken off, other robes were tried upon her of silk, cendal, malliquins, mallibruns, damasked satin, camlet, and all of divers colours. Thus decorated,

she resembled a little angel, her countenance was so modest. Then again he put a wimple upon her head, and over that a coverchief, which concealed the wimple, but hid not her face. All these garments were then laid aside for gowns, yellow, red, green, and blue, and her hair was handsomely disposed in small braids, with threads of silk and gold, adorned with little pearls, upon which was placed, with great precision, a crestine, and over the crestine a crown or circle of gold, enriched with precious stones of various sizes. Her little ears, for such they are said to have been, were decorated with two beautiful pendent rings of gold, and her necklace was confined to her neck by two clasps of gold. Her girdle was exceedingly rich, and to it was attached an aulmoniere, or small purse of great value."¹ This amusing and curious passage gives us some idea of the variety and splendour of the female dress of the times: and we may conceive what a noble spectacle it must have been, to have seen an ancient Gothic hall filled with fair forms in such splendid apparel, and crowded with barons, knights, squires, and pages, in their velvet robes and jewelled girdles, glancing, as they moved, to the rays of the sun, as they streamed through the painted windows; or assembled at night, while the

¹ I have employed the translation, or rather the abstract of this passage given by Mr Strutt in his excellent work on the Habits and Dresses of the People of England, from a manuscript in the British Museum. Strutt's Habits and Dresses, vol. ii. p. 236. He has in some places used a little liberty with the original, which will be found in the Appendix, letter R.

music of the minstrels echoed through the hall, and the torches threw their red gleams upon the oaken wainscot and fretted arches, bringing out in clear and picturesque relief their fantastic but often beautiful decorations.¹

¹ See Appendix, letter S.